

THE WORKS OF SIR THOMAS MALORY

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THE BOOK
OF
SIR LAUNCELOT
AND
QUEEN GUINEVERE

[*Winchester MS., ff. 409^v-449^r;
Caxton, Books XVIII and XIX*]

I
THE POISONED APPLE

[*Winchester MS.*, ff. 409^v–416^v;
Caxton, Book XVIII, chs. 1–8]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

1. Of the joye kyng† Arthur and the quene had of th' achyevement of the Sangreal, and how Launcelot fyl to hys olde love ageyn.
2. How the quene comaunded syr Launcelot to avoyde the court, and of the sorowe that Launcelot made.
3. How at a dyner that the quene made there was a knyght en-poysoned, whyche syr Mador layed on the quene.
4. How syr Mador appeched the quene of treson, and there was no knyght wold fyght for hyr at the fyrst tyme.
5. How the quene requyred syr Boors to fyght for hyr, and how he graunted upon condycyon, and how he warned syr Launcelot therof.
6. How at the day syr Boors made hym redy for to fyght for the quene, and, whan he shold fyght, how another dyscharged hym.
7. How syr Launcelot fought ayenst syr Mador for the quene, and how he overcame syr Mador and dyscharged the quene.
8. How the trouthe was knowen by the Mayden of the Lake, and of dyvers other maters.

† *C* loye of Kyng

SO aftir the queste of the Sankgreall was fulfylled and all knyghtes that were lefte on lyve were com home agayne unto the Table Rounde—as the BOOKE OF THE SANKGREALL makith mencion—than was there grete joy in the courte, and enespeciall kynge Arthure and quene Gwenyvere made grete joy of the remenaunte that were com home. And passyng gladde was the kynge and the quene of sir Launcelot and of sir Bors, for they had bene passynge longe away in the queste of the Sankgreall.

Than, as the booke seyth, sir Launcelot began to resorte unto quene Gwenivere agayne and forgate the promyse and the perfeccion that he made in the queste; for, as the booke seyth, had nat sir Launcelot bene in his prevy thoughtes and in hys myndis so sette inwardly to the quene as he was in semyng outewarde to God, there had no knyght passed hym in the queste of the Sankgreall. But ever his thoughtis prevyly were on the quene, and so they loved togydirs more hotter than they ded toforehonde, and had many such prevy draughtis togydir that many in the courte spake of hit, and in especiall sir Aggravayne, sir Gawaynes brothir, for he was ever opynne-mowthed.

So hit befelle that sir Launcelot had many resortis of ladyes and damesels which dayly resorted unto hym [that besoughte hym] to be their champion. In all such maters of ryght sir Launcelot applyed hym dayly to do for the plesure of oure Lorde Jesu Cryst, and ever as much as he myght he withdrew hym fro the company of quene Gwenyvere for to eschew the sclawndir and noyse. Wherefore the quene waxed wrothe with sir Launcelot.

So on a day she called hym to hir chambir and seyde thus:

‘Sir Launcelot, I se and fele dayly that youre love begynnyth to slake, for ye have no joy to be in my presence, but ever ye ar oute of thys courte, and quarels and maters ye

1 *P* Soa offer *R* Soo a fter 2 home *not in C* 5 *C* in especyal 17 *C*
were pryuely 22 hit *not in C* 23 *C* that dayly 23-4 *C** hym that
besoughte hym (*homoeoteleuton in W*) 27 *C** companye and feloushyp of Quene
30 *C* and vpon a day she called sir launcelot vnto her 32-4 *C* thy loue . . . thou
hast . . . thou arte 34-p. 1046, 1 *C* thow hast

410^r have nowadayes for ladyes, madyns and jantillwomen, [more] than ever ye were wonte to have beforehande.'

'A, madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'in thys ye must holde me excused for dyvers causis: one ys, I was but late in the
 5 quest of the Sankgreall, and I thanke God of Hys grete mercy, and never of my deservynge, that I saw in that my queste as much as ever saw ony synfull man lyvyng, and so was hit tolde me. And if that I had nat had my prevy thoughtis to returne to you[r]e love agayne as I do, I had sene as grete
 10 mysteryes as ever saw my sonne sir Galahad, Percivale, other sir Bors. And therefore, madam, I was but late in that queste, and wyte you well, madam, hit may nat be yet lyghtly forgotyn, the hyghe servyse in whom I dud my dyligente laboure.

15 'Also, madame, wyte you well that there be many men spekith of oure love in thys courte and have you and me gretely in awayte, as thes sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred. And, madam, wyte you well I drede them more for youre sake than for ony feare I have of them myselffe, for I may
 20 happyn to ascape and ryde myselffe in a grete nede where, madame, ye muste abyde all that woll be seyde unto you. And than, if that ye falle in ony distresse thorowoute wyllfull foly, than ys there none other helpe but by me and my bloode.

25 'And wyte you well, madam, the boldenesse of you and me woll brynge us to shame and sclaudir, and that were me lothe to se you dishonoured. And that is the cause I take uppon me more for to do for damesels and maydyns than ever y ded toforne, that men sholde undirstonde my joy
 30 and my delite ys my plesure to have ado for damesels and maydyns.'

(2) All thys whyle the quene stood styll and lete sir Launcelot sey what he wolde; and whan he had all seyde she braste oute of wepyng, and so she sobbed and awepte a grete
 35 whyle. And whan she myght speke she seyde,

1 madyns *not in C* 2 *C* thou were 6 *C* my deserte that 7 lyvyng *not in C*
 8 *C* And yf I had not had my 8^t And yf I had not my 10-11 *C*
 Galahad outhir Percyual or sir 16 *C* speken 17 thes *not in C* 19 *W*
 feare of them I have of them 21 madame *not in C* 22 *C* thurgh wyllfulle
 23 *C** other remedy or helpe 29 *C* vnterstande 34 *C* on
 wepyng *C* and wepte

'Sir Launcelot, now I well understonde that thou arte a false, recrayed knyght and a comon lechourere, and lovyste 410^v and holdiste othir ladyes, and of me thou haste dysdayne and scorne. For wyte thou well, now I undirstonde thy falsehede I shall never love the more, and loke thou be 5 never so hardy to com in my syght. And ryght here I dyscharge the thys courte, that thou never com within hit, and I forfende the my felyship, and uppon payne of thy hede that thou se me nevermore!'

Ryght so sir Launcelot departed with grete hevynes, that 10 unneth he myght susteyne hymself for grete dole-makyng.

Than he called sir Bors, Ector de Maris and sir Lyonell, and tolde hem how the quene had forfende hym the courte, and so he was in wyll to departe into hys owne contrey.

'Fayre sir,' seyde Bors de Ganyes, 'ye shall departe oute of 15 thys londe by myne advyce, for ye muste remembir you what ye ar, and renommed the moste nobelyst knyght of the worlde, and many grete maters ye have in honde. And women in their hastynesse woll do oftyntymes that aftir hem sore repentith. And therefore, be myne advyce, ye shall take 20 youre horse and ryde to the good ermytayge here besyde Wyndesore, that somtyme was a good knyght, hys name ys sir Brascias. And there shall ye abyde tyll that I sende you worde of bettir tydynges.'

'Brother,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'wyte you well I am full 25 loth to departe oute of thys reallme, but the que[ne] hath defended me so hyghly that mesemyth she woll never be my good lady as she hath bene.'

'Sey ye never so,' seyde sir Bors, 'for many tymys or this she hath bene wroth with you, and aftir that she was the 30 first [that] repented hit.'

'Ye sey well,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for now woll I do by your counceyle and take myne horse and myne harneyse and ryde to the ermyte sir Brastias, and there woll I repose me tille I hyre som maner of tydynges frome you. But, fayre brother, 35 in that ye can, gete me the love of my lady quene Gwenyvere.'

1 Sir *not in C* 4 *C* wel she sayd 5 *C* falshe and therfor shalle I *C* no more
 5-6 *C* and neuer be thou so hardy 9 *C* no more 16-17 *C* remembre in what honour ye are renoumed and called the noblest
 in *C*† 29 *C* this tyme 30 *C* after it 31 *W* firste repented 19 aftir *not*
 broder I praye yow gete 36 *C* Gueneuer and ye maye 35-6 *C*

sir Madore stood styll before the kynge and appeled the quene of treson. (For the custom was such at that tyme that all maner of [s]hamefull deth was called treson.)

'Fayre lordys,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'me repentith of thys
 5 trouble, but the case ys so I may nat have ado in thys mater,
 412^r for I muste be a ryghtfull juge. And that repentith me that
 I may nat do batayle for my wyff, for, as I deme, thys dede
 com never by her. And therefor I suppose she shall nat be
 all distayned, but that somme good knyght shall put hys
 10 body in jouperté for my quene rather than she sholde be
 brente in a wronge quarell. And therefore, sir Madore, be
 nat so hasty; for, perdé, hit may happyn she shall nat be all
 frendeles. And therefore desyre thou thy day of batayle, and
 she shall purvey hir of som good knyght that shall answe
 15 you, other ellis hit were to me grete shame and to all my
 courte.'

'My gracious lorde,' seyde sir Madore, 'ye muste holde
 me excused, for thoughe ye be oure kynge, in that degré ye
 ar but a knyght as we ar, and ye ar sworne unto knyghthode
 20 als welle as we be. And therefore I beseche you that ye be
 nat displeased, for there ys none of all thes four-and-twenty
 knyghtes that were boðyn to thys dyner but all they have
 grete suspeccion unto the quene. What sey ye all, my
 lordys?' seyde sir Madore.

25 Than they answerde by and by and seyde they coude nat
 excuse the quene for why she made the dyner, and other hit
 muste com by her other by her servauntis.

'Alas,' seyde the quene, 'I made thys dyner for a good
 entente and never for none evyll, so Allmyghty Jesu helpe
 30 me in my ryght, as I was never purposed to do such evyll
 dedes, and that I reporte me unto God.'

'My lorde the kynge,' seyde sir Madore, 'I requyre you,
 as ye beth a ryghteous kynge, gyffe me my day that I may
 have justyse.'

35 'Well,' seyde the kynge, 'thys day fiftene dayes, loke thou
 be redy armed on horsebak in the medow besydes Wyn-

2 at *not in C* 12 *perdé not in C* 20 *C* as wel be *not in C* 21 *C* of
 the four and twenty 25 *C* by and by that they 29 *C* almyghty god me
 help 33 *C* me a day 35 *C* kynge I gyue the daye thys day *C* dayes that
 thow 36 *C*† besyde westmynster

chestir. And if hit so falle that there be ony knyght to
 encountir ayenste you, there may you do youre beste, and
 God spede the ryght. And if so befall that there be no
 knyght redy at that day, than muste my quene be brente,
 and there she shall be redy to have hir jugemente.' 5

'I am answerde,' seyde sir Mador.

And every knyght yode where hym lyked.

So whan the kynge and the quene were togidirs the kynge 412
 asked the quene how this case befelle.

Than the [quene] seyde, 'Sir, as Jesu be my helpe!' She 10
 wyst nat how, nother in what manere.

'Where ys sir Launcelot?' seyde kynge Arthure. 'And
 he were here he wolde nat grucche to do batayle for you.'

'Sir,' seyde the quene, 'I wote nat where he ys, but hys
 brother and hys kynnessmen deme that he be nat within thys 15
 realme.'

'That me repentith,' seyde kyng Arthure, 'for and he were
 here, he wolde sone stynte thys stryffe. Well, than I woll
 counceyle you,' seyde the kyng, 'that ye go unto sir Bors
 and pray hym for to [do] batayle for you for sir Launcelottis 20
 sake, and uppon my lyff he woll nat refuse you. For well
 I se,' seyde the kynge, 'that none of the four-and-twenty
 knyghtes that were at your dyner where sir Patryse was
 slayne that woll do batayle for you, nother none of hem woll
 sey well of you, and that shall be grete sclaunder to you in 25
 thys courte. But now I mysse sir Launcelot, for and he were
 here, he wolde sone putte me in my hartis ease. What aylith
 you,' seyde the kynge, 'that ye can nat kepe sir Launcelot
 uppon youre syde? For wyte you well,' seyde the kynge,
 'who that hathe sir Launcelot uppon his party hath the moste 30
 man of worship in thys worlde uppon hys syde. Now go
 youre way,' seyde the kynge unto the quene, 'and requyre
 sir Bors to do batayle for you for sir Launcelottis sake.'

1-2 *W* to encountir to encountir ayenste you *C* to encountre with yow 2 *C*
 mayst thow do thy 3 *C* yf it soo falle 4 redy *not in C* 7 *C* wente where it
 lyked hem 8 *W* were were 10-11 *C* the quene ansuerd so god me help I
 wote not how nor (*S* or) in what maner 13 *W* he wold he wolde 18 Well
not in C 19-20 *C*† kynge and vnto sire Bors that ye wil doo bataille for her
 for sir launcelots 22 *C* these foure 25 *C* be a grete sklauder for yow
 26 *C** Courte Allas said the quene and I maye not doo with all but now I mys
 27 *C* putte me soone to my 28 that *not in C*

- (5) So the quene departed frome the kynge and sente for sir Bors into the chambir. And whan he cam she besought hym of succour.

'Madam,' seyde he, 'what wolde ye that I ded? For I may
 5 nat with my worship have ado in thys mater, because I was
 at the same dyner, for drede of ony of tho knyghtes wolde
 have you in suspeccion. Also, madam,' seyde sir Bors, 'now
 mysse ye sir Launcelot, for he wolde nat a fayled you in
 youre ryght nother in youre wronge, for whan ye have bene
 10 in ryght grete daungers he hath succoured you. And now
 ye have drevyn hym oute of thys contrey by whom ye and
 413^r all we were dayly worshipped by. Therefore, madame, I
 mervayle how ye dare for shame to requyre me to do ony-
 thyng for you, insomuche ye have enchaced oute of your
 15 courte by whom we were up borne and honoured.'

'Alas, fayre knyght,' seyde the quene, 'I put me holé in
 youre grace, and all that ys amysse I woll amende as ye woll
 counceyle me.'

And therewith she kneled downe uppon both hir kneys
 20 and besought sir Bors to have mercy uppon her, 'other ellis
 [I] shall have a shamefull dethe, and thereto I never offended.'

Ryght so cam kyng Arthure and founde the quene
 knelynge. And than sir Bors toke hir up and seyde,

'Madam, ye do me grete dishonoure.'

25 'A, jantill knyght,' seyde the kynge, 'have mercy uppon
 my quene, curteyse knyght, for I am now in sertayne she ys
 untruly defamed. And therefore, curteyse knyght,' the
 kynge seyde, 'promyse her to do batayle for her, I requyre
 you, for the love ye owghe unto sir [Launcelot].'

30 'My lord,' seyde sir] Bors, 'ye requyre me the grettist
 thyng that ony man may requyre me. And wyte you well,
 if I graunte to do batayle for the quene I shall wretth many

1-6 *W* (*sidenote*): How quene Gwennyvere besought sir Bors to fyght for her
 2 *C* her chamber 6 *C** drede that ony 7 *C** haue me 8-11 *C** haue fayled
 yow neyther in ryght nor in wronge as ye haue wel preued whan ye haue ben in
 daunger and now ye haue dryuen hym oute (*W* omits as ye haue wel preued *C*
 omits for, ryght and he hath succoured you) 12 *W* by hym 13 *W* how how
 14-15 *C** chaced hym oute of your countrey 15 *C* borne vp 16 *C* holy
 17 *C* is done amys 23 *C** knelyng afore sir Bors thenne sir Bors pulled her vp
W that toke 26 *W* in sertayne in sertayne 28 *C** promyse her to 29
C loue of syr launcelot 30 *C** My lord sayd syr Bors *W*'s reading of ll. 29 and
 30 is a clear case of homoeoteleuton

of my felyship of the Table Rounde. But as for that,' seyde sir Bors, 'I woll graunte for my lorde sir Launcelottis sake, and for youre sake, I woll at that daye be the quenys cham-
pyon, onles that there com by adventures a better knyght
than I am to do batayle for her.'

'Woll ye promyse me this,' seyde the kynge, 'by youre fayth?'

'Yee, sir,' seyd sir Bors, 'of that I shall nat fayle you nother her; but if there com a bettir knyght than I am, than shall he have the batayle.'

Than was the kynge and the quene passyng gladde, and so departed and thanked hym hertely.

Than sir Bors departed secretly uppon a day and rode unto sir Launcelot thereas he was with sir Brastias, and tolde hym of all thys adventure.

'A, Jesu,' sir Launcelot seyde, 'thys ys com happely as I wolde have hit. And therefore I pray you make you redy to do batayle, but loke that ye tarry tylle ye se me com as longe as ye may. For I am sure sir Madore ys an hote knyght whan he ys incaffed, for the more ye suffyr hym, the hastyer woll he be to batayle.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Bors, 'latte me deale with hym. Doute ye nat ye shall have all youre wylle.'

So departed sir Bors frome hym and cam to the courte agayne. Than was hit noysed in all the courte that sir Bors sholde do batayle for the quene, wherefore many knyghtes were displeased with hym that he wolde take uppon hym to do batayle in the quenys quarell, for there were but fewe knyghtes in all the courte but they demed the quene was in the wronge and that she had done that treson. So sir Bors answered thus to hys felowys of the Table Rounde:

'Wete you well, my fayre lordis, hit were shame to us all and we suffird to se the moste noble quene of the worlde to be shamed opynly, consydering her lorde and oure lorde ys the man of moste worship crystynde, and he hath ever worshipped us all in all placis.'

1-2 C sayd Bors

2 C* graunte my lord that for my lord

4 C by aduenture

9 C her bothe

14 C* wyth the heremyte sir Brastias

15 C all theire

aduenture

16 C said sir Launcelot

20 C enchaufed

22 C said Bors

23 W shall shall

35 C* worship in the world & moost crystend

Many answerd hym agayne, 'As for oure moste noble kynge Arthure, we love hym and honoure hym as well as ye do, but as for quene Gwennyvere, we love hir nat, because she ys a destroyer of good knyghtes.'

- 5 'Fayre lordis,' seyde sir Bors, 'mesemyth ye sey nat as ye sholde sey, for never yet in my dayes knew I never ne harde sey that ever she was a destroyer of good knyghtes, but at all tymes, as far as ever I coude know, she was a maynteyner of good knyghtes, and ever she hath bene large and fre of hir
10 goodis to all good knyghtes, and the moste bownteuous lady of hir gyffti[s] and her good grace that ever I saw other harde speke off. And therefore hit were shame to us all and to oure moste noble kynges wyff whom we serve [and we suffred her] to be shamefully slayne. And wete you well,' seyde sir Bors,
15 'I woll nat suffir hit, for I dare sey so much, for the quene ys nat gylty of sir Patryseys dethe: for she ought hym never none evyll wyll nother none of the four-and-twenty knyghtes that were at that dyner, for I dare sey for good love she bade us to dyner and nat for no male engyne. And that, I doute
414^r 20 nat, shall be preved hereaftir, for howsomever the game goth, there was treson amonge us.'

Than some seyde to Bors, 'We may well belyve youre wordys.' And so somme were well pleased and some were nat.

- (6) So the day com on faste untill the evyn that the batayle
25 sholde [be]. Than the quene sente for sir Bors and asked hym how he was disposed.

'Truly, madame,' seyde he, 'I am disposed in lyke wyse as I promysed you, that ys to sey I shall natt fayle you onles there by aventure com a bettir knyght than I am to do
30 batayle for you. Than, madam, I am of you discharged of my promyse.'

'Woll ye,' seyde the que[ne], 'that I telle my lorde the kyng thus?'

'Doth as hit pleasith you, madam.'

- 35 Than the quene yode unto the kyng and tolde the answer of sir Bors.

3 C do S doo 7 C of ony good knyghte 11 W gyfftir 12 C shame
said sire Bors to 13-14 C* wyf & we suffred her to be 15 for not in C
17 C ylle wyll 18 W sey sey 22 C sire Bors 23-4 C† not so Capitulum vi
The 30 C am I discharged 32-3 C lord Arthur thus 34 C it shal please
35 C quene wente C told hym

'Well, have ye no doute,' seyde the kynge, 'of sir Bors, for I calle hym now that ys lyvyng one of the nobelyst knyghtes of the worlde, and moste perfitist man.'

And thus hit paste on tylle the morne, and so the kynge and the quene and all maner of knyghtes that were there at that tyme drewe them unto the medow bysydys Wynchester where the batayle [shold be]. And so whan the kynge was com with the quene and many knyghtes of the Table Rounde, so the quene was than put in the conestablis awarde and a grete fyre made aboute an iron stake, that an sir Mador de la Porte had the bettir, she sholde there be brente; for such custom was used in tho dayes: for favoure, love, nother affinité there sholde be none other but ryghtuous jugemente, as well uppon a kynge as uppon a knyght, and as well uppon a quene as uppon another poure lady.

So thys meanewhyle cam in sir Mador de la Porte and toke hys [othe] before the kynge, how that the que[ne] ded thys treson untill hys cosyn sir Patryse, 'and unto myne othe I woll preve hit with my body, honde for hande, who that woll sey the contrary.'

Ryght so cam in sir Bors de Ganys, and seyde that, as for quene Gwenivere, 'she ys in the ryght, and that woll I make good that she ys nat culpable of thys treson that is put uppon her.'

'Than make the redy,' seyde sir Madore, 'and we shall preve whethir thou be in the ryght or I!'

'Sir Madore,' seyde sir Bors, 'wete you well I know you for a good knyght. Natforthan I shall nat feare you so gretly but I truste to God I shall be able to withstonde youre malyce. But thus much have I promised my lorde Arthure and my lady the quene, that I shall do batayle for her in thys cause to the utteryste, onles that there com a bettir knyght than I am and discharge me.'

'Is that all?' seyde sir Madore. 'Othir com thou off and do batayle with me, other elles sey nay.'

1 Well *not in C* 2 that ys lyvyng *not in C* C the beste knyghtes 3 C
most profytelyest man 6 C bysyde 8 C round table 9 C ward
11 for *not in C* 12-13 C dayes that neyther for fauour neyther for loue
nor affynyte 17 how *not in C* 18-19 C vnto his othe he wold preue it
(S hit) with his body 19-20 C that wold 23 C good with my handes that
S culpable 32 C caas to the vttermest

'Take your horse,' seyde sir Bors, 'and, as I suppose, I shall nat tarry long but ye shall be answerde.'

Than ayther departed to their tentis and made hem redy to horsebacke as they thought beste. And anone sir Madore
5 cam into the fylde with hys shyld on hys shulder and hys speare in hys honde, and so rode aboute the place cryyng unto kyng Arthure,

'Byd youre champyon com forthe and he dare!'

Than was sir Bors ashamed, and toke hys horse and cam
10 to the lystis ende. And than was he ware where cam frome a woode there fast by a knyght all armed uppon a whyght horse with a straunge shyld of straunge armys, and he cam dryvyng all that hys horse myght renne. And so he cam to sir Bors and seyde thus:

15 'Fayre knyght, I pray you be nat displeyd, for here muste a bettir knyght than ye ar have thys batayle. Therefore I pray you withdraw you, for wyte you well I have had thys day a ryght grete journey and thys batayle ought to be myne. And so I promysed you whan I spake with you
20 laste, and with all my herte I thanke you of youre good wylle.'

Than sir Bors rode unto kyng Arthure and tolde hym how there was a knyght com that wolde have the batayle to fyght for the quene.

25 'What knyght ys he?' seyde the kyng.

'I wote nat,' seyde sir Bors, 'but suche covenante he made with me to be here thys day. Now, my lorde,' seyde sir Bors, 'here I am discharged.'

(7) Than the kyng called to that knyght and asked hym if he
30 wolde fyght for the quene.

Than he answerd and seyde, 'Sir, therefore com I hyddir.
415 And therefore, sir kyng, tarry me no lenger, for anone as I have fynysshed thys batayle I muste departe hens, for I have to do many batayles elsewhere. For wyte you well,'
35 seyde that knyght, 'thys ys dishonoure to you and to all knyghtes of the Rounde Table to se and know so noble a

2 C† ye shalle

7 kyng *not in C*

12-13 C came rydyng alle that he

myghte renne

15-21 W (*sidenote*): How sir Launcelot rescowed quene Gwene-

vere from the deth

28 Cam I

31 Cansuere to the kyng therfor

32 C

kyng he sayd

C lenger for I may not tary For

34 C haue a doo many

maters els where

35 and to *not in C*

lady and so curteyse as quene Gwenyvere ys, thus to be rebuked and shamed amongyst you.'

Than they all mervayled what knyght that myght be that so toke [the batayle] uppon hym, for there was nat one that knew hym but if hit were sir Bors. Than seyde sir Madore 5
de la Porte unto the kynge,

'Now lat me wete with whom I shall have ado.'

And than they rode to the lystes ende, and there they cowed their spearis and ran togydirs with all their myghtes. And anone sir Madors speare brake all to pecis, but the 10
othirs speare hylde and bare sir Madors horse and all backwarde to the erthe a grete falle. But myghtyly and delyverly he avoyded his horse from hym and put hys shylde before hym and drew hys swerde and bade the othir knyght alyght and do batayle with hym on foote. 15

Than that knyght descended downe from hys horse and put hys shylde before hym and drew hys swerde. And so they cam egirly unto batayle, and aythir gaff othir many sadde strokes, trasyng and traversyng and foynyng togydir with their swerdis as hit were wylde boorys, thus fyghtyng nyghe 20
an owre; for thys sir Madore was a stronge knyght and myghtyly preved in many strange batayles. But at the laste thys knyght smote sir Madore grovelynge uppon the erthe, and the [knyghte] stepte nere hym to have pulde sir Madore flatlyng uppon the grounde. And therewith sir Madore 25
arose, and in hys rysyng he smote that knyght thorow the thyk of the thyghes, that the bloode braste oute fyersly.

And whan he felte hymself so wounded and saw hys bloode, he lete hym aryse uppon hys feete, and than he gaff hym such a buffette uppon the helme that he felle to the 30
erthe flatlyng. And therewith he strode to hym to have pulled of hys helme of hys hede. And so sir Madore prayde 415'
that knyght to save hys lyff. And so he yeldyd hym as overcom, and releaced the quene of hys quarell.

'I woll nat graunte the thy lyff,' seyde that knyght, 'only 35

1 C* curtoys a quene as quene 4 C* tooke the bataille vpon 7 C adoo with
alle 10 W but but 12-13 C and sodenly he 13 from hym *not in C* 16
downe *not in C* 16-17 C* hors lyghtly lyke a valyaunt man and putte 18-19
C many grete strokes 19 C trauercynge racynge and foynyng and hurt-
lyng to gyder W fyyghtyng 22 C* stronge 25 C there with sodenly sir
27 C blood ranne oute

that thou frely reales the quene for ever, and that no mencion be made uppon sir Patryseys tombe that ever quene Gwenvyver consented to that treson.'

'All thys shall be done,' seyde sir Madore. 'I clerely discharge my quarell for ever.'

Than the knyghtes parters of the lystis toke up sir Madore and led hym tyll hys tente. And the othir knyght wente strayte to the stayre-foote where sate kyng Arthure. And by that tyme was the quene com to the kyng and aythir
10 kyssed othir hartely.

And whan the kyng saw that knyght he stowped downe to hym and thanked hym, and in lyke wyse ded the quene. And the kyng prayde hym to put of his helmet and to repose hym and to take a soppe of wyne.

15 And than he putte of hys helmette to drynke, and than every knyght knew hym that hit was sir Launcelot. And anone as the kyng wyst that, he toke the quene in hys honde and yode unto sir Launcelot and seyde,

'Sir, grauntemercy of youre grete travayle that ye have
20 had this day for me and for my quyene.'

'My lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'wytte you well y ought of ryght ever [to be] in youre quarell and in my ladyes the quenys quarell to do batayle, for ye ar the man that gaff me the hygh Order of Knyghthode, and that day my lady,
25 youre quene, ded me worshyp. And ellis had I bene shamed, for that same day that ye made me knyght, thorow my hastynes I loste my swerde, and my lady, youre quene, founde hit, and lapped hit in her trayne, and gave me my swerde whan I had nede thereto; and ells had [I] bene shamed
30 amonge all knyghtes. And therefore, my lorde Arthure, I promysed her at that day ever to be her knyght in ryght othir in wronge.'

'Grauntemercy,' seyde the kyng, 'for this journey. And
416^r wete you well,' seyde the kyng, 'I shall acquyte youre
35 goodnesse.'

And evermore the quene behylde sir Launcelot, and wepte so tendirly that she sanke allmoste to the grownde for

7 C to his
quene wyst
euer the quene

13 C helme S helmet
25 C me grete worship

16 C Launcelot du lake
26 C day ye made

17 C† as the
36 C and

sorow, that he had done to her so grete kyndenes where she shewed hym grete unkyndenesse. Than the knyghtes of hys bloode drew unto hym, and there aythir of them made grete joy of othir. And so cam all the knyghtes of the Table Rounde that were there at that tyme and wellcommed 5 hym.

And than sir Madore was healed of hys lechecrauffte, and sir Launcelot was heled of hys play. And so there was made grete joy, and many merthys there was made in that courte.

And so hit befelle that the Damesell of the Lake that hyght (8) Nynyve, whych wedded the good knyght sir Pelleas, and so she cam to the courte, for ever she ded grete goodnes unto kynge Arthure and to all hys knyghtes thorow her sorcery and enchauntementes. And so whan she herde how the quene was greved for the dethe of sir Patryse, than she tolde hit opynly that she was never gylty, and there she disclosed by whom hit was done, and named hym sir Pynel, and for what cause he ded hit. There hit was opynly knowyn and disclosed, and so the quene was [excused]. And thys 20 knyght sir Pynell fledde unto hys contrey, and was opynly knowyn that he enpoysynde the appyls at that feste to that entente to have destroyed sir Gawayne, bycause sir Gawayne and hys brethirne destroyed sir Lamerok de Galys which sir Pynell was cosyn unto. 25

Than was sir Patryse buried in the chirche of Westemynster in a towmbe, and thereuppon was wrytten: HERE LYETH SIR PATRYSE OF IRELONDE, SLAYNE BY SIR PYNELL LE SAVEAIGE THAT ENPOYSYNDE APPELIS TO HAVE SLAYNE SIR GAWAYNE, AND BY MYSEFORTUNE SIR PATRYSE ETE ONE OF THE 30 APPLIS, AND THAN SUDDEYNLY HE BRASTE. Also there was wrytyn uppon the tombe that quene Gwenyvere was appeled of treson of the deth of sir Patryse by sir Madore de la Porte, and there was made the mencion how sir Launcelot fought 41 with hym for quene Gwenyvere and overcom hym in playne 35

1 C grete goodenes where 7 C† was had to leche crafte 8 C of his woud
 And thenne there 9 C myrthes in that 11-12 C lake her name was
 Nymue the whiche 16 C was an angred for 19-20 C openly disclosed and soo
 21 C fled in to his countre Thenne was it openly 22 C that syr Pynel en-
 poysond C att the feest 24 W brethirne destroyed destroyed sir C to the
 whiche 30-1 C tho appels 32 S† wryten vnto the

batayle. All thys was wretyn uppon the tombe of sir Patryse in excusyng of the quene.

And than sir Madore sewed dayly and longe to have the quenys good grace, and so by the meanys of sir Launcelot he
5 caused hym to stonde in the quenys good grace, and all was forgyffyn.

II

THE FAIR MAID OF ASTOLAT

[*Winchester MS.*, ff. 416^v–430^r;
Caxton, Book XVIII, chs. 8–20]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

9. How syr Launcelot rode to Astolat and receyved a sleve to bere upon his helme at the requeste of a mayde.
10. How the tornoye began at Wynchester, and what knyghtes were at the justes, and other thynges.
11. How sir Launcelot and syr Lavayn entred in the felde ayenst them of kyng Arthurs court, and how Launcelot was hurte.
12. How syr Launcelot and syr Lavayn departed oute of the felde, and in what jeopardye Launcelot was.
13. How Launcelot was brought* to an hermyte for to be helyd of his wounde, and of other maters.
14. How syr Gawayn was lodged wyth the lord of Astolat and there had knowlege that hit was syr Launcelot that bare the rede sleve.
15. Of the sorowe that syr Boors had for the hurte of Launcelot, and of the angre that the quene had bycause Launcelot bare the sleve.
16. How syr Boors sought Launcelot and fonde hym in the hermytage, and of the lamentacion bytwene them.
17. How syr Launcelot armed hym to assaye yf he myght bere armes, and how his woundes brest oute ageyn.
18. How syr Boors retorned and tolde tydynges of syr Launcelot, and of the tournoye, and to whome the prys was gyven.
19. Of the grete lamentacyon† of the Fayr Mayde‡ of§ Astolat whan Launcelot shold departe, and how she dyed for his love.
20. How the corps of the Mayde of Astolat arryved tofore kyng Arthur, and of the buryeng, and how syr Launcelot offryd the masse-peny.

* C brought S brought † C lamentacyon ‡ S made § S os

THUS hit passed untill oure Lady day of the Assumpcion. Within a fiftene dayes of that feste the kyng lete cry a grete justyse and a turnement that sholde be at that day at Camelott, otherwyse called Wynchester. And the kyng lete cry that he and the kynge of Scottes wolde juste 5 ayenst all the worlde.

And whan thys cry was made, thydir cam many good knyghtes, that ys to sey the kynge of North Galis, and kynge Angwysh of Irelande, and the Kynge with the Hondred Knyghtes, and syr Galahalte the Haute Prynce, and the 10 kynge of Northumbirlande, and many other noble deukes and erlis of other dyverse contreyes.

So kynge Arthure made hym redy to departe to hys justis, and wolde have had the quene with hym; but at that tyme she wolde nat, she seyde, for she was syke and myght nat 15 ryde.

'That me repentith,' seyde the kynge, 'for thys seven yere ye saw nat such a noble felyship togydirs excepte the Whyt-sontyde whan sir Galahad departed frome the courte.'

'Truly,' seyde the quene, 'ye muste holde me excused. 20 Y may nat be there.'

And many demed the quene wolde nat be there because of sir Launcelot, for he wolde nat ryde with the kynge: for he seyde he was nat hole of the play of sir Madore. Wherefore the kynge was hevy and passynge wroth, and so he 25 departed towarde Wynchestir with hys felyship.

And so by the way the kynge lodged at a towne that was called Astolot, that ys in Englysh Gylforde, and there the kynge lay in the castell. So whan the kynge was departed the quene called sir Launcelot unto her and seyde thus: 30

'Sir, ye ar gretly to blame thus to holde you behynde my 417^r lorde. What woll youre enemyes and myne sey and deme?

1 of the *not in C* 2 *W* feste that the 4 *C* Camelot that is wynchester
6 *C** alle that wold come ageynst them 7 good *not in C* 8 *C* knyghtes Soo
there came thyder the kyng 10 *C* Galahaut 13 *C* to thise Iustys 16
C ryde at that tyme 19 sir *not in C* 20 *C* the quene to the kynge 21
*C** there and that me repenteth 24-5 *C* of the wound the whiche sire Mador
had gyuen hym wherfor 27-8 *C** in a Towne called Astolot that is now in
Englyssh called Gylford 31 *C* Sire launcelot ye 32 *C* what trowe ye what
will youre enemyes 32—p. 1066, 1 *C* deme noughte els but see how

"Se how sir Launcelot holdith hym ever behynde the kyng, and so the quene doth also, for that they wolde have their plesure togydirs." And thus woll they sey,' seyde the quene.

- (9) 5 'Have ye no doute, madame,' seyde sir Launcelot. 'I alow youre witte. Hit ys of late com syn ye were woxen so wyse! And there[fore], madam, at thys tyme I woll be ruled by youre counceyle, and thys nyght I woll take my reste, and to-morow betyme I woll take my way toward Wynchestir. 10 But wytte you well,' seyde sir Launcelot unto the quene, 'at that justys I woll be ayenste the kyng and ayenst all hys felyshyp.'

'Sir, ye may there do as ye lyst,' seyde the quene, 'but be my counceyle ye shall nat be ayenst youre kyng and your 15 felyshyp, for there bene full many hardé knyghtes of youre bloode.'

'Madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I shall take the adventure that God woll gyff me.'

And so uppon the morne erly he harde masse and dyned, 20 and so he toke hys leve of the quene and departed. And than he rode so muche unto the tyme he com to Astolott, and there hit happynd hym that in the evenyng-tyde he com to an olde barownes place that hyght sir Barnarde of Astolot. And as sir Launcelot entird into hys lodgyng, kyng 25 Arthure aspyed hym as he dud walke in a gardeyne besyde the castell: he knew hym welle inow.

'Well, sirs,' seyde kyng Arthure unto hys knyghtes that were by hym besyde the castell, 'I have now aspyed one knyght,' he seyde, 'that woll play hys play at the justys, I 30 undirtake.'

'Who ys that?' seyde the knyghtes.

2 C soo doth the quene for 3-5 C† the Quene to syr launcelot haue ye no doute therof CAPITULUM ix Madame said syr 6 woxen *not in* C† 7 C therfor 13 Sir *not in* C 15 C† hard 16 C* blood as ye wote wel ynough hit nedeth not to reherce them 17 C* Launcelot I praye yow that ye be not displeasyd with me, for I wille take 18 C wyll sende me 19 C* erly syre launcelot herd masse and brake his fast 21-2 C Astolat that is Gylford and there it happed 26-8 C Castel how he took his lodgyng & knewe hym ful wel It is wel sayd kyng Arthur vnto the knyghtes that were with hym in that gardyn besyde 29 he seyde *not in* C 29-30 C* Iustes to the whiche we be gone toward I vndertake he wil do merveils 31-p. 1067, 2 C* that we pray you telle vs sayd many knyghtes that were there at that tyme ye shal not wete for me

'At thys tyme ye shall nate wyte for me!' seyde the kynge and smyled, and wente to hys lodgyng.

So whan sir Launcelot was in hys lodgyng and unarmed in hys chambir, the olde barown, sir Barnarde, com to hym and welcomed hym in the beste maner. But he knew nat sir Launcelot.

'Fayre sir,' seyde sir Launcelot tylle hys oste, 'I wolde pray you to lende me a shyld that were nat opynly knowyn, for 417 myne ys well knowyn.'

'Sir,' seyde hys oste, 'ye shall have youre desire, for 10 mesemyth ye bene one of the lyklyest knyghtes that ever y sawe, and therefore, sir, I shall shew you freynship.' And seyde, 'Sir, wyte you well I have two sunnes that were but late made knyghtes. And the eldist hyght sir Tirry, and he was hurte that same day he was made knyght, and he may 15 nat ryde; and hys shyld 'ye shalle have', for that ys nat knowyn, I dare sey, but here [and] in no place [else].' And hys yonger sonne hyght sir Lavayne. 'And if hit please you, he shall ryde with you unto that justis, for he ys of hys ayge stronge and wyght. For much my herte 20 gyvith unto you, that ye sholde be a noble knyght. And therefore I praye you to telle me youre name,' seyde sir Barnarde.

'As for that,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ye muste holde me excused as at thys tyme. And if God gyff me grace to spede 25 well at the justis I shall com agayne and telle you my name. But I pray you in ony wyse lete me have your sonne sir Lavayne with me, and that I may have hys brothers shyld.'

'Sir, all thys shall be done,' seyde sir Barnarde.

So thys olde barown had a doughtir that was called that 30 tyme the Fayre Maydyn off Astolat, and ever she behylde sir Launcelot wondirfully.

(And, as the booke sayth, she keste such a love unto sir

said the kynge as at this tyme And soo the kynge smyled 4 C† baron and heremyte came 4-5 C hym makynge his reuerence and welcomed 7 C to his 8 C to lene 11-12 C knyghtes of the world and therfor I shall 12-13 And seyde *not in C* 14 C Tirre 15 C that he may 16 C* ye shalle haue (*not in W*) F (*op. cit.*, p. 9): 'prenez quanque vous voudroiz, 18 C and my yongest sone hyght Lauayne 20 S† age X stronge 23 C Bernard 26 my name *not in C* 27 C praye yow said sir Launcelot in 28 C† haue your broders shelde 29 Sir *not in C* 30-1 C† doughter that tyme that was called that tyme the

Launcelot that she cowde never withdraw hir loove, wherefore she dyed. And her name was Elayne le Blanke.)

So thus as she cam to and fro, she was so hote in love that she besought sir Launcelot to were uppon hym at the justis
5 a tokyn of hers.

'Damesell,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'and if I graunte you that, ye may sey that I do more for youre love than ever y ded for lady or jantillwoman.'

Than he remembird hymselff that he wolde go to the
10 justis disgysed, and because he had never aforne borne no maner of tokyn of no damesell, he bethought hym to bere
418^r a tokyn of hers, that none of hys bloode thereby myght know hym. And than he seyde,

'Fayre maydyn, I woll graunte you to were a tokyn of
15 youre uppon myne helmet. And therefore what ys hit? Shewe ye hit me.'

'Sir,' she seyde, 'hit ys a rede sleve of myne, of scarlet, well enbrowdred with grete perelles.'

And so she brought hit hym. So sir Launcelot resseyved
20 hit and seyde,

'Never dud I erste so much for no damesell.'

Than sir Launcelot betoke the fayre mayden hys shyld in keypyng, and prayde her to kepe hit untill tyme that he com agayne. And so that nyght he had myrry reste and grete
25 chere, for thys damesell Elayne was ever aboute sir Launcelot all the whyle she myght be suffirde.

(10) So uppon a day, on the morne, kynge Arthure and all hys knyghtis departed, for there the kyng had tarryed three dayes to abyde hys noble knyghtes. And so whan the kynge was
30 rydden, sir Launcelot and sir Lavayne made them redy to ryde, and aythir of them had whyght shyldis, and the rede sleve sir Launcelot lete cary with hym.

And so they toke their leve at sir Barnarde, the olde barowne, and at hys doughtir, the fayre mayden, and than
35 they rode so longe tylle that they cam to Camelot, that tyme

3 C in her loue	6 C Faire damoyssel	7 C saye I	8 C or damoyssel
9 C remembryd hym that	10 C neuer fore that tyme borne	11-12 C	
damoyssel Thenne he bethoughte hym that he wold bere one of her that		15	
C it is	16 ye not in C	23 C kepe that vntyl that he	25 C For
euer the damoyssel Elayne was aboute	28 C† theire kynge	33 C Bernard	
34 C mayden of Astolat			

called Wynchester. And there was grete pres of kyngis, deukes, erlis, and barownes, and many noble knyghtes. But sir Launcelot was lodged pryvaly by the meanys of sir Lavayne with a ryche burgeyse, that no man in that towne was ware what they were. And so they reposed them there 5 tyll oure Lady day of the Assumpcion that the grete justes sholde be.

So whan trumpettis blew unto the fylde and kynge Arthur was sette on hyght uppon a chafflet to beholde who ded beste (but, as the Freynshe booke seyth, the kynge wold nat suffir 10 sir Gawayne to go frome hym, for never had sir Gawayne the bettir and sir Launcelot were in the fylde, and many tymes was sir Gawayne rebuked so whan sir Launcelot was in the fylde in ony justis dysgysed), than som of the kyngis, as kynge Angwysh of Irelonde and the kynge of Scottis, were 15 418 that tyme turned to be uppon the syde of kynge Arthur. And than the othir party was the kynge of North Galis, and the Kynge with the Hondred Knyghtis, and the kynge of Northumbirlonde, and sir Galahalte the Halte Prynce. But thes three kingis and thys duke was passynge wayke to 20 holde ayenste Arthurs party, for with hym were the nobelyst knyghtes of the worlde.

So than they withdrew them, aythir party frome othir, and every man made hym redy in his beste maner to do what he myght. Than sir Launcelot made hym redy and put the 25 rede slyeve uppon hys helmette and fastened hit faste. And so sir Launcelot and sir Lavayne departed oute of Wynchestir pryvayly and rode untill a litill leved woode behynde the party that hylde ayenste kynge Arthure party. And there they hylde hem styлле тylle the partyes smote togydirs. 30 And than cam in the kynge o[f] Scottis and the kynge of Irelonde on kynge Arthurs party, and ayenste them cam in the kynge of Northumbirlonde and the Kynge with the Hondred Knyghtes.

And there began a grete medlé, and there the kynge of 35

6 of the *not in C* 6-7 *C* grete feest sholde 8 *C* So thenne trumpets 9
C on hyghe vpon a skaffhold to 13 so *not in C* 13-14 *C** laūcelot cam in
to ony Iustes 16 to be *not in C* 17 *C** thenne on the 18 *C* kymge
with *S* kynge with 20 *C* duke were passyng 21 *C* kynge Arthurs
26 *C* vpon his hede and *W* hit hit 29 *C* Arthurs party 32 *C* on
Arthurs 33—p. 1070, 3 *C*† the kynge with the honderd knyghtes smote down

Scottis smote downe the kynge of Northumbirlonde, and the
 Kynge with the Hondred Knyghtes smote downe kynge
 Angwysh of Irelande. Than sir Palamydes, that was one
 Arthurs party, he encountird with sir Galahalte, and ayther
 5 of hem smote downe othir, and aythir party halpe their
 lordys [on] horseback agayne. So there began a stronge
 assaile on bothe partyes.

And than com in sir Braundyles, sir Sagramoure le
 Desyrous, sir Dodynas le Saveayge, sir Kay la Senesciall,
 10 sir Gryffelet le Fyze de D^rieu, sir Lucan de Butlere, sir
 Bedwere, sir Aggravayne, sir Gaherys, sir Mordred, sir
 Melyot de Logrys, sir Ozanna le Cure Hardy, sir Saphyr, sir
 Epynogrys, sir Gallerowne of Galeway. Alle thes fiftene
 knyghtes, that were knyghtes of the Rounde Table, so thes
 15 with mo other cam in togydir and bete abacke the kynge off
 419^r Northumbirlonde and the kynge of North Walys.

Whan sir Launcelot saw thys, as he hoved in the lytyll
 leved wood, than he seyde unto sir Lavayne,

‘Se yondir ys a company of good knyghtes, and they holde
 20 them togydirs as borys that were chaced with doggis.’

‘That ys trouth,’ seyde sir Lavayne.

(11) ‘Now,’ seyde sir Launcelot, ‘and ye woll helpe a lityll, ye
 shall se the yonder felyship that chacith now thes men on oure
 syde, that they shall go as faste backwarde as they wente
 25 forewarde.’

‘Sir, spare ye nat for my parte,’ seyde sir Lavayne, ‘for I
 shall do what I may.’

Than sir Launcelot and sir Lavayne cam in at the thyckyst
 of the prees, and there sir Launcelot smote downe sir
 30 Brandeles, sir Sagramour, sir Dodynas, sir Kay, sir Gryfflet,
 and all thys he ded with one speare. And sir Lavayne smote
 downe sir Lucan de Butlere and sir Bedwere. And than
 sir Launcelot gate another grete speare, and there he smote
 the kynge of Northumberland and the kynge with the honderd knyghtes smote
 doune kynge Anguysshe of Irland (*homoeoteleuton in C due to the recurrence*
of the ending ‘tes’ in ‘Knyghtes’ and ‘Scottes’) 4 he not in C C Galahad
 10 W de Du C* de dieu F Dieu 10-11 sir Bedwere sir Aggravayne
 sir Gaherys not in C† 12 C Safyr 13 C Galleron of Galway 14 that
 not in C C table round 15 C bete on bak 16 W North North Walys
 17 C in a lytil 20 C chauffed with dogges 23 the not in C C men
 in oure 26 C† spare not said 32 C Lucan de buttelere S Lucan the
 buttelere C Bedeuere 33 grete not in C

downe sir Aggravayne and sir Gaherys, sir Mordred, sir Melyot de Logrys; and sir Lavayne smote downe sir Ozanna le Cure Hardy. And than sir Launcelot drew hys swerde, and there he smote on the ryght honde and on the lyf[t] honde, and by grete forse he unhorsed sir Safir, sir Epyno- 5 grys, and sir Galleron.

And than the knyghtes of the Table Rounde withdrew them abacke afir they had gotyn their horsys as well as they myght.

'A, mercy Jesu!' seyde sir Gawayne. 'What knyght ys 10 yondir that doth so mervaylous dedys in that fylde?'

'I wote what he ys,' seyde the kyn[g], 'but as at thys tyme I woll nat name hym.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'I wolde sey hit were sir Launcelot by hys rydyng and hys buffettis that I se hym deale. 15 But ever mesemyth hit sholde nat be he, for that he beryth the rede slyve uppon hys helmet; for I wist hym never beare tokyn at no justys of lady ne jantillwoman.'

'Lat hym be,' seyde kyng Arthure, 'for he woll be bettir knowyn and do more or ever he departe.' 20

Than the party that was ayenst kyng Arthure were well comforted, and than they hylde hem togydirs that beforhande were sore rebuked. Than sir Bors, sir Ector de Marys [and] sir Lyonell, they called unto them the knyghtes 419^v of their blood, as sir Blamour de Ganys, sir Bleoberys, sir Alyduke, sir Galyhud, sir Galyhodyn, sir Bellyngere le Bewse. So thes nine knyghtes of sir Launcelottis kynne threst in myghtyly, for they were all noble knyghtes, and they of grete hate and despite thought to rebuke sir Launcelot and sir Lavayne, for they knew hem nat. 30

And so they cam hurlyng togydirs and smote downe many knyghtes of North Walys and of Northumbirlonde. And whan sir Launcelot saw them fare so, he gate a grete speare in hys honde; and they encountird with hym all at onys, sir Bors, sir Ector, and sir Lyonell. And they three 35

2 C doune Ozanna 4 W lyff C* lyfte 10 C O mercy 12 C† I
wote not what C kyng Arthure 17 C vpon his hede 18 C nor gentil-
woman 19 for *not in C* 24 W Marys sir Lyonell and they called C
marys and sir Lyonell called 26-7 C Bellangere le beuse 27 C† launcelots
skynne 29 C* despyte that they had vnto hym thoughte 29-30 C rebuke
that noble knyght sir launcelot 32 C northgalys 33 grete *not in C*

smote hym at onys with their spearys, and with fors of
 themselff they smote sir Launcelottis horse revers to the
 erthe. And by myssefortune sir Bors smote sir Launcelot
 thorow the shyld into the syde, and the speare brake and
 5 the hede leffte styлле in the syde.

Whan sir Lavayne saw hys mayster lye on the grounde he
 ran to the kynge of Scottis and smote hym to the erthe; and
 by grete forse he toke hys horse and brought hym to sir
 Launcelot, and magré them all he made hym to mownte up-
 10 pon that horse. And than sir Launcelot gate a speare in hys
 honde, and there he smote sir Bors, horse and man, to the
 erthe; and in the same wyse he served sir Ector and sir
 Lyonell, and sir Lavayne smote downe sir Blamor de Ganys.
 And than sir Launcelot drew hys swerde, for he felte hym-
 15 selff so sore hurte that he wente there to have had hys deth.
 And than he smote sir Bleoberis such a buffet on the helmet
 that he felle downe to the erthe in a sowne, and in the same
 wyse he served sir Alyduke and sir Galyhud. And sir
 Lavayne smote down sir Bellyngere that was [sone] to
 20 Alysaunder le Orphelyn.

And by thys was done, was sir Bors horsed agayne and in
 cam with sir Ector and sir Lyonell, and all they three smote
 with their swerdis uppon sir Launcelottis helmet. And
 whan he felte their buffettis, and with that hys wounde
 25 greved hym grevously, tha[n] he thought to do what he myght
 420^r whyle he cowde endure. And than he gaff sir Bors such a
 buffette that he made hym bowghe hys hede passynge lowe;
 and therewithall he raced of hys helme, and myght have
 slayne hym, but whan he saw their vysayges so pulde hym
 30 downe. And in the same wyse he served sir Ector and sir
 Lyonell; for, as the booke seyth, he myght have slayne them,
 but whan he saw their visages hys herte myght nat serve
 hym thereto, but leffte hem there.

¶ And than afterward he hurled into the thyckest prees of
 35 them alle, and dyd there the merveylost dedes of armes that
 ever man sawe], and ever sir Lavayne with hym. And there

2 revers *not in C* 9 *C* maulgre of them 10 sir *not in C* 15 *C* sore y
 hurte 19-20 *C** was the sone of Alysaunder 21 was done *not in C†*
 21-2 *C* horsed and thenne he came with 24-5 *C* and his wounde the whiche
 was soo greuous than (*see note*) 26 *C* he myght endure 29 *C†* slayne

sir Launcelot with hys swerde smote downe and pulled downe, as the Freynsh booke seyth, mo than thirty knyghtes, and the moste party were of the Table Rounde. And there sir Lavayne dud full well that day, for he smote downe ten knyghtes of the Table Rounde.

'Mercy Jesu,' seyde sir Gawayne unto kynge Arthur, 'I⁵ (12) mervayle what knyght that he ys with the rede sleve.'

'Sir,' seyde kyng Arthure, 'he woll be knowyn or ever he departe.'

And than the kynge blew unto lodgyng, and the pryce was¹⁰ gyvyn by herowdis unto the knyght with the whyght shyld that bare the rede slyve. Than cam the kynge of North Galys, and the kynge of Northumbirlonde, and the Kynge with the Hondred Knyghtes, and sir Galahalte the Haute Prince, [and] seyde unto sir Launcelot,

'Fayre knyght, God you blysse, for muche have ye done¹⁵ for us thys day. And therefore we pray you that ye woll com with us, that ye may resceyve the honour and the pryce as ye have worshipfully deserved hit.'

'Fayre lordys,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'wete you well, gyff²⁰ I have deserved thanke I have sore bought hit, and that me repentith hit, for I am never lyke to ascape with the lyff. Therefore, my fayre lordys, I pray you that ye woll suffir me to departe where me lykith, for I am sore hurte. And I take no forse of none honoure, for I had levir repose me than to²⁵ be lorde of all the worlde.'

And therewithall he groned pyteuously and rode a grete walop awaywarde from them untill he cam undir a woodys evyse. And whan he saw that he was frome the fylde nyghe a myle, that he was sure he myght nat be seyne, than he seyde³⁰ with an hyghe voyce and with a grete grone,

thyckest prees of them alle and dyd there the merueyloust dedes of armes that ener (S'euer) man sawe or herde speke of And euer sire Lauayne the good knyghte with hym F (*La Mort le Roi Artu*, ed. Frappier, ch. 20): 'et commence a doner granz cox destre et senestre et a abatre chevaliers et a occire chevax et a esrachier escuz de cox et hiaumes de testes et a fere granz proescs de toutes parz si que nus nel voit qui nel tiengne a grant merveille'.

² C book maketh mencyon moo ⁶ kynge *not in C* ⁸ ever *not in C* ¹²⁻
¹⁵ C kynge with the honderd knyghtes the kynge of Northgalys and the kynge of Northumberland and sir Galahaut the haute pryce and* sayd ¹⁶ C god the blesse ¹⁷ C this day for vs ²⁰ C My faire ²² C repenteth for
²³ my *not in C* ²⁸⁻⁹ C woodes syde ³¹ and with a grete grone *not in C*†

420^v 'A, jantill knyght, sir Lavayne! Helpe me that thys truncheoune were oute of my syde, for hit stykith so sore that hit nyghe sleyth me.'

'A, myne owne lorde,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'I wolde fayne
5 do that myght please you, but I drede me sore, and I pulle oute the truncheoune, that ye shall be in perelle of dethe.'

'I charge you,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'as ye love me, draw hit oute!'

And therewithall he descended frome hys horse, and ryght
10 so ded sir Lavayne; and forthwithall he drew the truncheoune oute of hys syde and gaff a grete shryche and a gresly grone, that the blood braste oute, nyghe a pynte at onys, that at the laste he sanke downe uppon hys arse and so sowned downe, pale and dedly.

15 'Alas,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'what shall I do?'

And than he turned sir Launcelot into the wynde, and so he lay there nyghe halff an owre as he had bene dede. And so at the laste sir Launcelot caste up hys yghen and seyde,

20 'A, sir Lavayne, helpe me that I were on my horse! For here ys faste by, within thys two myle, a jantill ermyte that somtyme was a full noble knyght and a grete lorde of possesyons. And for grete goodnes he hath takyn hym to wyllfull poverté and forsakyn myghty londys. And hys name ys sir
25 Bawdwyn of Bretayne, and he ys a full noble surgeon and a good leche. Now lat se and helpe me up that I were there, for ever my harte gyvith me that I shall never dye of my cousyne jermaynes hondys.'

And than with grete payne sir Lavayne holpe hym uppon
30 hys horse, and than they rode a grete walop togydirs, and ever sir Launcelot bled, that hit ran downe to the erthe. And so by fortune they cam to an ermytayge [whiche] was undir a woode, and a grete clyff on the othir syde, and a fayre watir rennyng undir hit. And than sir Lavayne bete
35 on the gate with the but of hys speare and cryed faste,

'Lat in, for Jesus sake!'

1 C O gentyl 4 C O myn 10 C* forth with al sir Lauayn drewe 11-
12 C and a merueillous grysely grone and the blood 13-14 C vpon his
buttocks & so swounded pale 16-17 C wynde but soo 20 C O Lauayn
26 C see helpe 32-3 C came to that hermytage the whiche* was vnder

And anone there cam a fayre chylde to hem and asked them what they wolde.

'Fayre sonne,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'go and pray thy lorde the ermyte for Goddys sake to late in here a knyght that ys full sore wounded. And thys day, telle thy lorde, I saw hym do more dedys of armys than ever I herde sey that ony man ded.'

So the chylde wente in lyghtly, and than he brought the ermyte whych was a passynge lycly man. Whan sir Lavayne saw hym he prayed hym for Goddys sake of succour. 421^r

'What knyght ys he?' seyde the ermyte. 'Ys he of the house of kynge Arthure or nat?' 10

'I wote nat,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'what he ys, nother what ys hys name, but well I wote I saw hym do mervaylously thys day as of dedys of armys.' 15

'On whos party was he?' seyde the ermyte.

'Sir,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'he was thys day ayenste kynge Arthure, and there he wanne the pryce of all the knyghtis of the Rounde Table.'

'I have seyne the day,' seyde the ermyte, 'I wolde have loved hym the worse bycause he was ayenste my lorde kynge Arthure, for sometyme I was one of the felyship. But now, I thanke God, I am othirwyse disposed. But where ys he? Lat me se hym.' 20

Than sir Lavayne brought the ermyte to hym. And whan the ermyte behylde hym as he sate leenyng uppon hys sadyll-bowe, ever bledynge spiteuously, and ever the knyght ermyte thought that he sholde know hym; but he coude nat bryng hym to knowlech, bycause he was so pale for bledynge. 25 (13)

'What knyght ar ye?' seyde the ermyte, 'and where were ye borne?' 30

'My fayre lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I am a straunger, and a knyght adventures that laboureth thorowoute many realmys for to wyne worship.' 35

Than the ermyte avysed hym bettir, and saw by a wounde on hys chyeke that he was sir Launcelot.

'Alas,' seyde the ermyte, 'myne owne lorde! Why layne

9 C the whiche C passynge good man
but I thanke god now

27 C pitously

22-3 C felauship of the round table

you youre name from me? Perdeus, I ought to know you of ryght, for ye ar the moste nobelyst knyght of the worlde. For well I know you for sir Launcelot.'

'Sir,' seyde he, 'syth ye know me, helpe me, and ye may, 5 for Goddys sake! For I wolde be oute of thys payne at onys, othir to deth, othir to lyff.'

'Have ye no doute,' seyde the ermyte, 'for ye shall lyve and fare ryght well.'

And so the ermyte called to hym two of hys servauntes, 10 and so they bare hym into the ermytayge, and lyghtly unarmed hym, and leyde hym in hys bedde. And than anone the ermyte staunched hys bloode and made hym to drynke good wyne, that he was well refygowred and knew hymselff. 421^v For in thos dayes hit was nat the gyse as ys nowadayes; for 15 there were none ermytis in tho dayes but that they had bene men of worship and of prouesse, and tho ermytes hylde grete householdis and refreysshed people that were in distresse.

Now turne we unto kynge Arthure and leve we sir Launcelot in the ermytayge. So whan the kyngis were 20 togydirs on both partyes, and the grete feste sholde be holdyn, kynge Arthure asked the kynge of North Galis and their felyshyp where was that knyght that bare the rede slyve.

'Lat brynge hym before me, that he may have hys lawde 25 and honoure and the pryce, as hit ys ryght.'

Than spake sir Galahalte the Haute Prynce and the Kynge with the Hondred Knyghtes, and seyde,

'We suppose that knyght ys myscheved so that he ys never lyke to se you nother none of us all. And that ys the grettyst 30 pyté that ever we wyste of ony knyght.'

'Alas,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'how may thys be? Ys he so sore hurte? But what ys hys name?' seyde kynge Arthure.

'Truly,' seyde they all, 'we know nat hys name, nother frome whens he cam, nother whother he wolde.'

35 'Alas,' seyde the kynge, 'thys ys the warste tydyngis that cam to me thys seven yere! For I wolde nat for all the londys

1 C me For sothe I oughte 7 for *not in C* 9-10 C and so he and his servauntes bare 13 C so that sir launcelot was wel refreshed 14 C guyse of heremytes 15 W but that but that 17 C housholde 19-20 C* were comen to gyders 24 Lat *not in C* 27 and seyde *not in C* 31 kynge *not in C* 31-2 C† soo hurte What 35 C this be to me the werst tydynges

I welde to knowe and wyte hit were so that that noble knyght were slayne.'

'Sir, knowe ye ought of hym?' seyde they all.

'As for that,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'whethir I know hym other none, ye shall nat know for me what man he ys but 5 Allmyghty Jesu sende me good tydyngis of hym.'

And so seyde they all.

'Be my hede,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'gyff hit so be that the good knyght be so sore hurte, hit ys gret damage and pité to all thys londe, for he ys one of the nobelyst knyghtes that 10 ever I saw in a fylde handyll speare or swerde. And iff he may be founde I shall fynde hym, for I am sure he ys nat farre frome thys contrey.'

'Sir, ye beare you well,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'and ye [maye] fynde hym, onles that he be in such a plyte that he 15 may nat welde hymself.'

'Jesu defende!' seyde sir Gawayne. 'But wyte well I shall know what he ys and I may fynde hym.'

Ryght so sir Gawayne toke a squyre with hym uppon 422^r hakeneyes and rode all aboute Camelot within six or seven myle, but so he com agayne and cowde here no worde of hym. Than within two dayes kynge Arthure and all the felyshyp returned unto London agayne. And so as they rode by the way hyt happened sir Gawayne at Astolot to lodge with sir Barnarde thereas was sir Launcelot lodged. 25

And so as sir Gawayne was in hys chamber to repose hym, sir Barnarde, the olde barowne, cam in to hym, and hys doughtir Elayne, to chere hym and to aske hym what tydyngis, and who ded beste at the turnemente of Wynchester.

'So God me helpe,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'there were two 30 knyghtes that bare two whyght shyldys, but one of them bare a rede sleve uppon hys hede, and sertaynly he was the beste knyght that ever y saw juste in fylde. For I dare sey,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that one knyght with the rede slyve smote downe fourty knyghtes of the Rounde Table, and 35 his felow ded ryght well and worshipfully.'

3 Sir *not in C* ought of *not in C* 4 kynge *not in C* 4-5 *C* hym or knowe
hym not ye 6 *C*† good good 11 *C* a spere or a suerd 13 *C* fro this
towne 14 Sir ye *not in C* 17 well *not in C*† 18 know *not in C*† 24
C hit happed 31 *C* the one 32-3 *C* was one of the beste knyghtes

'Now blyssed be God,' seyde thys Fayre Maydyn of Astolate, 'that that knyght sped so welle! For he ys the man in the worlde that I firste loved, and truly he shall be the laste that ever I shall love.'

5 'Now, fayre maydyn,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'ys that good knyght youre love?'

'Sertaynly, sir,' she seyde, 'he ys my love.'

'Than know ye hys name?' seyde sir Gawayne.

'Nay truly, sir,' seyde the damesell, 'I know nat hys name,
10 nothir frome whens he com, but to sey that I love hym,
I promyse God and you I love hym.'

'How had ye knowlecch of hym firste?' seyde sir Gawayne.

(14) Than she tolde hym, as ye have harde before, and how
hir fadir betoke hym her brother to do hym servyse, and how
15 hir fadir lente hym her brothirs, sir Tyrryes, shylde: 'and here
with me he lefte hys owne shylde.'

'For what cause ded he so?' seyde sir Gawayne.

'For thys cause,' seyde the damesell, 'for hys shylde was
full well knowyn amonge many noble knyghtes.'

20 'A, fayre damesell,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'please hit you to
lette me have a syght of that shylde?'

422^v 'Sir,' she seyde, 'hit ys in my chambir, coverde wyth a
case, and if ye woll com with me ye shall se hit.'

'Nat so,' seyde sir Barnarde to hys doughter, 'but sende ye
25 for that shylde.'

So whan the shylde was com sir Gawayne toke of the
case, and whan he behylde that shylde, and knew hyt anone
that hit was sir Launcelottis shylde and hys owne armys,

'A, Jesu mercy!' seyde sir Gawayne, 'now ys my herte more
30 hevvyar than ever hit was tofore.'

'Why?' seyde thys mayde Elayne.

'For I have a grete cause,' seyde sir Gawayne. 'Ys that
knyght that owyth thys shylde youre love?'

'Yee truly,' she sayde, 'my love ys he. God wolde that I
35 were hys love!'

'So God me spede,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'fayre damesell,

1 C the fayre 3 C be laste 7 C sayd she wete ye wel he is 10 C
cometh 11 C promyse you and god that I 16 W he lefte he lefte 18-
10 C was to wel 20 to *not in C* 24-6 C tyl his doughter lete sende for it
Soo whan 27-8 C he knewe anone that 31 thys mayd *not in C* (*homoeo-*
teleuton?) 32 a *not in C* 34 C he is that *not in C*

ye have ryght, for and he be youre love, ye love the moste honorabelyst knyght of the worlde and the man of moste worship.'

'So methought ever,' seyde the damesell, 'for never ar that tyme no knyght that ever I saw loved I never none 5 arste.'

'God graunte,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that aythir of you may rejoyse othir, but that ys in a grete aventure. But truly,' seyde sir Gawayne unto the damesell, 'ye may sey ye have a fayre grace, for why I have knowyn that noble knyght thys 10 four-and-twenty yere, and never or that day I nor none othir knyght, I dare make good, saw never nother herde say that ever he bare tokyn or sygne of no lady, jantillwoman, nor maydyn at no justis nother turnemente. And therefore, fayre maydyn, ye ar much beholdyn to hym to gyff hym 15 thanke. But I drede me,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that ye shall never se hym in thys worlde, and that ys as grete pité as ever was of ony erthely man.'

'Alas,' seyde she, 'how may thys be? Ys he slayne?'

'I say nat so,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'but wete you well he ys 20 grevously wounded by all maner of sygnys, and by meanys of syght more lyklyer to be dede than to be on lyve. And wyte you well he ys the noble knyght sir Launcelot, for by thys shylde I know hym.'

'Alas!' seyde thys fayre maydyn of Astolat, 'how may thys 25 be? And what was hys hurte?'

'Truly,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'the man in the worlde that 423^r loved beste hym hurte hym. And I dare sey,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'and that knyght that hurte hym knew the verry sertaynté that he had hurte sir Launcelot, hit were the moste 30 sorow that ever cam to hys herte.'

'Now, fayre fadir,' seyde than Elayne, 'I requyre you gyff me leve to ryde and seke hym, othir ellis I wote well I shall go oute of my mynde. For I shall never stynte tyll that I fynde hym and my brothir, sir Lavayne.' 35

'Do ye as hit lykith you,' seyde hir fadir, 'for sore me repentis of the hurte of that noble knyght.'

1-2 C moost honourable 5 tyme for no 6 C erst 12 C sawe nor
herd 15 C mayden said sire Gawayne ye 17 C is grete pyte that euer 18 C of
erthely knyght 21 C greuously 21-2 C* by mens syghte 28 C loued hym best
hurte hym soo 30 C it wold be the moost 36 ye not in C

Ryght so the mayde made hyr redy and departed before
sir Gawayne makynge grete dole. Than on the morne sir
Gawayne com to kyng Arthur and tolde hym all how he had
founde sir Launcelottis shyld in the keypyng of the Fayre
5 Mayden of Astolat.

'All that knew I aforehande,' seyde kyng Arthure, 'and
that caused me I wolde nat suffir you to have ado at the grete
justis; for I aspyed hym whan he cam untill hys lodgyng,
full late in the evenyng, into Astolat. But grete mervayle
10 have I,' seyde kyng Arthure, 'that ever he wolde beare ony
sygne of ony damesell, for ar now I never herde sey nor
knew that ever he bare ony tokyn of none erthely woman.'

'Be my hede, sir,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'the Fayre Maydyn
of Astolat lovith hym mervaylously well. What hit meanyth
15 I cannat sey. And she ys ryddyn aftir to seke hym.'

So the kyng and all com to London, and there Gawayne
all opynly disclosed hit to all the courte that hit was sir
(15) Launcelot that justed beste. And whan sir Bors harde that,
wyte you well he was an hevy man, and so were all hys
20 kynnyngmen. But whan the quyene wyst that hit was sir
Launcelot that bare the rede slyve of the Fayre Maydyn of
Astolat, she was nygh ought of her mynde for wratthe. And
than she sente for sir Bors de Ganys in all haste that myght
be. So whan sir Bors was com before the quyene she seyde,
30 25 'A, sir Bors! Have ye nat herde sey how falsely sir
Launcelot hath betrayed me?'

'Alas, madame,' seyde sir Bors, 'I am aferde he hath
betrayed hymselff and us all.'

'No forse,' seyde the quene, 'though he be distroyed, for
30 he ys a false traytoure knyght.'

'Madame,' seyde sir Bors, 'I pray you sey ye no more so,
for wyte you well I may nat here no such langage of
hym.'

'Why so, sir Bors?' seyde she. 'Shold I nat calle hym
35 traytoure whan he bare the rede slyve uppon hys hede at
Wynchester at the grete justis?'

1 departed *not in C†* 3 all *not in C* 8 C aspyed said kyng Arthur whan he cam
in tyl 9 C in Astolat grete *not in C* 10 kyng *not in C* 13 C hede
said 16-17 C sire Gawayne openly disclosed to alle 20 C whan quene
Gueneuer 20-1 C that syre Launcelot bare 23 C alle the hast 24 C
thenne she sayd 25 nat *not in C* 31 C ye not so 34 so *not in C*

'Madame,' seyde sir Bors, 'that slyeve-berynge repentes me, but I dare say he dud beare hit to none evyll entent; but for thys cause he bare the rede slyve that none of hys blood shold know hym. For or than we nother none of us all never knew that ever he bare tokyn or sygne of maydyn, lady, 5 nothir jantillwoman.'

'Fy on hym!' seyde the quene. 'Yet for all hys pryde and bobbaunce, there ye proved youreselff better man than he.'

'Nay, madam, sey ye nevermore so, for he bete me and my felowys, and myght have slayne us and he had wolde.' 10

'Fy on hym!' seyde the quene. 'For I harde sir Gawayne say before my lorde Arthure that hit were mervayle to telle the grete love that ys betwene the Fayre Maydyn of Astolat and hym.'

'Madam,' seyde sir Bors, 'I may nat warne sir Gawayne 15 to sey what hit pleasith hym, but I dare sey, as for my lorde sir Launcelot, that he lovith no lady, jantillwoman, nother mayden, but as he lovith all inlyke muche. And therefore, madam,' seyde sir Bors, 'ye may sey what ye wyll, but wyte you well I woll hast me to syke hym and fynde hym where- 20 sumever he be, and God sende me good tydyngis of hym!'

And so leve we them there, and speke we of sir Launcelot that lay in grete perell. And so as thys fayre madyn Elayne cam to Wynchester she sought there all aboute, and by fortune sir Lavayne, hir brothir, was ryddyn to sporte hym 25 to enchaff hys horse. And anone as thys maydyn Elayne saw hym she knew hym, and than she cryed on-lowde tylle 424^r hym, and whan he herde her he com to her.

And anone with that she asked hir brother,

'How dothe my lorde, sir Launcelot?' 30

'Who tolde you, syster, that my lordys name was sir Launcelot?'

Than she tolde hym how sir Gawayne by hys shyld knew hym.

2 C me sore beare *not in C* 4 W nother none all nother none of
us all 8 W for there (*contamination*) 8-9 C your self his better Nay 16
C pleasyd 18 C but all he loueth in lyke 23 thys *not in C* madyn *not in C*
25 hir brothir *not in C* 25-6 C to playe hym to enchauffe 26 thys maydyn
not in C 27-8 W and than she cryed on lowde tylle hym and than she cryed
on lowde to hym C vntyl hym 28 C her anone he 29 C and thenne she
30 C how dyd

So they rode togydirs tyll that they cam to the ermytage,
and anone she alyght. So sir Lavayne brought her in to sir
Launcelot, and whan she saw hym ly so syke and pale in hys
bed she myght nat speke, but suddeynly she felle downe to
5 the erthe in a sowghe. And there she lay a grete whyle. And
whan she was releved she shryked and seyde,

'My lord, sir Launcelot! Alas, whyghe lye ye in thys
plyte?'

And than she sowned agayne. And than sir Launcelot
10 prayde sir Lavayne to take hir up, 'and brynge hir hydir to
me.' And whan she cam to herself sir Launcelot lyfte her
and seyde,

'Fayre maydyn, why fare ye thus? For ye put me to more
payne. Wherefore make ye no such chere, for and ye be
15 com to comforte me, ye be ryght wellcom; and of thys lytyll
hurte that I have I shall be ryght hastely hole, by the grace
of God. But I mervayle,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'who tolde you
my name.'

And so thys maydyn tolde hym all how sir Gawayne was
20 lodged with hir fader, 'and there by youre shyld he dys-
coverde youre name.'

'Alas!' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that repentith me that my
name ys knowyn, for I am sure hit woll turne untill angir.'

And than sir Launcelot compaste in hys mynde that sir
25 Gawayne wolde telle quene Gwenyvere how he bare the rede
slyve and for whom, that he wyst well wolde turne unto
grete angur.

So thys maydyn Elayne never wente frome sir Launcelot,
but wacched hym day and nyght, and dud such attendaunce
30 to hym that the Freynshe booke seyth there was never
woman dyd nevermore kyndlyer for man. Than sir Launce-
424^v lot prayde sir Lavayne to make aspyes in Wynchester for sir
Bors if he cam there, and tolde hym by what tokyns he sholde
know hym: by a wounde in hys forehede.

35 'For I am sure,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that sir Bors woll
seke me, for he ys the same good knyght that hurte me.'

4-5 C but sodenly she felle to the erthe doune sodenly in a swoun and there 6
C stryked S shryked 10 hydir *not in C* 11 C† kyst her 13 more *not*
in C 14 C nomore suche 19 C thenne the fayre mayden 22 C me
repenteth 23 C vnto angre 25 P Gawnyng R Gawnyne 31 C man
than she Thenne 35 C for wel I am

Now turne we unto sir Bors de Ganys, that cam untill (16)
Wynchestir to seke aftir hys cosyne sir Launcelot. And
whan he cam to Wynchester sir Lavayne leyde wacche for
sir Bors. And anone he had warnyng of hym, and so he
founde hym, and anone he salewed hym and tolde hym 5
frome whens he com.

'Now, fayre knyght,' seyde sir Bors, 'ye be wellcom, and I
requyre you that ye woll brynge me to my lorde sir Launce-
lot.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'take youre horse, and within thys 10
owre ye shall se hym.'

So they departed and com to the ermytayge. And whan
sir Bors saw sir Launcelot lye in hys bedde, dede pale and
discoloured, anone sir Bors loste hys countenaunce, and for
kyndenes and pité he myght nat speke, but wepte tendirly a 15
grete whyle. But whan he myght speke he seyde thus:

'A, my lorde sir Launcelot, God you blysse and sende
you hasty recoveryng! For full hevvy am I of my mysfortune
and of myne unhappynesse. For now I may calle myselff
unhappy, and I drede me that God ys gretely [displeasyd] 20
with me, that he wolde suffir me to have such a shame for to
hurte you that ar all oure ledar and all oure worship; and
therefore I calle myselff unhappy. Alas, that ever such a
caytyff knyght as I am sholde have power by unhappines to
hurte the moste noblyst knyght of the worlde! Where I so 25
shamefully sette uppon you and overcharged you, and where
ye myght have slayne me, ye saved me; and so ded nat I, for
I and all oure bloode ded to you their utteraunce. I mer-
vayle,' seyde sir Bors, 'that my herte or my bloode wolde
serve me. Wherefore, my lorde sir Launcelot, I aske you 30
mercy.'

'Fayre cousyn,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ye be ryght wellcom,
and wyte you well, overmuche ye se[y] for the plesure of me
whych pleasith me nothyng, for why I have the same

1-2 C vnto wynchestre 2-7 C* wynchestre anone there were men that sire Lauayne
had made to lye in a wathe for suche a man and anone sir Lauayne had warnyng
and thenne sire Lauayne came to wynchestre and fond sir Bors and there he told
hym what he was and with whome he was and what was his name Now fayr
7 ye be wellcom and *not in C* 13 dede *not in C* 17 C O my 18 C recover
28 all *not in C* C our vterance 30-1 C your mercy 33 W ye se C*
ye say 33-4 C for to please me the whiche 34 C me not

425^r isought; for I wolde with pryde have overcom you all. And there in my pryde I was nere slayne, and that was in myne owne defaughte; for I myght have gyffyn you warnynge of my beyng there, and [than] had I had no hurte. For hit ys an
 5 olde-seyde sawe, "there ys harde batayle thereas kynne and frendys doth batayle ayther ayenst other," for there may be no mercy, but mortall warre. Therefore, fayre cousyn,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'lat thys langage overpasse, and all shall be wellcom that God sendith. And latte us leve of thy[s]
 10 mater and speke of som rejoyssynge, for thys that ys done may nat be undone; and lat us fynde a remedy how sone that I may be hole.'

Than sir Bors lenyd uppon hys beddys syde and tolde sir Launcelot how the quene was passynge wrothe with hym,
 15 'because ye ware the rede slyve at the grete justes.' And there sir Bors tolde hym all how sir Gawayne discoverde hit, 'by youre shyld' that he leffte with the Fayre Madyn of Astolat.

'Than ys the quene wrothe?' seyde sir Launcelot. 'There-
 20 fore am I ryght hevvy, but I deserved no wrath, for all that I ded was bycause I wolde nat be knowyn.'

'Sir, ryght so excused I you,' seyde sir Bors, 'but all was in vayne, for she seyde more largelyer to me than [I] to you sey now. But, sir, ys thys she,' seyde sir Bors, 'that ys so busy
 25 aboute you, that men calle the Fayre Maydyn of Astolat?'

'Forsothe, she hit ys,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that by no meany[s] I cannat put her fro me.'

'Why sholde ye put here frome you?' seyde sir Bors. 'For she ys a passyng fayre damesell, and well besayne and
 30 well taught. And God wolde, fayre cousyn,' seyde sir Bors, 'that ye cowde love her, but as to that I may nat nother dare nat counceyle you. But I se well,' seyde sir Bors, 'by her dyligence aboute you that she lovith you intylery.'

'That me repentis,' seyde sir Launcelot.

35 'Well,' seyde sir Bors, 'she ys nat the firste that hath loste hir payne uppon you, and that ys the more pyté.'

4 C* And thenne had I 6 for *not in C* 7 C† Tlerfor 8 C thys
 speche ouerpasse 9-10 W thy mater C this mater and lete vs speke of
 15 C he ware 17 C* ye lefte 22 Sir *not in C* 23 sey *not in C* 24 C
 But is this 26 Forsothe *not in C* 29 For *not in C* 33 C entierly
 35 C syr said syr Bors

And so they talked of many mo thynges.

And so within three or four dayes sir Launcelot wexed bygge and lyght. Than sir [Bors] tolde sir [Launcelot] how 425^v (there was sworne a grete turnement betwyxt kyng Arthure and the kynge of North Galis, that sholde be uppon Allhal- 5 lowmasse day, besydes Wynchestir.

'Is that trouthe?' seyde sir Launcelot. 'Than shall ye abyde with me styлле a lityll whyle untill that I be hole, for I fele myself resonably bygge and stronge.'

'Blessed be God!' seyde sir Bors.

10

Than they were there nyghe a moneth togydirs, and ever thys maydyn Elayne ded ever hir dyligence and labour both nyght and day unto sir Launcelot, that there was never chylde nother wyff more mekar tyll fadir and husbande than was thys Fayre Maydyn of Astolat; wherefore sir Bors was 15 gretly pleased with her.

So uppon a day, by the assente of sir Lavayne, sir Bors, and sir Launcelot, they made the ermyte to seke in woddys for diverse erbys, and so sir Launcelot made fayre Elayne to gadir erbys for hym to make hym a bayne. So in the meane- 20 whyle sir Launcelot made sir Lavayne to arme hym at all pecis, and there he thought to assay hymselff uppon horsebacke with a speare, whether he myght welde hys armour and hys speare for hys hurte or nat.

And so whan he was uppon hys horse he steyrred hym 25 freyshly, and the horse was passyng lusty and frycke, because he was nat laboured of a moneth before. And than sir Launcelot bade sir Lavayne gyff hym that grete speare, and so sir Launcelot cowchyd that speare in the reeste. The courser lepte myghtyly whan he felte the spurres, and he 30 that was uppon hym, [whiche] was the nobelyst horseman of the worlde, strayned hym myghtyly and stabely, and kepte styлле the speare in the reeste. And therewith sir Launcelot

2-3 C thre dayes or four sire launcelot was bygge and stronge ageyne CAPITULUM
XVII Thenne sire Bors* told sire launcelot* W Launcelot tolde sir Bors 4 C
turnement and Iustes betwixe 9 resonably not in C 12-13 C dyligente
labour nyghte 14 C to her fader 15 C that fayre 17-18 C syr
launcelot syre Bors and syre lauayne they 21 C† made hym to arme 22-
4 C† assaye his armour and his spere for his hurte or not (homoeoteleuton) 25-6
C hym fyersly and 26-7 C fresshe by cause 27 of not in C 28-9 bade sir
Lavayne gyff hym that grete speare and so sir Launcelot not in C† (homoeoteleuton)
29-30 C that courser 31 C* hym the whiche was 31-2 C hors of the

strayned hymselff so straytly, with so grete fors, to gete the courser forewarde that the bottom of hys wounde braste both within and withoute, and therewithall the bloode cam oute so fyersely that he felte hymselff so feble that he myght nat sitte
 5 uppon hys horse. And than sir Launcelot cryed unto sir Bors,
 'A, sir Bors and sir Lavayne, helpe! For I am com unto myne ende!'

426^r And therewith he felle downe on the one syde to the erth lyke a dede corse. And than sir Bors and sir Lavayne cam
 10 unto hym with sorow-makynge oute of mesure. And so by fortune thys mayden, Elayne, harde their mournynge; and than she cam, and whan she founde sir Launcelot there armed in that place she cryed and wepte as she had bene wood. And than she kyssed hym and ded what she myght
 15 to awake hym, and than she rebuked her brothir and sir Bors, and called hem false traytours, and seyde,
 'Why wolde <ye> take hym oute of hys bed? For and he dye, I woll appele you of hys deth!'

And so with that cam the ermyte, sir Bawdewyn of Bre-
 20 tayne, and whan he founde sir Launcelot in that plyte he seyde but lityll, but wyte you well he was wroth. But he seyde, 'Lette us have hym in,' and anone they bare hym into the ermytage and unarmed hym, and leyde hym in hys bedde; and evermore hys wounde bled spiteuously, but he stirred
 25 no lymme off hym. Than the knyght armyte put a thyng in hys nose and a litill dele of watir in hys mowthe, and than sir Launcelot waked of hys swowghe. And than the ermyte staunched hys bledyng, and whan sir Launcelot myght speke he asked why he put his lyff so in jouperté.

30 'Sir,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'because I wente I had be stronge inowghe, and also sir Bors tolde me there sholde be at Halowmasse a grete justis betwyxte kynge Arthur and the kynge of Northe Galys. And therefore I thought to assay myselff, whether I myght be there or not.'

1-2 *C* gete the hors forward 12 *C* came thyder 16-19 *C* traytours why they wold take hym out of his bedde there she cryed and sayd she wold appele them of his deth With this came the holy heremyte 21-2 *C* wrothe and thenne he bad hem lete vs 22-3 *C* And so they alle bare hym vnto the 24 *C* pytously
 27 *C* swoune 28-9 *C* And whan he myghte speke he asked sir launcelot why 29 so *not in C* 31 inowghe *not in C* *W* there sholde be that there sholde be 32 *C** al halowmasse 33-4 *C* assaye hit my selff

'A, sir Launcelot,' seyde the ermyte, 'yours harte and yours curragge woll never be done untill yours laste day! But ye shall do now be my counceyle: lat sir Bors departe frome you, and lat hym do at that turnemente what he may; and, by the grace of God,' seyde the knyght ermyte, 'be that the turnemente be done and he comyn hydir agayne, sir, ye shall be hole, so that ye woll [be] governed by me.'

Than sir Bors made hym redy to departe frome hym, and (18) sir Launcelot seyde,

'Fayre cousyn, sir Bors, recommaunde me unto all tho ye owght recommaunde me unto, and I pray you enforce youreselff at that justis that ye may be beste, for my love. And here shall I abyde you, at the mercy of God, till youre agayne-commynge.'

And so sir Bors departed and cam to the courte of kynge Arthure, and tolde hem in what place he leffte sir Launcelot.

'That me repentis!' seyde the kynge. 'But syn he shall have hys lyff, we all may thanke God.'

And than sir Bors tolde the quene what jouperté sir Launcelot was in whan he wolde asayde hys horse:

'And all that he ded was for the love of you, because he wolde a bene at thys turnemente.'

'Fy on hym, recreayde knyght!' seyde the quene. 'For wyte you well I am ryght sory and he shall have hys lyff.'

'Madam, hys lyff shall he have,' seyde sir Bors, 'and who that wolde otherwyse, excepte you, madame, we that ben of hys blood wolde helpe to shortyn their lyves! But, madame,' seyde sir Bors, 'ye have ben oftyntymes displeased with my lorde sir Launcelot, but at all tymys at the ende ye founde hym a trew knyght.'

And so he departed. And than every knyght of the Rounde Table that were there that tyme presente made them redy to that justes at Allhallowmasse. And thidir drew many knyghtes of diverse contreyes. And as Halowmasse drew

6 C† and ye come 6-7 C syr launcelot shall be as hole as ye soo that he† wil be* gouerned 8-9 C de parte (S departe) from syre launcelot and thenne sire launcelot sayd 10-11 C alle (S all) them vnto whome me ought to recommaunde 13-14 C tyl ye come ageyne 19 C and there syre 20 C was whanne C assaye 21 C dyd madame was 25 Madam *not in C* 30 C† fynde 32 C there at that 33 C to be at that Iustes 34 C* as al halowmasse

nere, thydir cam the kynge of North Galis, and the Kyng
with the Hondred Knyghtes, and sir Galahalt the Haute
Prynse of Surluse. And thider cam kynge Angwysch of
Irelonde, and the kynge of Northumbirlande, and the kynge
5 of Scottis. So thes three kynges com to kynge Arthurs party.

And so that day sir Gawayne ded grete dedys of armys
and began first; and the herowdis nombirde that sir
Gawayne smote downe twenty knyghtes. Than sir Bors
de Ganys cam in the same tyme, and he was numbir[de] he
10 smote downe twenty knyghtes; and therefore the pryse was
gyvyn betwyxt them bothe, for they began firste and lengist
427^r endured. Also sir Gareth, as the boke seyth, ded that day
grete dedis of armys, for he smote downe and pulled downe
thirty knyghtes; but whan he had done that dedis he taryed
15 nat, but so departed, and therefore he loste hys pryse. And
sir Palamydes ded grete dedis of armys that day, for he
smote downe twenty knyghtes; but he departed suddeynly,
and men demed that he and sir Gareth rode togydirs to som
maner adventures.

20 So whan thys turnement was done sir Bors departed, and
rode tylle he cam to sir Launcelot, hys cousyne. And than
he founde hym walkyng on hys feete, and there aythir made
grete joy of other.

And so he tolde sir Launcelot of all the justys, lyke as ye
25 have herde.

'I mervayle,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that sir Gareth, whan
he had done such dedis of armys, that he wolde nat tarry.'

'Sir, thereof we mervayled all,' seyde sir Bors, 'for but if
hit were you, other the noble knyght sir Trystram, other the
30 good knyght sir Lamorak de Galis, I saw never knyght bere
so many knyghtes and smyte downe in so litill a whyle a[s]
ded sir Gareth. And anone as he was gone we all wyst nat
where he becom.'

'Be my hede,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'he ys a noble knyght
35 and a myghty man and well-brethed; and yf he were well
assayed,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I wolde deme he were good

4 and the kynge of Northumbirlande *not in C†* (*cf. next sentence*: 'thes three
kynges') 5 *C* came on kynge 6 *W* ded sir Gawayne ded 9-10 *C* was nombred
that he smote 14 *C* these dedes 18 that *not in C* 24 *C* so sire Bors
tolde 28 Sir *not in C* 29-30 *C* yow or syr Tristram or syre lamorak
30-1 *C* knygt bere doune soo many in so lytel 32-4 *C* we wyste not where By my

inow for ony knyght that beryth the lyff. And he ys jantill, curteyse and ryght bownteuous, meke and mylde, and in hym ys no maner of male engynne, but playne, faythfull an trew.'

So than they made hem redy to departe frome the ermytage. And so uppon a morne they toke their horsis, and this Elayne le Blanke with hem. And whan they cam to Astolat there were they well lodged and had grete chere of sir B[ar]narde, the olde baron, and of sir Tirré, hys sonne.

And so uppon the morne, whan sir Launcelot sholde departe, fayre Elayne brought hir fadir with her, and sir Lavayne, and sir Tyrré, and than thus she sayde:

'My lorde, sir Launcelot, now I se ye woll departe frome me. Now, fayre knyght and curtayse knyght,' seyde she, 'have mercy uppon me, and suffir me nat to dye for youre love.'

'Why, what wolde y[e] that I dud?' seyde sir Launcelot.

'Sir, I wolde have you to my husbande,' seyde Elayne.

'Fayre damesell, I thanke you hartely', seyde sir Launcelot, 'but truly,' seyde he, 'I caste me never to be wedded man.'

'Than, fayre knyght,' seyde she, 'woll ye be my paramour?'

'Jesu deffende mel' seyde sir Launcelot. 'For than I rewarded youre fadir and youre brothir full evyll for their grete goodnesse.'

'Alas! than,' seyde she, 'I muste dye for youre love.'

'Ye shall nat do so,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for wyte you well, fayre mayden, I myght have bene maryed and I had wolde, but I never applyed me yett to be maryed. But bycause, fayre damesell, that ye love me as ye sey ye do, I woll for youre good wylle and kyndnes shew to you som goodnesse. That ys thys, that wheresomever ye woll besette youre herte uppon som good knyght that woll wedde you, I shall gyff you togydirs a thousand pounde yerly, to you and to youre ayris. This muche woll I gyff you, fayre

1-2 C is a gentyl knyghte curtois true and bounteous 3 C and trewe 4-5 C from the heremyte 6 this *not in C* 8 W Branarde C Bernard C Tyrré 11 than *not in C* 12-13 frome me *not in C* 13-14 W knyght seyde she woll ye be my paramoure have mercy (*contamination*, cf. l. 20) C knyghte haue mercy 14 C thy loue 15 Why *not in C* C* wold ye W wolde you 16 Sir *not in C* 17 hartely *not in C* 24 C Allas sayd she thenne must I 25 do *not in C* 27 C me to be maryed yet but 29 C shewe yow 30 C where someuer S† were someuer 31-2 W you and I C* yow I 33 C thus moche 33-p.1090, 1 C† faire madame

mayden, for youre kyndnesse, and allweyes whyle I lyve to be youre owne knyght.'

'Sir, of all thys,' seyde the maydyn, 'I woll none, for but yff ye woll wedde me, other to be my paramour at the
5 leste, wyte you well, sir Launcelot, my good dayes ar done.'

'Fayre damesell,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'of thes two thynges ye muste pardon me.'

Than she shryked shirly and felle downe in a sowghe, and than women bare hir into her chambir, and there she made
10 overmuche sorowe. And than sir Launcelot wolde departe, and there he asked sir Lavayne what he wolde do.

'Sir, what sholde I do,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'but folow you, but if ye dryve me frome you or commaunde me to go frome you.'

15 Than cam sir Barnarde to sir Launcelot and seyde to hym, 'I cannat se but that my doughtir woll dye for youre sake.'

'Sir, I may nat do withall,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for that me

7. *Y iii*) [4 ff.] *R* my peramour at the leest wete yow wel sir launcelot my good dayes are done Fair damoyseyl sayd sir launcelot of these ij thynges ye must pardonne me thenne she shryked shirly and felle doune in a swoune and thenne wymmen bare her in to her chamber and there she made ouer moche sorowe and thenne sir launcelot wold departe and there he asked sir Lauayn what he wold doo what shold I doo said syre lauayne but folowe you but yf ye dryue me from yow or commaunde me to goo from yow Thenne came sir Bernard to sir launcelot and sayd to hym I can not see but that my doughter Elayne wille dye for your sake I maye not doo with alle said sir launcelot for that me

7. *Y iii*) [4 ff.] *P* my peramour at the leest wete ye wel sir Launcelot my good dayes are doon Fayr damoyseyl sayd syr Launcelot of these ij thynges ye must pardonne me thenne she shryked shirely and felle down in a swoune & thenne wymmen bare hyr in to hyr chamber and there she made ouermoche sorowe and thenne sir Launcelot wold departe and there he asked syr Lauayn what he wold do what shold I doo sayd Syr Lauayne but folowe you but yf ye dryue me from you or commaunde me to goo from you Thenne came syr bernard to syr launcelot and sayd to hym I can not see but that my doughter Elayne wyl dye for your sake I may not do wythal sayd syr Launcelot For that me

sore repentith, for I reporte me to youreselff that my profir ys fayre. And me repentith,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that she lovith me as she dothe, for I was never the causer of hit; for I reporte me unto youre sonne, I never erly nother late profirde her bownté, nother fayre behestes. And as for 5 41
me,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I dare do that a knyght sholde do, and sey that she ys a clene mayden for me, bothe for dede and wylle. For I am ryght hevye of hir distresse! For she ys a full fayre maydyn, goode and jentill, and well itaught.'

'Fadir,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'I dare make good she ys a clene maydyn as for my lorde sir Launcelot; but she doth as I do, for sythen I saw first my lorde sir Launcelot I cowde never departe frome hym, nother nought I woll, and I may folow hym.'

Than sir Launcelot toke hys leve, and so they departed

R sore repenteth For I reporte me to youre self that my profer is fayre and me repenteth said syr launcelot that she loueth me as she doth I was neuer the causer of hit for I reporte me to youre sone I erly ne late profered her bounte nor faire byhestes and as for me said sir launcelot I dare do all* that a knyght shold doo† that she is a clene mayden for me bothe for dede and for wille And I am ryght hevye of her distresse for she is a ful fayre mayden good and gentyl and well taughte Fader said sir Lauayne I dar make goood she is a clene mayden as for my lord sir launcelot but she doth as I doo For sythen I fyrst sawe my lord sir launcelot I coude neuer departe from hym nor nought I wylle and I maye folowe hym Thenne sir Launcelot took his leue and soo they departed

P sore repenteth For I reporte me to your self that my profer is fayre and me repenteth said syr Launcelot that she loueth me as she doth I was neuer the causer of hit For I reporte me to your sone I erly ne late profered hir bounte nor fayre byhestys and as for me said syr launcelot I dare do all* that a knyght shold do† that she is a clene mayden for me bothe for dede and for wylle And I am ryght hevye of hir dystresse For she is a full fayr mayden good gentyl and wel taughte Fader said syr Lauayne I dare make good she is a clene mayden as for my lord syr Launcelot but she dooth as I doo For sythen I fyrst sawe my lord Syr Launcelot I coude neuer departe from hym nor nought I wyl and I may folowe hym Thenne syr Launcelot took hys leue and so they departed

and cam to Wynchestir. And whan kyng Arthur wyst that sir Launcelot was com hole and sownde, the kyng made grete joy of hym; and so ded sir Gawayne and all the knyghtes of the Rounde Table excepte sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred.

5 Also quene Gwenyver was woode wrothe with sir Launcelot, and wolde by no meanys speke with hym, but enstraunged herself from hym. And sir Launcelot made all the meanys that he myght for to speke with the quene, but hit wolde nat be.

Now speke we of the Fayre Maydyn of Astolat that made
 10 such sorow day and nyght that she never slepte, ete, nother dranke, and ever she made hir complaynte unto sir Launcelot. So whan she had thus endured a ten dayes, that she fyebled so that she muste nedis passe oute of thys worlde, than she shrove her clene and resseyved hir Creature. And
 15 ever she complayned styлле uppon sir Launcelot. Than

R and came vnto wynchestre And whan Arthur wyste that syr launcelot was come hole and sound the kyng maade grete ioye of hym and soo dyd sir Gawayn and all the knyghtes of the round table excepte sir Agrauayn and sire Mordred Also quene Gueneuer was woode wrothe with sir launcelot and wold by no meanes speke with hym but enstraunged her self from hym and sir launcelot made alle the meanes that he myght for to speke with the quene but hit wolde not be Now speke we of the fayre mayden of Astolat that made suche sorowe daye and nyght that she neuer slepte ete nor drank and euer she made her complaynt vnto sir Launcelot so when she had thus endured a ten dayes that she febled so that she must nedis passe out of thys world thenne she shryued her clene and receyued her creatoure And euer she complayned [v^o] styлле vpon sire launcelot Thenne

P and came vnto wynchester And whan Arthur wyste that syr Launcelot was come hole and sounde the kyng made grete Ioye of hym and so dyd syr Gawayn & al the knyghtes of the rounde table except syr agrauayn and syr mordred Also quene Gueneuer was wode wrothe wyth syr launcelot and wold by no meanes speke wyth hym but estraunged her self from hym and syr launcelot made all the meanes that he myght for to speke wyth the quene but hyt wolde not be Now speke we of the fayr mayden of astolat that made suche sorowe day and nyght that she neuer slepte ete nor dranke & euer she made her complaynte vnto syr Launcelot so whan she had thus endured a ten dayes that she febled so that she must nedis passe out of this world thenne she shryued hir clene and receyued hyr creatour And euer she complayned [v^o] styлле vpon syr Launcelot Thenne

hir gostly fadir bade hir leve such thoughtes. Than she seyde,

'Why sholde I leve such thoughtes? Am I nat an erthely woman? And all the whyle the brethe ys in my body I may complayne me, for my belyve ys that I do none offence, 5 thou[gh] I love an erthely man, unto God, for He fourmed me thereto, and all maner of good love comyth of God. And othir than good love loved I never sir Launcelot du Lake. And I take God to recorde, I loved never none but hym, nor never shall, of erthely creature; and a clene maydyn I am 10 for hym and for all othir. And sitthyn hit ys the sufferaunce of God that I shall dye for so noble a knyght, I beseche The, 428^v Hyghe Fadir of Hevyn, have mercy uppon me and my soule, and uppon myne unnumerable paynys that I suffir may be allygeaunce of parte of my synnes. For, Swete Lorde Jesu,' 15 seyde the fayre maydyn, 'I take God to recorde I was never to The grete offenser nother ayenste Thy lawis, but that I

R her ghostly fader bad her leue suche thoughtes Thenne she sayd why shold I leue suche thoughtes am I not an erthely woman and alle the whyle the brethe is in my body I may complayne me for my byleue is I doo none offence though I loue an erthely man and† I take god to my record I loued neuer none but sir launcelot du lake nor neuer shall and† a clene mayden I am for hym and for alle other and sythen hit is the sufferaunce of god that I shalle dye for the loue of soo noble a knyghte I byseche the hyghe fader of heuen to haue mercy vpon my sowle and vpon myn innumerable paynes that I suffred may be allygeaunce of parte of my synnes For swete lord Ihesu sayd the fayre mayden I take the to record on the I was neuer grete offenser ageynst thy lawes but that I

P hir ghostly fader bad hyr leue suche thoughtes Thenne she sayd why shold I leue suche thoughtes am I not an erthely woman and all the whyle the brethe is in my body I may compleyne me for my byleue is I doo none offence though I loue an erthely man and† I take god to my recorde I loued neuer none but syr Launcelot du lake nor neuer shal and† a clene mayden I am for hym and for al other and sythen hit is the suffraunce of god that I shal deye for the loue of soo noble a knyght I beseche the hyghe fader of heuen to haue mercy vpon my soule and vpon myn Innumerable paynes that I suffred may be allygeaunce of parte of my synnes For swete lord Ihesu sayd the fayr mayden I take the to recorde on the I was never grete offenser ageynste thy lawes But that I

loved thys noble knyght, sir Launcelot, oute of mesure. And of myselff, Good Lorde, I had no myght to withstonde the fervent love, wherefore I have my deth!

And than she called hir fadir, sir Barnarde, and hir brothir,
 5 sir Tirry, and hartely she prayd hir fadir that hir brothir
 myght wryght a lettir lyke as she ded endite, and so hir
 fadir graunted her. And whan the lettir was wryten, worde
 by worde lyke as she devised hit, than she prayde hir fadir
 that she myght be wacched untylle she were [dede]. 'And
 10 whyle my body ys hote lat thys lettir be put in my ryght
 honde, and my honde bounde faste to the letter untyll that
 I be colde. And lette me be put in a fayre bed with all the
 rychyste clothys that I have aboute me, and so lat my bed and
 all my rychyst clothis be ledde with m[e] in a charyat unto the
 15 nexte place where the Temmys ys; and there lette me be put

R loued this noble knyght sire launcelot out of mesure and of my
 self good lord I myght not withstande the feruent loue wherfor I haue
 my dethe And thenne she called her fader sire Bernard and her broder
 sir Tyrre and hertely she praid her fader that her broder myght wryte
 a letter lyke as she did endyte hit and so her fader graunted her And
 whan the letter was wryten word by word lyke as she deuysed Thenne
 she prayd her fader that she myght be watched vntyl she were dede*
 and whyle my body is hote lete this letter be putt in my ryght hand and
 my hande boūde fast with the letter vntyl that I be cold and lete me be
 putte in a fayre bedde with alle the rychest clothes that I haue aboute
 me and so lete my bedde and alle my rychest clothes be laide with me
 in a charyot vnto the next place where Temse is and there lete me
 be putte

P loued thys noble knyght syr Launcelot oute of mesure and of my
 self good lord I myght not wythstande the feruent loue wherefore I haue
 my deth And thenne she called hyr fader syr Bernard and hyr broder
 syr Tyrre and hertely she prayed hir fader that hir broder myght
 wryte a letter lyke as she dyd endyte hit & soo her fader graunted hyr &
 whan the letter was wryton word by word lyke as she deuysed Thēne
 she prayed her fader that she myght be watched vntyl she were dede*
 and whyle my body is hote lete this letter be put in my ryght hande and
 my hande bounde faste wyth the letter vntyl that I be colde & lete me
 be put in a fayre bedde wyth alle the rychest clothes that I haue† aboute
 me and so lete my bedde and al my rychest clothes be layed wyth
 me in a charyot vnto the nexte place where temse is and there lete
 me be put

within a barget, and but one man with me, such as ye truste, to stirre me thidir; and that my barget be coverde with blacke samyte over and over. And thus, fadir, I beseche you, lat hit be done.'

So hir fadir graunte her faythfully all thyng sholde be done lyke as she had devised. Than her fadir and hir brothir made grete dole for he(r). And whan thys was done, anone she dyed.

And whan she was dede the corse and the bedde all was lad the nexte way unto the Temmys, and there a man and the corse, and all thyng as she had devised, was put in the Temmys. And so the man stirred the bargett unto Westmynster, and there hit rubbed and rolled too and fro a grete whyle or ony man aspyed hit.

So by fortune kynge Arthure and quene Gwennyver were talkynge togydirs at a wyndow, and so as they loked into the Temmys they aspyed that blacke barget and had mervayle what hit mente. Than the kynge called sir Kay and shewed hit hym.

'Sir,' seyde sir Kay, 'wete you well, there ys som new tydynge.'

R within a barget & but one man with me suche as ye trust to sterve me thider and that my barget be couerd with blak samyte ouer and ouer Thus fader I byseche yow lete hit be done soo her fader graunted* hit her feythfully alle thyng shold be done lyke as she had deuysed Thenne her fader and her broder made grete dole for when† this was done anone she dyed And soo whan she was dede the corps and the bedde alle was ledde the next way vnto Temse and there a man and the corps & alle were put in to Temse and soo the man styred the barget vnto westmynster and there he rowed† a grete whyle to & fro or ony aspyed hit.

P within a barget and but one man with me suche as ye truste to sterve me thider and that my barget be couerd with blak samyte ouer and ouer Thus fader I byseche you lete hit be done so hyr fader graunted* hit her feythfully al thyng shold be done lyke as she had deuysed Thenne her fader and her broder made grete dole for whan† this was done anone she deyed And so whan she was dede the corps and the bedde alle was ledde the next waye vnto Temse and there a man and the corps and alle were put in to temse and so the man styred the barget vnto westmynster and there he rowed† a grete whyle to & fro or ony aspyed hyt.

'Therefore go ye thidir,' seyde the kynge to sir Kay, 'and take with you sir Braundiles and sir Aggravayne, and brynge me redy worde what ys there.'

Than thes three knyghtes departed and cam to the barget
 5 and wente in. And there they founde the fayryst corse lyyng
 in a ryche bed that ever (y)e saw, and a poore man syttyng
 in the bargettis ende, and no worde wolde[he] speke. So thes
 three knyghtes returned unto the kynge agayne and tolde
 hym what they founde.

10 'That fayre corse woll I se,' seyde the kynge.

And so the kynge toke the quene by the honde and wente
 thydir. Than the kynge made the barget to be holde faste,
 and than the kynge and the quene wente in with sertayne
 knyghtes with them, and there he saw the fayryst woman ly in a
 15 ryche bed, coverde unto her myddyll with many rych clothys,
 and all was of cloth of golde. And she lay as she had smyled.

Than the quene aspyed the lettir in hir ryght hande and
 tolde the kynge. Than the kynge toke hit and seyde,

'Now am I sure thys lettir woll telle us what she was, and
 20 why she ys com hyddir.'

So than the kynge and the quene wente oute of the bar-
 gette, and so commaunded a sertayne to wayte uppon the
 barget. And so whan the kynge was com to hys chambir he
 called many knyghtes aboute hym, and seyde that he wolde
 25 wete opynly what was wryten within that lettir. Than the
 kynge brake hit, and made a clerke to rede hit, and thys was
 the entente of the lettir:

'Moste noble knyght, my lorde sir Launcelot, now hath
 dethe made us two at debate for youre love. And I was
 30 youre lover, that men called the Fayre Maydyn of Astolate.
 Therefore unto all ladyes I make my mone, yet for my soule
 ye pray and bury me at the leste, and offir ye my masse-peny:
 thys ys my laste requeste. And a clene maydyn I dyed, I
 take God to wytnesse. And pray for my soule, sir Launcelot,
 35 as thou arte pereles.'

1	Therefore <i>not in C</i>	<i>C</i> Goo thyder sayd	2	<i>C</i> and Agrauayne	4	<i>C</i>	
	these fourt knyghtes	6	that ever (y)e (<i>W</i> he) saw <i>not in C</i>	7-8	<i>C</i>		
	these fouret knyghtes	13	<i>C</i> quene entred with certayn	17	<i>C</i> a letter		
18	<i>C</i> told it to the	19	us <i>not in C</i>	23	<i>C</i> come within his chāber	28	my
	lord <i>not in C</i>	29	And <i>not in C</i>	31-2	<i>C</i> yet praye for my soule & bery me		
	atte leest	34	<i>C</i> wytnes pray				

Thys was all the substaunce in the lettir. And whan hit 429^r
was rad the kynge, the quene and all the knyghtes wepte for
pité of the dolefull complayntes. Than was sir Launcelot
sente for, and whan he was com kynge Arthure made the
lettir to be rad to hym. And whan sir Launcelot harde hit 5
worde by worde, he seyde,

'My lorde Arthur, wyte you well I am ryght hevy of the
deth of thys fayre lady. And God knowyth I was never
causar of her deth be my wyllynge, and that woll I reporte me
unto her owne brothir that here ys, sir Lavayne. I woll nat 10
say nay,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'but that she was both fayre
and good, and much I was beholdyn unto her, but she loved
me oute of mesure.'

'Sir,' seyde the quene, 'ye myght have shewed hir som
bownté and jantilnes whych myght have preserved hir lyff.' 15

'Madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'she wolde none other
wayes be answerde but that she wolde be my wyff, othir
ellis my paramour, and of thes two I wolde not graunte her.
But I proffird her, for her good love that she shewed me, a
thousand pound yerely to her and to her ayres, and to wedde 20
ony maner of knyght that she coude fynde beste to love in
her harte. For, madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I love nat
to be constrayned to love, for love muste only aryse of the
harte selff, and nat by none constraynte.'

'That ys trouth, sir,' seyde the kynge, 'and with many 25
knyghtes love ys fre in hymselffe, and never woll be bonde;
for where he ys bonden he lowsith hymselff.'

Than seyde the kynge unto sir Launcelot, 'Sir, hit woll
be youre worship that ye oversé that she be entered wor-
shypfully.' 30

'Sir,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that shall be done as I can beste
devise.'

And so many knyghtes yode thyder to beholde that fayre
dede mayden, and so uppon the morn she was entered
rychely. And sir Launcelot offird her masse-peny; and all 35
tho knyghtes of the Table Rounde that were there at that 430^r

8 *C* fair damoyssel god 10 *C*† broder here he is 14-15 *C* Ye myght have
shewed her sayd the quene somme bounte 15 *C* that myghte 23 only *not*
in C 24 self *not in C* *C* by no constraynte 25 with *not in C* 27
C looseth 28 Sir *not in C* 34 dede *not in C* 35-6 *C* all the

tyme offerde with sir Launcelot. And than the poure m[a]n wente agayne wyth the barget.

Than the quene sent for sir Launcelot and prayde hym of mercy, for why that she had ben wrothe with hym causeles.

- 5 'Thys ys nat the firste tyme,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that ye have ben displese with me causeles. But, madame, ever I muste suffir you, but what sorow that I endure, ye take no forse.'

So thys passed on all that wynter, with all maner of
10 huntynge and hawkyng; and justis and turneyes were many betwyxte many grete lordis. And ever in all placis sir Lavayn gate grete worshyp, that he was nobely defamed amonge many knyghtis of the Table Rounde.

- 21) Thus hit past on tylle Crystemasse, and than every day
15 there was justis made for a dyamonde: who that justed best shulde have a dyamonde. But sir Launcelot wolde nat juste but if hit were a grete justes cryed; but sir Lavayne justed there all the Crystemasse passyngly well, and was beste praysed, for there were but feaw that ded so welle. Where-
20 fore all maner of knyghtes demed that sir Lavayn sholde be made knyght of the Table Rounde at the next feste of Pentecoste.

1 *W* men *C** man 7-8 *C*† endure I take no force 12 *C* worshyp soo
that 12-13 *C* nobly renommed amonge 18 *C* best was

III

THE GREAT TOURNAMENT

[*Winchester MS., ff. 430^r-434^v;*
Caxton, Book XVIII, chs. 21-24]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

21. Of grete justes doon alle at Crystemasse† and of a grete justes and tournoye ordeyned by kyng Arthur, and of syr Launcelot.
22. How Launcelot, after that he was hurt of a gentylwoman came to an hermyte, and of other maters.
23. How syr Launcelot byhaved hym at the justes, and other men also.
24. How kyng Arthur mervaylled moche of the justyng in the felde, and how he rode and fonde syr Launcelot.

† C a crystemasse

SO at afftir Crystemas kynge Arthure lete calle unto hym many knyghtes, and there they avysed togydirs to make a party and a grete turnemente and justis. And the kynge of North Galys seyde to kynge Arthure he wolde have on hys party kyng Angwysh of Irelande and the Kynge wyth the 5 Hondred Knyghtes and the kynge of Northumbirlonde and sir Galahalt the Haute Prynce. So thes four kynges and this myghty deuke toke party ayenste kynge Arthure and the knyghtes of the Rounde Table.

And the cry was made that the day off justys shulde be 10 [be]sydes Westemynster, uppon Candylmasse day, whereof many knyghtes were glad and made them redy to be at that justys in the freysshyte maner.

Than quene Gwenyver [sente] for sir Launcelot and seyde 430^v thus:

‘I warne you that ye ryde no more in no justis nor turnementis but that youre kynnesmen may know you, and at thys justis that shall be ye shall have of me a slyeve of golde. And I pray you for my sake to force yourselff there, that men may speke you worshyp. But I charge you, as ye woll have my 20 love, that ye warne your kynnesmen that ye woll beare that day the slyve of golde uppon your helmet.’

‘Madame,’ seyde sir Launcelot, ‘hit shall be done.’

And othir made grete joy of othir. And whan sir Launcelot saw hys tyme he tolde sir Bors that he wolde departe, and no 25 mo wyth hym but sir Lavayne, unto the good ermyte that dwelled in the foreyst of Wyndesore, whos name was sir Brastias. And there he thought to repose hym and to take all the reste that he myght, because he wolde be freysh at that day of justis.

So sir Launcelot and sir Lav[ayne] departed, that no creature wyste where he was becom but the noble men of hys blood. And whan he was com to the ermytayge, wyte you well he had grete chyre. And so dayly sir Launcelot used to go 30

4 C sayd to Arthur 9 C table round 10-11 W shulde be sydes C* shold be besyde 14 W Gwenyver (end of f. 430^v) for C* Gueneuer sent for 16 C† ny more 19 C sake enforce 24 C and soo eyther 25-6 C & haue no more with 27 C in that forest of Wyndsoore his name 31 W sir Launcelot and sir Launcelot C* sire Launcelot and sire Lauayne 34 C good chere C launcelot wold goo

to a welle by the ermytage, and there he wolde ly downe and se the well sprynge and burble, and somtyme he slepte there.

So at that tyme there was a lady that dwelled in that foreyste, and she was a grete huntresse, and dayly she used to
 5 hunte. And ever she bare her bowghe with her, and no men wente never with her, but allwayes women, and they were all shooters and cowde well kylle a dere at the stalke and at the treste. And they dayly beare bowys, arowis, hornys and wood-knyves, and many good doggis they had, bothe for the
 10 strengre and for a bate.

So hit happed the lady, the huntresse, had abated her dogge for the bowghe at a barayne hynde, and so [this barayne hynde] toke the flyght over hethys and woodis. And ever thys lady and parte of her women costed the hynde,
 431^r 15 and checked hit by the noyse of the hounde to have mette with the hynde at som watir. And so hit happened that that hynde cam to the same welle thereas sir Launcelot was by that welle slepyngre and slumberyngre.

And so the hynde, whan he cam to the welle, for heete she
 20 wente to soyle, and there she lay a grete whyle. And the dogge cam aftir and unbecaste aboute, for she had lost the verray parfyte fewte of the hynde. Ryght so cam that lady, the hunteres, that knew by her dogge that the hynde was at the soyle by that welle, and thyder she cam streyte and
 25 founde the hynde. And anone as she had spyed hym she put a brode arow in her bowe and shot at the hynde, and so she overshotte the hynde, and so by myssefortune the arow smote sir Launcelot in the thycke of the buttok over the barbys.

30 Whan sir Launcelot felte hym so hurte he whorled up woodly, and saw the lady that had smytten hym. And whan he knew she was a woman he sayde thus:

'Lady, or damesell, whatsomever ye be, in an evyll tyme bare ye thys bowe. The devyll made you a shoter!'

1 C* welle fast by 6 all *not in* C 13 C ouer hedges and 16-17 C
 happed the hynde 17 same *not in* C C welle where as 17-18 by that welle
not in C 19 C whan the hynde came 23 C by thy† dogge that she had that the
 hynde 24 C in† that welle 24-5 C there she cam styfly† and fonde
 25 anone as she had spyed hym *not in* C 26 C atte hynde 30 C hym self
 30 hurte he hurled vp 31-2 C whan he sawe she 33 C what that thow be
 34 C ye a bowe

'Now, mercy, fayre sir!' seyde the lady, 'I am a jantill- (22)
woman that usyth here in thys foreyste huntynge, and God
knowyth I saw you nat but as here was a barayne hynde at
the soyle in thys welle. And I wente I had done welle, but
my hande swarved.'

'Alas,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ye have myscheved me.'

And so the lady departed. And sir Launcelot, as he
myght, pulled oute the arow and leffte the hede styлле in hys
buttok, and so he wente waykely unto the ermytage, ever-
more bledynge as he wente. And whan sir Lavayne and the 10
ermyte aspyed that sir Launcelot was so sore hurte, wyte you
well they were passyng hevvy. But sir Lavayne wyst nat how
that he was hurte nothir by whom. And than were they
wrothe oute of mesure. And so wyth grete payne the ermyte
gate oute the arow-hede oute of sir Launcelottis buttoke, and 15 **431**✓

[9 ff.] *R* CAPITULUM XX Now mercy fair sir said the lady I am (sig. *Yvi*)
a gentilwoman that vseth here in this forest huntynge and god knoweth
I sawe yow not but as here was a barayn hynde at the soyle in this welle
and I wend to haue done wel but my hand swarued Allas said syre
launcelot ye haue mescheued me and soo the lady departed and sir
launcelot as he myghte pulled oute the arowe and lefte that hede styll
in his buttok and so he wente weykely to the hermytage euer more
bledynge as he went And whan sir Lauayne and the heremyte aspyed
that sir launcelot was hurte wete yow wel they were passynge heuy
but sire Lauayne wyst not how that he was hurte nor by whome And
thenne were they wrothe out of mesure thenne with grete payne the
heremyte gat oute the arowes hede oute of syr launcelots buttok and

[9 ff.] *P* CAPITULUM XX Now mercy fayre syr said the lady I am (sig. *Yvi*)
a gentilwoman that vseth here in this forest huntyng and god knoweth
I sawe you not but as here was a bareyn hynde at the soylle in this welle
& I wende to haue done wel but my hande swarued alas said syr
launcelot ye haue myscheued me and so the lady departed and syr
launcelot as he myght pulled oute the arowe and left that hede styлле
in hys buttok and so he wente weykely to the hermytage euer more
bledynge as he wente And whan syr Lauayne and the heremyte
aspyed that syr launcelot was hurt wete you wel they were passyng
heuy but syr Lauayne wyste not how that he was hurte nor by whome
and thenne were they wrothe oute of mesure Thenne wyth grete
payne the heremyte gate out the arowes hede oute of syr launcelots
buttock and

much of hys bloode he shed; and the wounde was passynge sore and unhappely smytten, for hit was on such a place that he myght nat sytte in no sadyll.

'A, mercy Jesu!' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I may calle myself
 5 the moste unhappy man that lyvyth, for ever whan I wolde have faynyst worshyp there befallyth me ever som unhappy thyng. Now, so Jesu me helpe,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'and if no man wolde but God, I shall be in the fylde on Candilmas day at the justys, whatsomever falle of hit.'

10 So all that myght be gotyn to hele sir Launcelot was had. So whan the day was com sir Launcelot lat devise that he was arayed, and sir Lavayne and he and their horsis, as they had ben Sar[a]syns. And so they departed and cam nyghe to the fylde.

So the kynge of North Galys he had a hondred knyghtes
 15 with hym, and the kynge of Northumbirlande brought

R moche of his blood he shedde and the wound was passynge sore and vnhappyly smyten for it was in suche a place that he myght not sytte in noo sadyll A mercy Ihesu said sir Launcelot I may calle myself the moost vnhappyest man that lyueth for euer whan I wold faynest haue worshyp there befalleth me euer somme vnhappy thyng Now soo Ihesu me helpe said sir launcelot and yf no man wold but god I shalle be in the felde vpon candelmasse daye at the Iustes what someuer falle of hit soo alle that myght be gotten to hele sir launcelot was had Soo whan the day was come sir launcelot lete deuyse that he was arayed and sir Lauayne and their horses as thouz they had ben sarazyns and soo they departed and cam nygh to the felde The kynge of Northgalys with† an honderd knyghtes with hym and the kynge of Northumberland broughte

P moche of his blode he shedde and the wounde was passyng sore and vnhappyly smyten for it was in suche a place that he myzt not sytte in no sadyll A mercy Ihesu sayd syr Launcelot I may calle myself the moost vnhappyest man that lyueth for euer whan I wold faynest haue worshyp there falleth me euer somme vnhappy thyng Now so Ihesu me helpe sayd sir launcelot and yf noo man wold but god I shall be in the felde vpon candelmasse day at the Iustes what someuer falle of hyt soo alle that myght be gotten to hele syr Launcelot was had Soo whan the day was come syr launcelot lete deuyse that he was arayed and syr Lauayn and their horses as though they had ben sarazyns and so they departed and came nyghe to the felde The kyng of Northgalys with† an hondred knyghtes with hym and the kyng of Northumberlonde broughte

with hym an hondred good knyghtes, and kynge Angwysh of Irelande brought with hym an hondred good knyghtes redy to juste. And sir Galahalte the Haute Prynce brought with hym an hondred good knyghtes, and the Kynge wyth the Hondred Knyghtes brought with hym as many, and all there 5 were proved good knyghtes.

Than cam in kynge Arthurs party, and in cam wyth hym the kynge of Scottes, and an hondred knyghtes with hym, and kynge Uryence of Goore brought with hym an hondred knyghtes, and kynge Howell of Bretayne he brought wyth 10 hym an hondred knyghtes, and deuke Chalaunce of Claraunce brought with hym an hondred knyghtes. And kynge Arthure hymself cam into the fylde with two hondred knyghtes, and the moste party were knyghtes of the Rounde Table that were all proved noble men. And there were olde 15

R with hym an hondred good knyghtes and kynge Anguysshe of Irland brought with hym an hondred good knyghtes redy to Iuste and sir Galahalt the haute prynce brought with hym an hondred good knyghtes and the kynge with the hondred knyghtes brought with hym as many and all these* were proued good knyghtes Thenne cam in kyng Arthurs party and there came in the kynge of Scottes with an hondred knyghtes and kynge Vryens of Gore brought with hym an [v^o] hondred knyghtes And kynge Howel of Bretayne brougte with hym an hondred knyghtes and Chalaunce of Claraunce brought with hym an hondred knyghtes and kynge Arthur hym self came in to the felde with two hondred knyghtes and the moost party were knyghtes of the table round that were proued noble* knyghtes and there were old

P with hym an hondred good knyghtes and kyng Anguysshe of Irland brought with hym an hondred good knyghtes redy to Iuste and syr Galahalt the haute prynce brought wyth hym an hondred good knyghtes and the kyng wyth the hondred knyghtes brought with hym as many and al these* were proued good knyghtes Thenne came in kyng Arthurs partye and there came in the kyng of Scottes wyth an hondred knyghtes and kyng Vryens of gore brought wyth hym an [v^o] hondred knyghtes And kyng howel of Bretayne brought wyth hym an hondred knyghtes and Chalaunce of claraunce brought wyth hym an hondred knyghtes and kyng Arthur hym self came in to the felde wyth two hondred knyghtes and the moost party were knyghtes of the table rounde that were proued noble* knyghtes and there were olde

knyghtes set on skaffoldys for to jounge with the quene who ded beste.

- (23) Than they blew unto the fylde. And there the kynge off
 North Galis encountred wyth the kynge of Scottes, and there
 432^r 5 the kynge of Scottis had a falle; and the kynge of Irelande
 smote downe kynge Uryence, and the kynge of North-
 humbirlonde smote downe kynge Howell of Bretayne, and
 sir Galahalte the Haute Prynce smote downe deuke Cha-
 launce of Claraunce. And than kynge Arthure was wood
 10 wrothe, and ran to the Kyng wyth the Hondred Knyghtes,
 and so kynge Arthure smote hym downe. And aftir wyth
 that same speare he smote downe other three knyghtes, and
 than hys speare brake, and ded passyngly well.

- So therewith cam in sir Gawayne and sir Gaherys, sir
 15 Aggravayne and sir Mordred, and there everych of them

R knyghtes sette in skaffoldes for to Iuge with the quene who dyd
 best CAPITULUM XXII Thenne they blewe to the felde and there the
 kyng of northgalys encountred with the kyng of scottes & there the
 kyng of Scottes had a falle and the kyng of Irland smote doune kynge
 Vryens and the kyng of Northumberland smote doune kynge Howel
 of Bretayne and sir Galahaut the haute prynce smote doune Chalenge
 of Claraunce And thenne kynge Arthur was woode wroth and ranne
 to the kyng with the honderd knyghtes and there kyng Arthur smote
 hym doune and after with that same spere kynge Arthur smote doune
 thre other knyghtes And thenne whan his spere was broken kynge
 Arthur dyd passyngly wel and soo there with alle came in syr Gawayne
 and sir Gaheryse sire Agrauayne and sir mordred and there eueryche
 of them

P knyghtes sette in skaffoldes for to Iuge wyth the quene who dyd
 beste CAPITULUM XXII Thenne they blewe to the felde and there the
 Kyng of Northgalys encountred wyth the kyng of scottes & there
 the kyng of scottes had a falle and the Kyng of Irlond smote down kyng
 Vryens and the kyng of Northumberland smote down kyng Howel
 of Bretayne and syr galahaut the haute prynce smote down Chalenge
 of Claraunce And thenne kyng arthur was wode wroth and ranne to
 the kyng wyth the hondred knyghtes And there kyng arthur smote
 hym doune and after wyth that same spere kyng Arthur smote down
 thre other knyghtes And thenne whan his spere was broken kyng ar-
 thur dyd passyngly wel and soo there wythal came in syr Gawayn
 and syr Gaherise syr Agrauayne anh syr mordred and there eueryche
 of them

smote downe a knyght and sir Gawayne smote downe four knyghtes. And than there began a grete medlé, for than cam in the knyghtes of sir Launcelottys blood and sir Gareth and sir Palomydes wyth them, and many knyghtes of the Rounde Table; and they began to holde the four kynges and the myghty deuke so harde that they were ny discomfyte. But thys sir Galahalte the Haute Prynce was a noble knyght, and by hys myghty proues of armys he hylde the knyghtes of the Rounde Table straye.

So all thys doynge saw sir Launcelot, and than he cam into the fylde wyth sir Lavayne with hym, as hit had bene thunder. And than anone sir Bors and the knyghtes of hys bloode aspyed sir Launcelot anone and seyde unto them all,

‘I warne you, beware of hym with the slyve of golde uppon hys hede, for he ys hymself my lorde sir Launcelot.’

And for great goodnes sir Bors warned sir Gareth.

R smote doune a knyghte and sir Gawayne smote doune four knyghtes and thenne beganne a stronge medle for thenne there came in the knyghtes of launcelots blood and sir Gareth and sire Palomydes with them and many knyghtes of the table round and they beganne to holde the foure kynges and the myghty duke soo hard that they were† discomfyte but this duke Galahad the haut prynce was a noble knyght and by his myghty prowesse of armes he helde the knyghtes of the table round straye ynough Alle this doynge sawe sir launcelot & thenne he came in to the felde with syr Lauayne as hit had ben thonder And thenne anone syre Bors and the knyghtes of his blood aspyed sir launcelot and said to them alle I warne you beware of hym with the sleue of gold vpon his hede for he is hym self sir launcelot du lake and for grete goodenes si

P smote doun a knyght and syr Gawayn smote doun foure knyghtes and thenne there beganne a stronge medle For thenne there came in the knyghtes of Launcelots blood and syr Gareth & syr Palomydes wyth them And many knyghtes of the table rounde and they began to holde the foure kynges and the myghty duke so harde that they were† dyscomfyte But thys duke galahad the haute prynce was a noble knyght & by his myghty prowesse of armes he heldé the knyghtes of the table rounde strayt ynough Al this doynge sawe syr Launcelot and thenne he came in to the felde with syr Lauayne as it had been thonder And thenne anone syr boors and the knyghtes of his blood espyed syr Launcelot and sayd to them al I warne you beware of hym with the sleue of golde vpon his hede for he is hym self syr Launcelot du lake & for grete goodnes syr

'Sir, I am well payde,' seyde sir Gareth, 'that I may know hym.'

'But who ys he,' seyde they all, 'that rydith with hym in the same aray?'

5 'Sir, that ys the good and jantyll knyght sir Lavayne,' seyde sir Bors.

So sir Launcelot encountred with sir Gawayne, and there by force sir Launcelot smote downe sir Gawayne and his horse to the erthe. And so he smote downe sir Aggravayne
432^v 10 and sir Gaherys, and also he smote downe sir Mordred, and all this was wyth one speare. Than sir Lavayne mette with sir Palomydes, and aythir mette other so harde and so fersely that both theire horsis felle to the erthe. And than were they horsed agayne.

15 And than mette sir Launcelot with sir Palomydes, and there sir Palomydes had a falle. And so sir Launcelot, or ever he stynte, and as faste as he myght get spearys, he smote downe thirty knyghtes, and the moste party were knyghtes of the Rounde Table. And ever the knyghtes of hys bloode
20 wythdrew them, and made hem ado in othir placis where sir Launcelot cam nat.

And than kynge Arthure was wrotthe whan he saw sir Launcelot do suche dedis, and than the kynge called unto hym sir Gawayne, sir Gaherys, sir Aggravayne, sir Mordred,
25 sir Kay, sir Gryfflet, sir Lucan de Butlere, sir Bedyvere, sir Palomydes and sir Safyr, hys brothir. And so the kynge wyth thes nine knyghtes made them redy to sette uppon sir Launcelot and uppon sir Lavayne.

And all thys aspyed sir Bors and sir Gareth.

30 'Now I drede me sore,' seyde sir Bors, 'that my lorde sir Launcelot woll be harde macched.'

'Now, be my hede,' seyde sir Gareth, 'I woll ryde unto my lorde sir Launcelot for to helpe hym whatsomever me betyde. For he ys the same man that made me knyght.'

35 'Sir, ye shall nat do so,' seyde sir Bors, 'be my counceyle, onles that ye were disgysed.'

1 Sir *not in C* C wel apayed 5 Sir *not in C* 18 C party of them
19 C table round 24-5 C† gawayn sir Mordred sir kay sir Gryfflet 25 C sir
Pedeuer 31 C be harde S harde be 32 Now *not in C* 33-4 C hym
falle of hym what falle may for he 35 Sir *not in C* do *not in C*

'Sir, ye shall se me sone disgysed,' seyde sir Gareth.

And therewithall he had aspyed a Waylshe knyght where he was to repose hym, for he was sore hurte before of sir Gawayne. And unto hym sir Gareth rode and prayde hym of hys knyghthode to lende hym hys shyld for hys.

'I woll well,' seyde the Waylshe knyght.

And whan sir Gareth had hys shyld—the booke seythe he was gryne, wyth a maydyn whych semed in hit—than sir Gareth cam dryvyng unto sir Launcelot all that ever he myght, and seyde,

'Sir knyght, take kepe to thyselff, for yondir commyth kynge Arthur with nine noble knyghtes wyth hym, to put you to a rebuke. And so I am com to beare you felyshyp for the olde love ye have shewed unto me.'

'Grauntemercy,' seyde sir Launcelot.

'But, sir,' seyde sir Gareth, 'encountir ye with sir Gawayne, and I shall encountir with sir Palomydes, and lat sir Lavayne macche with the noble kynge Arthur. And whan we have delyverde them lat us three holde us sadly togydirs.'

So than cam in kynge Arthure wyth hys nine knyghtes with hym, and sir Launcelot encountred with sir Gawayne and gaff hym suche a buffette that the arson of hys sadyll braste, and sir Gawayne felle to the erthe. Than sir Gareth encountred with sir Palomydes, and he gaff hym such a buffet that bothe hys horse and he daysshed to the erthe. Than encountred kynge Arthure wyth sir Lavayne, and there aythir of them smote other to the erthe, horse and all, that they lay bothe a grete while.

Than sir Launcelot smote downe sir Aggravayne and sir Gaherys and sir Mordred; and sir Gareth smote downe sir Kay, sir Safir and sir Gryfflet.

And than sir Lavayne was horsed agayne, and he smote downe sir Lucan de Butlere and sir Bedyvere, and than there began grete thrange of good knyghtes. Than sir Launcelot hurled here and there, and raced and pulled of helmys, that

1 Sir *not in C* sone *not in C* 2, 6 C walysshe 3-4 C hym and he was sore
hurte afore hurte† by syr Gawayne 5 C to lene 7-8 C* saith it was
8 C that semed 9 euer *not in C* 11 Sir *not in C* C knyghte kepe thy self
14 the *not in C* 16 But *not in C* 20 in *not in C* 24 C with the
good knyghte sir 28 bothe *not in C* 33 C Lucan the butteler 35 C
helmes soo that

at that tyme there myght none sytte hym a buffette with speare nothir with swerde.

And sir Gareth ded such dedys of armys that all men mervayled what knyght he was with the gryne shyld, for he
 5 smote downe that day and pulled downe mo than thirty knyghtes. And, as the Freynshe booke sayth, sir Launcelot mervayled, whan he behylde sir Gareth do such dedis, what
 433^v knyght he myght be. And sir Lavayne smote and pulled downe mo than twenty knyghtes. And yet, for all thys, sir
 10 Launcelot knew nat sir Gareth; for and sir Trystram de Lyones other sir Lamorak de Galys had ben on lyve, sir Launcelot wolde have demed he had bene one of them twayne.

So ever as sir Launcelot, sir Gareth and sir Lavayne
 15 fought on the tone syde, sir Bors, sir Ector de Marys, sir Lyonell, sir Bleoberys, sir Galyhud, sir Galyhodyn and sir Pelleas and many mo other of kynge Banys blood faught uppon another party and hylde the Kynge wyth the Hondred Knyghtes and the kynge of Northumbirlonde ryght straye.

(24) 20 So thys turnemente and justis dured longe tylle hit was nere nyght, for the knyghtes of the Rounde Table releved ever unto kynge Arthur; for the kyng was wrothe oute of mesure that he and hys knyghtes myght nat prevayle that day. Than sayde sir Gawayne to the kynge,

25 'Sir, I mervayle where ar all thys day sir Bors de Ganys and hys felyshyp of sir Launcelottis blood, that of all thys day they be nat aboute you. And therefore I deme hit ys for som cause,' seyde sir Gawayne.

'Be my hede,' seyde sir Kay, 'sir Bors ys yondir all thys day
 30 uppon the ryght honde of thys fylde, and there he and his blood dothe more worshypfully than we do.'

'Hit may well be,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'but I drede me ever of gyle. For o[n] payne of my lyff, that same knyght with the rede slyve of golde ys hymself sir Launcelot, for

8-10 *C* Lauayne pulled doune and smote doune twenty knyghtes Also syr launcelot knewe not 15 *C* faughte and† on the one 16 *C†* lyonel syr lamorak de galys syr bleoberys (*cf.* ll. 10-11) 17 *C* and wyth moo 24 *C* sire Gawayne said 25 Sir *not in C* 25-8 *C†* merueille where alle this day syr Bors de ganys and his felaushyp of syre launcelots blood I merueylle all this day they be not aboute yow hit is for 31 *C†* blood done more 33 *W* of *C** on 33-4 *C* lyf said sir Gawayne this knyghte with 34-p. 1113, 1 *C* launcelot I see

I se well by hys rydyng and by hys greate strokis. And the othir knyght in the same colowres ys the good yonge knyght sir Lavayne, and that knyght with the grene shyld ys my brothir sir Gareth, and yet he hath disgysed hymself, for no man shall make hym be ayenste sir Launcelot, bycause he made hym knyght.'

'By my hede,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'neveaw, I belyeve you. And therefore now telle me what ys youre beste counceyle'

'Sir,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'my counceile ys to blow unto lodgyng. For and he besir Launcelot du Lake and my brothir sir Gareth wyth hym, wyth the helpe of that goode yonge knyght, sir Lavayne, truste me truly, hit wolle be no boote to stryve wyth them but if we sholde falle ten or twelve uppon one knyght, and that were no worshyp, but shame.'

'Ye say trouthe,' seyde the kynge, 'hit were shame for us, so many as we be, to sette uppon them ony more. For wyte you well,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'they be three good knyghtes, and namely that knyght with the slyve of golde.'

And anone they blew unto lodgyng, but furthwithall kynge Arthure lete sende unto the four kyngis and to the myghty deuke and prayde hem that the knyght with the slyve of golde departe nat frome them but that the kynge may speke with hym. Than furthwithall kynge Arthur alyght and unarmed hym and toke a lytyll hakeney and rode after sir Launcelot, for ever he had a spy uppon hym. And so he founde hym amonge the four kyngis and the deuke, and there the kynge prayde hem all unto suppere, and they seyde they wolde with good wyll. And whan they were unarmed kynge Arthur knew sir Launcelot, sir Gareth and sir Lavayne.

'A, sir Launcelot,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'thys day ye have heted me and my knyghtes!'

And so they yode unto kynge Arthurs lodgyng all togydir, and there was a grete feste and grete revell. And the pryce was yevyn unto sir Launcelot, for by herowdys

3 C lauayne Also that 5 C shalle neuer make 7 kynge not in C
8 C telle me now 10 C Gawayne ye shalle haue my counceyle lete blowe
vnto 16 C kyng and for to saye sothe said the kynge it were 20 C So
thenne they 28 C† prayd bem 30-1 C sir Lauayne and sir Gareth 34
kynge not in C

they named hym that he had smytten downe fifty knyghtys, and sir Gareth fyve-and-thirty knyghtes, and sir Lavayne four-and-twenty.

Than sir Launcelot tolde the kynge and the quene how
5 the lady hunteras shotte hym in the foreyste of Wyndesore in the buttok wyth a brode arow, and how the wounde was at that tyme six inchys depe and inlyke longe.

434^v Also kynge Arthure blamed sir Gareth because he leffte hys felyshyp and hylde with sir Launcelot.

10 'My lorde,' seyde sir Gareth, 'he made me knyght, and whan I saw hym so hard bestad, methought hit was my worshyp to helpe hym. For I saw hym do so muche dedis of armys, and so many noble knyghtes ayenste hym, that whan I undirstode that he was sir Launcelot du Lake I shamed to
15 se so many good knyghtes ayenste hym alone.'

'Now, truly,' seyde kynge Arthur unto sir Gareth, 'ye say well, and worshypfully have ye done, and to youreselff grete worshyp. And all the dayes of my lyff,' seyde kynge Arthure unto sir Gareth, 'wyte you well I shall love you and truste
20 you the more bettir. For ever hit ys,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'a worshypfull knyghtes dede to helpe and succoure another worshypfull knyght whan he seeth hym in daungere. For ever a worshypfull man wolle be lothe to se a worshypfull man shamed, and he that ys of no worshyp and medelyth
25 with cowardise never shall he shew jantilnes nor no maner of goodnes where he seeth a man in daungere, for than wolle a cowarde never shew mercy. And allwayes a good man wolle do ever to another man as he wolde be done to hymselff.'

So than there were made grete festis unto kyngis and
30 deukes, and revell, game, and play, and all maner of nobeles was used. And he that was curteyse, trew, and faythefull to hys frynde was that tyme cherysshed.

2-3 C fyue and thyrty and sir Lauayne four and twenty knyghtes 6-7 C wound therof was that 10 C a knyghte 12-13 dedis of armys *not in C†*
13 C hym and whan 16 Now *not in C* 20 C euer sayd Arthur hit is
21 and succoure *not in C†* 22 C in a grete daunger 23-4 C† worshipful shamed
24-5 C and fareth with cowardyse 26 C in ony daunger 26-7 C thenne euer wylle a coward shewe no mercy

IV
THE KNIGHT OF THE CART

[*Winchester MS.*, ff. 434^v-449^r;
Caxton, *Book XVIII*, ch. 25; *Book XIX*, chs. 1-9]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

- Bk. XVIII. 25. How trewe love is lykened to sommer.
- Bk. XIX. 1. How quene Guenever rode on mayeng with certeyn knyghtes of the Rounde Table and clad al in grene.
2. How syr Mellyagraunce toke the quene and al hyr knyghtes whyche were sore hurte in fyghtyng.
 3. How syr Launcelot had word how the quene was taken, and how syr Mellyagraunce layed a busschement for Launcelot.
 4. How syr Launcelots hors was slayn, and how syr† Launcelot rode in a carte for to rescowe the quene.
 5. How syr Mellyagraunce requyred foryevenes of the quene, and how she appeased syr Launcelot, and other maters.
 6. How syr Launcelot came in the nyght to the quene and laye wyth hyr, and how syr Melyagraunce appeched the quene of treson.
 7. How syr Launcelot answerd for the quene and waged bataylle ayenst syr Melyagraunce, and how syr Launcelot was taken in a trappe
 8. How syr Launcelot was delyverd out of pryson by a lady and toke a whyt courser and came for to kepe hys day.
 9. How syr Launcelot cam the same tyme that syr Mellyagraunce abode hym in the felde, and dressyd hym to bataylle.

† C how how syr S how syr

AND thus hit passed on frome Candylmas untill Ester, (25)
 that the moneth of May was com, whan every lusty
 harte begynnyth to blossom and to burgeyne. For, lyke as
 trees and erbys burgenyth and floryssheth in May, in lyke
 wyse every lusty harte that ys ony maner of lover spryngith, 5
 burgenyth, buddyth, and floryssheth in lusty dedis. For hit
 gyvyth unto all lovers corrayge, that lusty moneth of May, 435^r
 in somthyng to constrayne hym to som maner of thyng
 more than in ony other monethe, for dyverce causys: for
 than all erbys and treys renewyth a man and woman, and in 10
 lyke wyse lovers callyth to their mynde olde jantylnes and
 olde servyse, and many kynde dedes that was forgotyn by
 neclygence.

For, lyke as wynter rasure dothe allway arace and deface
 grene summer, so faryth hit by unstable love in man and 15
 woman, for in many persones there ys no stabylité: for [w]e
 may se all day, for a lytyll blaste of wyntres rasure, anone
 we shall deface and lay aparte trew love, for lytyll or nowght,
 that coste muche thyng. Thys ys no wysedome nother no
 stabylité, but hit ys fyeblenes of nature and grete diswor- 20
 shyp, whosomver usyth thys.

Therefore, lyke as May moneth flowryth and florysheth
 in every mannes gardyne, so in lyke wyse lat every man of
 worship florysh hys herte in thys worlde: firste unto God,
 and nexte unto the joy of them that he promysed hys feythe 25
 unto; for there was never worshipfull man nor worshipfull
 woman but they loved one bettir than another; and worship
 in armys may never be foyled. But firste reserve the honoure
 to God, and secundely thy quarell muste com of thy lady.
 And such love I calle vertuose love. 30

But nowadayes men can nat love sevennyght but they
 muste have all their desyres. That love may nat endure
 by reson, for where they bethe sone accorded and hasty,

1 C* vntyl after ester 3-4 C blossomme and to bryng forth fruyte for lyke as
 herbes and trees bryngen forth fruyte and floryssheth 5 C in ony maner a lover
 6 burgenyth buddyth *not in C†* 9 C more in that moneth than 10-11 C
 and in lyke S and lyke 11 C callen ageyne to 12 that *not in S* 16-
 17 W for he may C* for we may 19-20 C wysedome nor stabylite 21 C
 vsed S vsed 23 C in many gardyns 26 C man nor S man or 29
 †C the quarel 33 C they ben soone

heete sone keelyth. And ryght so faryth the love nowadayes,
sone hote sone colde. Thys ys no stabyltyé. But the olde
love was nat so. For men and women coude love togydirs
seven yerys, and no lycoures lustis was betwyxte them, and
5 than was love, trouthe and faythefulnes. And so in lyke
wyse was used such love in kynge Arthurs dayes.

435^v Wherefore I lykken love nowadayes unto sommer and
wynter: for, lyke as the tone ys colde and the othir ys hote,
so faryth love nowadayes. And therefore all ye that be
10 lovers, calle unto youre remembraunce the monethe of May,
lyke as ded quene Gwenyver, for whom I make here a lytyll
mencion, that whyle she lyved she was a trew lover, and
therefor she had a good ende.

(XIX, 1) So hit befelle in the moneth of May, quene Gwenyver
15 called unto her ten knyghtes of the Table Rounde, and she
gaff them warnynge that early uppon the morn she wolde
ryde on maynge into woodis and fyldis besydes Westemynster:

'And I warne you that there be none of you but he be well
20 horsed, and that ye all be clothed all in gryne, othir in sylke
othir in clothe. And I shall brynge with me ten ladyes, and
every knyght shall have a lady be hym. And every knyght
shall have a squyar and two yomen, and I woll that all be
well horsed.'

25 So they made hem redy in the freysshyst maner, and thes
were the namys of the knyghtes: sir Kay le Senesciall, sir
Aggravayne, sir Braundyles, sir Sagramour le Desyrous, sir
Dodynas le Savayge, sir Ozanna le Cure Hardy, sir Ladynas
of the Foreyst Savayge, sir Persaunte of Inde, sir Ironsyde
30 that was called the Knyght of the Rede Laundes, and sir
Pelleas the Lovear. And thes ten knyghtes made them redy
in the freysshyste maner to ryde wyth the quyne.

And so uppon the morne or hit were day, in a May
mornynge, they toke their horsys wyth the quene and rode
35 on maynge in wodis and medowis as hit pleased hem, in

1 C† soone it keleth C fareth loue 3 For *not in C* 4 C were bitwene
5 C* and loo in lyke 6 such *not in C* 8-9 C as the one is hote & the other
cold so fareth 13-14 C ende Explicit liber Octodecimus And here foloweth
liber XIX 15 ten *not in C* 16 C the morowe 20 C clothed in
grene 22 C behynde hym 33-4 or hit were day, in a May mornynge
not in C†

grete joy and delytes. For the quene had caste to have bene agayne with kynge Arthur at the furthest by ten of the clok, and so was that tyme her purpose.

Than there was a knyght whych hyght sir Mellyagaunce, and he was sonne unto kynge Bagdemagus, and this knyght 5 had that tyme a castell of the gyfte of kynge Arthure within seven myle of Westemynster. And thys knyght sir Mellyagaunce loved passyngly well quene Gwenyver, and so had he 436^r done longe and many yerys. And the booke seyth he had lay[n] in awayte for to stele away the quene, but evermore he forbore 10 for bycause of sir Launcelot; for in no wyse he wolde meddyl with the quene and sir Launcelot were in her company othir ellys and he were nerehonde.

And that tyme was such a custom that the quene rode never wythoute a grete felyshyp of men of armys aboute her. 15 And they were many good knyghtes, and the moste party were yonge men that wolde have worshyp, and they were called the Quenys Knyghtes. And never in no batayle, turnement nother justys they bare none of hem no maner of knowlecchyng of their owne armys but playne whyght shyldis, 20 and thereby they were called the Quenys Knyghtes. And whan hit happed any of them to be of grete worshyp by hys noble dedis, than at the nexte feste of Pentecoste, gyff there were any slayne or dede (as there was none yere that there fayled but there were som dede), than was there chosyn in 25 hys stede that was dede the moste men of worshyp that were called the Quenys Knyghtes. And thus they cam up firste or they were renowned men of worshyp, both sir Launcelot and all the reme[n]aunte of them.

But thys knyght sir Mellyagaunce had aspyed the quene 30 well and her purpose, and how sir Launcelot was nat wyth her, and how she had no men of armys with her but the ten noble knyghtis all rayed in grene for maiynge. Than he purveyde hym a twenty men of armys and an hondred archars for to destresse the quene and her knyghtes; for he 35 thought that tyme was beste seson to take the quene.

4 C that hyghte Mellyagaunce 6 C at that W of the kyng 8 C
passynge 13 C nere hand her 14 that not in C 25 C but somme
were 27 C* vp alle 29 W remelaunte C* remenaunt 32 C man
33 C arayed 35 C† to destroye the W he he

(2) So as [the quene] was oute on mayynge wyth all her knyghtes whych were bedaysshed wyth erbis, mossis, and floures in the freysshyste maner, ryght so there cam oute of a wood sir Mellyagaunte with an eyght score men, all
 436^v 5 harneyst as they shulde fyghte in a batayle of areste, and bade the quene and her knyghtis abyde, for magré their hedis they shulde abyde.

‘Traytoure knyght,’ seyde quene Gwenyver, ‘what caste thou to do? Wolt thou shame thyselff? Bethynke the how
 10 thou arte a kyngis sonne and a knyght of the Table Rounde, and thou thus to be aboute to dishonoure the noble kyng that made the knyght! Thou shamyst all knyghthode and thyselffe and me. And I lat the wyte thou shalt never shame me, for I had lewir kut myne owne throte in twayne rather than
 15 thou sholde dishonoure me!’

‘As for all thys langayge,’ seyde sir Mellyagaunte, ‘be as hit be may. For wyte you well, madame, I have loved you many a yere, and never ar now cowde I gete you at such avayle. And therefore I woll take you as I fynde you.’

20 Than spake all the ten noble knyghtes at onys and seyde, ‘Sir Mellyagaunte, wyte thou well thou ar aboute to jouparté thy worshyp to dishonoure, and also ye caste to jouparté youre persones. Howbeit we be unarmed and ye have us at a grete avauntayge—for hit semyth by you that
 25 ye have layde wacche uppon us—but rather than ye shulde put the quene to a shame and us all, we had as lyff to departe frome owre lyvys, for and we othyrwayes ded we were shamed for ever.’

Than seyde sir Mellyagaunt, ‘Dresse you as well as ye can,
 30 and kepe the quene!’

Than the ten knyghtis of the Rounde Table drew their swerdis, and thes othir lat ren at them wyth their spearys, and the ten knyghtis manly abode them and smote away their spearys, that no speare ded them no harme. Than they
 35 laysshed togydirs wyt[h] swerdis, and anone sir Kay, sir

1 C the quene* had mayed and alle 2 C knyghtes alle were 3 C* the best
 maner and fresshest there *not in C* 4 C men wel 9 C thou for to 11 thus
not in C 13 And *not in C* 13-14 C† shalte thou neuer shame for 15
 C sholdest 16-17 C be it as 19 C an auauntage as I doo now and
 21-2 C ye ar . . . your 23 C oure persons and *not in C* 24 C grete auayle
 27 C & yf we other wayes 31 C table round 34 C none harme

Sagramoure, sir Aggravayne, sir Dodynas, sir Ladynas and sir Ozanna were smytten to the erthe with grymly woundis. Than sir Braundiles and sir Persaunte, sir Ironsyde and sir Pelleas faught longe, and they were sore wounded, for thes ten knyghtes, or ever they were leyde to the grounde, slew 5
fourty men of the boldyste and the beste of them. 437^r

So whan the quene saw her knyghtes thus dolefully wounded and nedys muste be slayne at the laste, than for verry pyté and sorow she cryed and seyde,

‘Sir Mellyagaunte, sle nat my noble knyghtes! And I woll go with the uppon thys covenante: that thou save them and suffir hem no more to be hurte, wyth thys that they be lad with me wheresomever thou ledyst me. For I woll rather sle myself than I woll go wyth the, onles that thes noble knyghtes may be in my presence.’ 15

‘Madame,’ seyde sir Mellyagaunt, ‘for your sake they shall be lad wyth you into myne owne castell, with that ye woll be reuled and ryde with me.’

Than the quene prayde the four knyghtes to leve their fyghtynge, and she and they wolde nat departe. 20

‘Madame,’ seyde sir Pelleas, ‘we woll do as ye do, for as for me, I take no force of my lyff nor deth.’

For, as the Freynshe booke seyth, sir Pelleas gaff such buffettis there that none armoure myght holde hym.

Than by the quenys commaundemente they leffte batayle 25 (3)
and dressed the wounded knyghtes on horsebak, som syttyng and som overtwarte their horsis, that hit was pité to beholde. And than sir Mellyagaunt charged the quene and all her knyghtes that none of hir felyshyp shulde departe frome her, for full sore he drad sir Launcelot du Lake, laste 30
he shulde have ony knowlecchyng. And all this aspyed the quene, and pryvaly she called unto her a chylde of her chambir whych was swyffely horsed of a grete avauntayge.

‘Now go thou,’ seyde she, ‘whan thou seyst thy tyme, and beare thys ryng unto sir Launcelot du Laake, and pray hym 35
as he lovythe me that he wo[ll] se me and rescow me, if ever

3-4 C† Persaunt of Ironsyde syre Pelleas 9 verry *not in C†* and seyde *not in C†* 12 C suffer hem not to be no more hurte 14 C thyse my noble
16 sir *not in C* 26-7 C syttyng somme 28 C beholde them 29 C
none of al her 31 And *not in C* 33 C that was 33-4 C horsed to whome
she sayd Go thow whan

he woll have joy of me. And spare nat thy horse,' seyde the quylene, 'nother for watir nother for londe.'

So thys chylde aspyed hys tyme, and lyghtly he toke hys
437^v horse with spurres and departed as faste as he myght. And
5 whan sir Mellyyagaunte saw hym so fle, he undirstood that
hit was by the quyenys commaundemente for to warne sir
Launcelot. Than they that were beste horsed chaced hym and
shotte at hym, but frome hem all the chylde wente delyverly.

And than sir Mellyyagaunte sayde unto the quyne,
10 'Madame, ye ar aboute to betray me, but I shall ordayne for
sir Launcelot that he shall nat com lyghtly at you.'

And than he rode wyth her and all the felyshyp in all the
haste that they myght. And so by the way sir Mellyyagaunte
layde in buyshemente of the beste archars that he [myghte
15 gete in his countré to the numbre] of a thirty to awayte
uppon sir Launcelot, chargynge them that yf they saw suche
a maner a knyght com by the way uppon a whyght horse,
'that in ony wyse ye sle hys horse, but in no maner have ye
ado wyth hym bodyly, for he ys over hardé to be overcom.'

20 So thys was done, and they were com to hys castell; but in
no wyse the quene wolde never lette none of the ten knyghtes
and her ladyes oute of her syght, but allwayes they were in
her presence. For the booke sayth sir Mellyyagaunte durste
make no mastries for drede of sir Launcelot, insomuche he
25 demed that he had warnynge.

So whan the chylde was departed fro the felyshyp of sir
Mellyyagaunte, wythin a whyle [he] cam to Westemynster,
and anone he founde sir Launcelot. And whan he had tolde
hys messayge and delyverde hym the quenys rynge, 'Alas!'
30 seyde sir Launcelot, 'now am I shamed for ever, onles that I
may rescow that noble lady frome dishonour!' Than egirly
he asked hys armys.

And ever the chylde tolde sir Launcelot how the ten
knyghtes faught mervaylously and how sir Pelleas, sir Iron-
35 syde, sir Braundyles and sir Persaunte of Inde fought

3 *C* the chylde 4 *C* the spores 8 *C* wente sodenly 9 *C* sayd to the
12-13 *C** her and they all to his castel in alle the haste 14 *C* in an enbushe-
ment the 14-15 *W* that he had *C** that he myghte gete in his cōutrey etc.
(see note). 17 *C** manere of knyghte 18 *C* wyse they slee 18-19 *C* manere
of wyse haue not adoo 19 *C* hard *S* hardy 22-3 *C*† in their presence 32 *C*
armour 34-5 *C* and sire Ironsyde and sir

strongely, but namely sir Pelleas, there myght none harneys
holde hym; and how they all faught tylle they were layde to
the [erthe], and how the quene made apoyntement for to 438^r
save their lyvys and to go wyth sir Mellyagaunte.

'Alas!' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that moste noble lady, that 5
she shulde be so destroyed! I had lever,' seyde sir Launcelot,
'than all Fraunce that I had bene there well armed.'

So whan sir Launcelot was armed and uppon hys horse,
he prayde the chylde of the quynys chambir to warne sir
Lavayne how suddeynly he was departed and for what cause. 10
'And pray hym, as he lovyth me, that he woll hyghe hym
aftir me, and that he stynte nat untill he com to the castell
where sir Mellyagaunt abydyth. For there,' seyde sir
Launcelot, 'he shall hyre of me, and I be a man lyvyngel'

Than sir Launcelot rode as faste as he myght, and the 15 (4)
booke seyth he toke the watir at Westmynster Brydge and
made hys horse swymme over the Temmys unto Lambyth.
And so within a whyle he cam to the same place thereas the
ten noble knyghtes fought with sir Mellyagaunte.

And than sir Launcelot folowed the trak untill that he cam 20
to a woode, and there was a straye way, and there the thirty
archers bade sir Launcelot 'turne agayne and folow no longer
that trak'.

'What commaundement have ye,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'to
cause me, that am a knyght of the Rounde Table, to leve my 25
ryght way?'

'Thys wayes shalt thou leve, othir ellis thou shalte go hit on
thy foote, for wyte thou well thy horse shall be slayne.'

'That ys lytyll maystry,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'to sle myne
horse! But as for myselff, whan my horse ys slayne I gyff 30
ryght nought of you, nat and ye were fyve hundred mol'

So than they shotte sir Launcelottis horse and smote hym
with many arowys. And than sir Launcelot avoyded hys
horse and wente on foote, but there were so many dychys and

1-2 C none withstāde hym 2 C* tylle at the last they 3 C and thenne
the 4 to *not in C* 7 C† there were wel 13 C abydyth or dwelleth
for 14 C* and I am a man lyuyng and rescowe the quene and the ten knyghtes
the whiche he traitoursly hath taken and that shalle I preue vpon his hede and
alle them that hold with hym 17-18 C hors to swymme ouer Temse vnto
lambehythe And thēne 24 C ye ther to sayd 27 C This way 31 C
nought for yow

hedgys betwyxte hem and hym that he myght nat meddyl
with none of hem.

‘Alas, for shamel!’ seyde sir Launcelot, ‘that ever on
438^v knyght shulde betray anothir knyght! But hyt ys an olde-
seyde saw: “A good man ys never in daungere but whan he
ys in the daungere of a cowhard.”’

Than sir Launcelot walked on a whyle, and was sore
acombird of hys armoure, hys shylde, and hys speare. Wyte
you well he was full sore anoyed! And full lothe he was for
10 to leve onythyng that longed unto hym, for he drad sore
the treson of sir Mellyagaunce.

Than by fortune there cam [by hym] a charyote that cam
thydir to feche wood.

‘Say me, carter,’ seyde sir Launcelot, ‘what shall I gyff the
15 to suffir me to lepe into thy charyote, and that thou wolte
brynge me unto a castell within thys two myle?’

‘Thou shalt nat entir into thys caryot,’ seyde the carter,
‘for I am sente for to fecche wood.’

‘Unto whom?’ seyde sir Launcelot.

20 ‘Unto my lorde, sir Mellyagaunce,’ seyde the carter.

‘And with hym wolde I speke,’ seyde sir Launcelot.

‘Thou shalt nat go with me!’ seyde the carter.

Whan sir Launcelot lepe to hym and gaff hym backwarde
with hys gauntelet a reremayne, that he felle to the erthe
25 starke dede, than the tothir carter, hys felow, was aferde, and
wente to have gone the same way. And than he sayde,

‘Fayre lorde, sauff my lyff, and I shall brynge you where
ye woll.’

‘Than I charge the,’ seyde sir Launcelot, ‘that thou dryve
30 me and thys charyote unto sir Mellyagaunce yate.’

‘Than lepe ye up into the charyotte,’ seyde the carter, ‘and
ye shall be there anone.’

So the carter drove on a grete walop, and sir Launcelottes
hors folowed the charyot, with mo than forty arowys in hym.

5 seyde *not in C* 7-8 *C* wente a whyle and thenne he was fowle combred
8-9 *C** spere & alle that longed vnto hym wete ye 12 *Homocoteleuton in W*
13 *C* for to 15 wolte *not in C* 17 *C* not come within my charyot 18-21
C† wood for my lord sir Mellyagaunce with hym 21 seyde sir Launcelot
not in C 22-3 *C* carter thene 23-4 *C†* hym suche a buffet that he 26-7
C he cryed fair 30 *C* charyot euen vnto 30-1 *C* yate lepe vp 34 *C**
than a xl arowes brode and rough in

And more than an owre and an halff quene Gwenyver was a-waytyng in a bay-wyndow. Than one of hir ladyes aspyed an armed knyght stondyng in a charyote.

'Al se, madam,' seyde the lady, 'where rydys in a charyot a goodly armed knyght, and we suppose he rydyth unto hangynge.'

'Where?' seyde the quene.

Than she aspyed by hys shylde that hit was sir Launcelot, 439^r and than was she ware where cam hys horse after the charyotte, and ever he trode hys guttis and hys paunche undir hys feete. 10

'Alas!' seyde the quene, 'now I may preve and se that well ys that creature that hath a trusty frynde. A ha!' seyde quene Gwenyver, 'I se well that ye were harde bestad whan ye ryde in a charyote.'

And than she rebuked that lady that lykened sir Launcelot to ryde in a charyote to hangynge: 'Forsothe hit was fowle-mowthed,' seyde the quene, 'and evyll lykened, so for to lyken the moste noble knyght of the worlde unto such a shamefull dethe. Al Jesu deffende hym and kepe hym,' 20 sayde the quene, 'frome all myschevous ende!'

So by thys was sir Launcelot comyn to the gatis of that castell, and there he descended down and cryed, that all the castell myght rynge: 'Where arte thou, thou false traytoure sir Mellyagaunte, and knyghte of the Table Rounde? Com 25 forth, thou traytour knyght, thou and all thy felyshyp with the, for here I am, sir Launcelot du Lake, that shall fyght with you all!'

And therewithall he bare the gate wyde opyn uppon the porter, and smote hym undir the ere wyth hys gauntelet, that 30 hys nekke braste in two pecis.

Whan sir Mellyagaunce harde that sir Launcelot was (5) comyn, he ranne unto the quene and felle uppon hys kne

2-3 C wyndowe with her ladyes & aspyed 4 A not in C C a lady 5 C
knyghte I suppose 8 C that he was there hym self sir launcelot du lake
9-10 C hors euer after that charyot 12-13 C now I see well and preue that
wel is hym that hath 13 C* Ha a moost noble knyghte sayd quene 14 C
wel thow arte hard bestad whan thow rydest 16 And not in C 17 For-
sothe not in C 22 So not in C 24 C Castel range of it where arte thow
fals 25-6 now come forth here thou 26 all not in C 30 C vnder his gere
31 C brast in sonder 32-3 C was there he 33 C vnto quene Gueneuer and

and seyde, 'Mercy, madame, for now I putte me holé in you[r] good grace.'

'What ayles you now?' seyde quene Gwenyver. 'Pardé, I myght well wete that some good knyght wolde revenge me, 5 thoughemylordekynge Arthureknewnatofthysyourworke.'

'Al madame,' seyde sir Mellyyagaunte, 'all thys that ys amysse on my party shall be amended ryght as youreselff woll devyse, and holy I put me in youre grace.'

'What wolde ye that I ded?' seyde the quene.

10 'Madame, I wolde no more,' seyde sir Mellyyagaunt, 'but that ye wolde take all in youre owne hondys, and that ye woll 439^v rule my lorde sir Launcelot. And such chere as may be made hym in thys poure castell ye and he shall have untill to-morn, and than may ye and all they returne ayen unto Westmynster.

15 And my body and all that I have I shall put in youre rule.' 'Ye sey well,' seyde the quene, 'and bettir ys pees than evermore warre, and the lesse noyse the more ys my worshyp.'

Than the quene and hir ladyes wente downe unto sir Launcelot that stood wood wrothe oute of mesure to abyde 20 batayle, and ever he seyde, 'Thou traytour knyght, com forthe!' Than the quene cam unto hym and seyde,

'Sir Launcelot, why be ye so amoved?'

'Al madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'why aske ye me that questyon? For mesemyth ye oughte to be more wrotther 25 than I am, for ye have the hurte and the dishonour. For wyte you well, madame, my hurte ys but lytyll in regard for the sleynge of a marys sonne, but the despite grevyth me much more than all my hurte.'

'Truly,' seyde the quene, 'ye say trouthe, but hartely I 30 thanke you,' seyde the quene. 'But ye muste com in with me pesyblé, for all thyng ye put in myne honde, and all that ys amysse shall be amended, for the knyght full sore repentys hym of thys mysadventure that ys befallyn hym.'

1 for *not in C* 2 good *not in C* 3 *C* Gueneuer For sothe I 4 that *not in C* 5 *C* lord Arthur wyste not 6 *A* *not in C* 8 *W* in in 10 Madame *not in C* sir *not in C* 14 ayen *not in C*† 16 *C* hetter *S* better 17 *C* euer werre and 18-19 *C* vnto the knyghte syr launcelot 19 wood *not in C*† *C** mesure in the Inner courte to 20 *C* he bad thou 21 *C* came to hym 22 *C* soo moeued 24 For *not in C* *C* Me semeth said sir launcelot ye ougte *C* wrothe 26 in regard *not in C* 26-7 *C* for the kyll-ynge of a mares sone 31-2 *C*† is euylle shalle be for the best for

'Madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'syth hit ys so that ye be accorded with hym, as for me I may nat agaynesay hit, howbehit sir Mellyyagaunte hath done full shamefully to me and cowardly. And, madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'and I had wyste that ye wolde have bene so lyghtly accorded with hym I wolde nat a made such haste unto you.'

'Why say ye so?' seyde the quene. 'Do ye forthynke youreselff of youre good dedis? Wyte you well,' seyde the quene, 'I accorded never with hym for no favoure nor love that I had unto hym, but of every shamefull noyse of wyse-
dom to lay adoune.'

'Madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ye undirstonde full well I was never wyllynge nor glad of shamefull sclaundir nor noyse. And there ys nother kynge, quene ne knyght that beryth the lyffe, excepte my lorde kynge Arthur and you, 15 440^r madame, that shulde lette me but I shulde make sir Mellyyagaunte harte full colde or ever I departed frome hense.'

'That wote I well,' seyde the quene, 'but what woll ye more? Ye shall have all thyng ruled as ye lyst to have hit.'

'Madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'so ye be pleased, as for 20 my parte ye shall sone please me.'

Ryght so the quene toke sir Launcelot by the bare honde, for he had put of hys gauntelot, and so she wente wyth hym tyll her chambir, and than she commanded hym to be unarmed.

And than sir Launcelot asked the quene where were hir 25 ten knyghtes that were wounded with her. Than she shewed them unto hym, and there they made grete joy of the comyng of sir Launcelot, and he made grete sorow of their hurtis. And there sir Launcelot tolde them how cowardly and traytourly he sette archers to sle hys horse, and how he was 30 fayne to put hymselff in a charyotte. And thus they complayned everyche to other, and full fayne they wolde have ben revenged, but they kepte the pees bycause of the quene.

2-3 C not be ageyn it how be it 4 C cowardly A madame 5 C soo soone
accorded 9 C neuer vnto hym no not in C 10-11 C but for to laye
doun eury shameful noyse (of wysedom not in C†) 16 that not in C 20
C* pleasyd I care not as 21 me not in C† 25 the quene not in C 25-
6 C were the ten knyghtes that were wounded sore so she 27 C vnto sir launcelot
and 27-9 C* comynge of hym and sir launcelot made grete dole of their hurtes
and bewayled them gretely & there 30 C* Mellyyagraunce sette 31 And
not in C 33 C they peaced them self by cause

Than, as the Freynsh booke saythe, sir Launcelot was called many dayes aftyr 'le Shyvalere de Charyotte', and so he ded many dedys and grete adventures.

AND SO WE LEVE OF HERE OF LA SHYVALERE LE CHARYOTE,
5 AND TURNE WE TO THYS TALE.

So sir Launcelot had grete chere with the quene. And than he made a promyse with the quene that the same nyght he sholde com to a wyndow outewarde towarde a gardyne, and that wyndow was barred with iron, and there sir
10 Launcelot promysed to mete her whan all folkes were on slepe.

So than cam sir Lavayne dryvyng to the gatis, seying, 'Where ys my lorde sir Launcelot?' And anone he was sente fore, and whan sir Lavayne saw sir Launcelot, he seyde, 'A, my lorde! I founde howe ye were harde bestadde, for I
440^v 15 have founde your hors that ys slayne with arowys.'

'As for that,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I praye you, sir Lavayne, speke ye of othir maters and lat thys passe, and ryght hit anothir tyme and we may.'

(6) Than the knyghtes that were hurt were serched, and
20 soffte salves were layde to their woundis, and so hit passed on tyll souper-tyme. And all the chere that myght be made them there was done unto the quene and all her knyghtes. And whan season was they wente unto their chambirs, but in no wyse the quene wolde nat suffir her wounded knyghtes
25 to be fro her, but that they were layde inwyth draughtes by hir chambir, uppon beddis and paylattes, that she myght herself se unto them that they wanted nothyng.

So whan sir Launcelot was in hys chambir whych was assygned unto hym, he called unto hym sir Lavayne and
30 tolde hym that nyght he must speke with hys lady, quene Gwenyver.

2 C many a day C cheualer* du charyot† 2-3 so he *not in* C 3-4 C
adventures he had and soo leue we of this tale le* Cheualer* du Charyot†
35 7 C thenne syr launcelot made 7-8 C nyghte sir launcelot shold 9 C was
y barryd 11-12 C gates cryeng where 12 C launcelot du lake thenne was
he 14 A *not in* C C fond well how 15 W hors slayne that ys C that
was 17-18 C lete ye this passe & we shalle* ryghte 18 C tyme when we
beste may 22-3 C knyghtes thenne whan season 24 C suffre the wounded
25 C layde within draughtes 26 W hur uppon 26-7 C and pylowest† that
she her self myght see to them 28 C chamber that was 30 C must goo
speke 30-1 C dame Gueneuer

'Sir,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'let me go with you, and hyt please you, for I drede me sore of [the] treson of sir Mellyagaunte.'

'Nay,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I thanke you, but I woll have nobody wyth me.'

Than sir Launcelot toke hys swerde in hys honde and prevaly wente to the place where he had spyed a ladder toforehande, and that he toke undir hys arme, and bare hit thorow the gardyne and sette hit up to the wyndow. And anone the quene was there redy to mete hym. 5

And than they made their complayntes to othir of many dyverce thyngis, and than sir Launcelot wysshed that he myght have comyn in to her. 10

'Wyte you well,' seyde the quene, 'I wolde as fayne as ye that ye myght com in to me.' 15

'Wolde ye so, madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'wyth youre harte that I were with you?'

'Ye, truly,' seyde the quene.

'Than shall I prove my myght,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for youre love.' 20

And than he sette hys hondis uppon the barrys of iron and pulled at them with suche a myght that he braste hem clene oute of the stone wallys. And therewithall one of the barres of iron kutte the brawne of hys hondys thorowoute to the bone. And than he lepe into the chambir to the quene. 25

'Make ye no noyse,' seyde the quene, 'for my wounded knyghtes lye here fast by me.' 441*

So, to passe uppon thys tale, sir Launcelot wente to bedde with the quene and toke no force of hys hurte honde, but toke hys pleasaunce and hys lykyng untyll hit was the dawning of the day; for wyte you well he slept nat, but wacched. And whan he saw hys tyme that he myght tary no lenger, he toke hys leve and departed at the wyndowe, and put hit togydir as well as he myght agayne, and so departed untyll hys owne chambir. And there he tolde sir Lavayne how that he was hurte. Than sir Lavayne dressed 30

2 C* of the treason 7 C to a place 9-10 C and there anone the quene was redy
 11 C* made eyther to other their complayntes of 16 so *not in C*
 18-19 C quene Now shalle I 21-2 C and he pulled 28 C wente vnto bed
 29 C & he took (he *not in S*) 30 C was in the 31 C day & wete ye well
 34-5 C departed vnto his 36 that *not in C*

hys honde [and staunched] hit and put uppon hit a glove, that hit sholde nat be aspyed. And so they lay longe a-bed in the mornynge tylle hit was nine of the klok.

Than sir Mellyyagaunte wente to the quenys chambir
5 and founde her ladyes there redy clothed.

'A! Jesu mercy,' seyde sir Mellyyagaunte, 'what ayles you, madame, that ye slepe thys longe?'

And therewithall he opened the curtayn for to beholde her. And than was he ware where she lay, and all the hede-
10 sheete, pylow, and over-shyte was all bebled of the bloode of sir Launcelot and of hys hurte honde. Whan sir Mellyyagaunt aspyed that blood, than he demed in her that she was false to the kynge and that som of the wounded knyghtes had lyene by her all that nyght.

15 'A ha, madame!' seyde sir Mellyyagaunte, 'now I have founde you a false traytouras unto my lorde Arthur, for now I preve well hit was nat for nought that ye layde thes wounded knyghtis within the bondys of youre chambir. Therefore I calle you of tresoun afore my lorde kynge Arthure. And
20 now I have proved you, madame, wyth a shamefull dede; and that they bene all false, or som of them, I woll make hit good, for a wounded knyght thys nyght hath layne by you.'

'That ys false,' seyde the quene, 'that I woll report me unto them.'

25 But whan the ten knyghtes harde of sir Mellyyagaunteys wordys, and than they spake all at onys and seyde,

'Sir Mellyyagaunte, thou falsely belyest my lady, the quene, and that we woll make good uppon the, any of us. Now chose whych thou lyst of us, whan we ar hole of the
30 woundes thou gavyst us.'

441^v 'Ye shall nat! Away with youre proude langayge! For here ye may all se that a wounded knyght thys nyght hath layne by the quene.'

2 C the quene lay 2-3 C in her bed vntyl it 6 A not in C 7 C thus longe 8 C and ryght there with alle 10 C† shete & pylowe was bebled with the blood 18-19 C* I wille calle yow of treason before my 21 hit not in C 24-5 C them alle thenne whanne 25 of not in C* 26 and than not in C* 26-7 C al in one voys and sayd to sire 27-8 C thou sayst falsly and wrongfully puttst vpon vs suche a dede and that 28 uppon the not in C† 29 Now not in C 29-30 C† of oure woundes ye 31 C not said syr Mellyyagraunce away 32-p. 1133, 1 C see sayd sir Mellyyagraunce that by the quene this nyght a wounded knyghte hath layne thenne were they al ashamed whan

Than they all loked and were sore ashamed whan they saw that bloode. And wyte you well sir Mellyagaunte was passyng glad that he had the quene at suche avauntayge, for he demed by that to hyde hys owne treson.

And so in thys rumour com in sir Launcelot and fownde 5 them at a grete affray.

'What aray ys thys?' seyde sir Launcelot. (7)

Than sir Mellyagaunce tolde hem what he had founde, and so he shewed hym the quenys bed.

'Now truly,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ye ded nat youre parte 10 nor knyghtly, to touche a quenys bede whyle hit was drawyn and she lyyng therein. And I daresay,' seyde syr Launcelot, 'my lorde kynge Arthur hymselff wolde nat have displayed hir curtaynes, and she beyng within her bed, onles that hit had pleased hym to have layne hym downe by her. And 15 therefore, sir Mellyagaunce, ye have done unworshypfully and shamefully to youreselff.'

'Sir, I wote nat what ye meane,' seyde sir Mellyagaunce, 'but well I am sure there hath one of hir hurte knyghtes layne with her thys nyght. And that woll I prove with myne 20 hondys, that she ys a tratraures unto my lorde kynge Arthur.'

'Beware what ye do,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for an ye say so and wyll preve hit, hit woll be takyn at youre handys.'

'My lorde sir Launcelot,' seyde sir Mellyagaunce, 'I rede you beware what ye do; for thoughe ye ar never so good a 25 knyght, as I wote well ye ar renowned the beste knyght of the wor[l]de, yet shulde ye be avysed to do batayle in a wronge quarell, for God woll have a stroke in every batayle.'

'As for that,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'God ys to be drad! But as to that I say nay playnly, that thys nyght there lay none 30 of thes ten knyghtes wounded with my lady, quene Gwenyver, and that woll I prove with myne hondys that ye say untrewly in that. Now, what sey ye?' seyde sir Launcelot.

'Thus I say,' seyde sir Mellyagaunce, 'here ys my glove

4 owne *not in C†* 5 C so with this rumoure 6-7 C† grete aray Capitulum
septimum What aray is 9 so *not in C* 10 Now *not in C* 12 seyde syr
Launcelot *not in C* 14 and *not in C* 15 hym *not in C†* 16 sir
Mellyagaunce *not in C* 18 Sir *not in C* 19-20 C her wounded kny3tes layne
by her 20 C & therfor I wil proue 21 kynge *not in C* 22 sir *not in C*
23 C & ye will preue 26 C† as ye wote 31 C wounded kny3tes 33-4
C† that now Hold said sir Mellyagaunce here

442^r that she ys a traytours unto my lorde kynge Arthur, and that thys nyght one of the wounded knyghtes lay wyth her.'

'Well, sir, and I resceyve youre glove,' seyde sir Launcelot.

And anone they were sealed with their synattes, and
5 delyverde unto the ten knyghtes.

'At what day shall we do batayle togydirs?' seyde sir Launcelot.

'Thys day eyght dayes,' seyde sir Mellyagaunce, 'in the fylde besydys Westemynster.'

10 'I am agreed,' seyde sir Launcelot.

'But now,' seyde sir Mellyagaunce, 'syttyn hit ys so that we muste nedys fyght togydirs, I pray you as ye betthe a noble knyght, awayte me wyth no treson nother no vylany the meanewhyle, nother none for you.'

15 'So God me helpe,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ye shall ryght well wyte that I was never of n[o] such condysions. For I reporte me to all knyghtes that ever have knowyn me, I fared never wyth no treson, nother I loved never the felyshyp of hym that fared with treson.'

20 'Than lat us go unto dyner,' seyde sir Mellyagaunce, 'and aftir dyner the quene and ye may ryde all unto Westemynster.'

'I woll well,' seyde sir Launcelot.

Than sir Mellyagaunce seyde unto sir Launcelot, 'Sir,
25 pleasyth you to se esturys of thys castell?'

'With a good wyll,' seyde sir Launcelot.

And than they wente togydir frome chambir to chambir, for sir Launcelot drad no perellis: for ever a man of worshyp and of proues dredis but lytyll of perels, for they wene that
30 every man be as they bene. But ever he that faryth with treson puttyth oftyn a trew man in grete daungere. And so hit befelle uppon sir Launcelot that no perell dred: as he wente with sir Mellyagaunce he trade on a trappe, and the burde rolled, and there sir Launcelot felle downe more than
35 ten fadom into a cave full off strawe.

1 a *not in C*

3 Well sir *not in C*

4 C & so they were

C their sygnettys

12 nedys *not in C*

13 C treason nor none vylony

16 that *not in C* W no

such condusions

19 C of no man that

20 C go to dyner seid melliagrauce

21 C† after dyner ye & p^e quene and ye

24 Sir *not in C*

25 C pleaseth it

yow 29 C† dredeth lest alwayes perils

that *not in C*

31 trew *not in C*†

And *not in C*

And than sir Mellyagaunce departed and made no fare,
no more than he that wyste nat where he was. And whan sir
Launcelot was thus myssed they mervayled where he was
becomyn, and than the quene and many of them demed that
he was departed, as he was wonte to do, suddaynly. For sir 5
Mellyagaunce made suddaynly to put on syde sir Lavaynes
horse, that they myght all undirstonde that sir Launcelot 442^v
were departed suddaynly.

So tha(n) hit passed on tyll afftir dyner, and than sir Lavayne
wolde nat stynte untill he had horse-lytters for the wounded 10
knyghtes, that they myght be caryed in them. And so with
the quene bothe ladyes and jantylwomen and [other] rode
unto Westemynster, and there the knyghtes tolde how sir
Mellyagaunce had appeled the quene of hyghe treson, and
how sir Launcelot resceyved the glove of hym, 'and thys day 15
eyght dayes they shall do batayle before you.'

'Be my hede,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'I am aferde sir
Mellyagaunce hath charged hymselff with a grete charge.
But where is sir Launcelot?' seyde the kynge.

'Sir, we wote nat where he ys, but we deme he ys ryddyn 20
to som adventure, as he ys offtyntymes wonte to do, for he
had sir Lavaynes horse.'

'Lette hym be,' seyde the kynge, 'for he woll be founden
but if he be trapped wyth som treson.'

Thus leve we sir Launcelot liyng within that cave in grete 25 (8)
payne. And every day there cam a lady and brought hys
mete and hys drynke, and wowed hym every day to have
layne by her, and ever sir Launcelot seyde her nay.

Than seyde she, 'Sir, ye ar nat wyse, for ye may never oute
of this preson but if ye have my helpe. And also youre lady, 30
quene Gwenvyer, shall be brente in youre defaute onles that
ye be there at the day of batayle.'

1-2 C† fare as that he nyst where he 6 C putte awaye on syde 7-8 C*
launcelot was departed 9 W that (not in C) 7-16 W (sidenote) He sir Launcelot
felle into a depe pytte by the treson off sir Mellyagaunce Iten fadum (sic) 10
C† vntyl that he ordeyned lytters 11 C† be lad in 12 C quene and
them al bothe 12-13 W and so they† rode unto C and other* wente vnto
13 C told kyng arthur hou 15 C Launcelot had receyued 18 C has taken
vpon hym a 20 C Sir sayd they alle we 21 C aduentures 21-2 C
he hath syr 25 C Soo leue 26 C brougt hym his 27 every day not
in C W have have 28 C† by hym C euer the noble knyghte syre 28-
9 C nay sir Launcelot sayd she ye

'God deffende,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that she shulde be brente in my defaught! And if hit be so,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that I may nat be there, hit shall be well undirstonde, bothe at the kynge and the quene and with all men of worship, that I am dede, syke, othir in preson. For all men that know me woll say for me that I am in som evyll case and I be nat that day there. And thus well I undirstonde that there ys som good knyght, othir of my blood other som other that lovys me, that woll take my quarell in honde. And therefore,'
 10 seyde sir Launcelot, 'wyte you well, ye shall nat feare me, and
 443^r if there were no mo women in all thys londe but ye, yet shall nat I have ado with you.'

'Than ar ye shamed,' seyde the lady, 'and destroyed for ever.'

15 'As for worldis shame, now Jesu deffende me! And as for my distresse, hit ys welcom, whatsoever hit be that God sendys me.'

So she cam to hym agayne the same day that the batayle shulde be and seyde,

20 'Sir Launcelot, bethynke you, for ye ar to hard-harted. And therefore, and ye wolde but onys kysse me, I shulde delyver you and your armoure, and the beste horse that was within sir Mellyagaunce stable.'

'As for to kysse you,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I may do that
 25 and lese no worshyp. And wyte you well, and I undirstood there were ony disworshyp for to kysse you, I wold nat do hit.'

And than he kyssed hir. And anone she gate hym up untill hys armour, and whan he was armed she brought hym tylle a stable where stode twelve good coursers, and bade
 30 hym to chose of the beste. Than sir Launcelot loked uppon a whyght courser and that lyked hym beste, and anone he commaunded hym to be sadeled with the beste sadyll of warre, and so hit was done. Than he gate hys owne speare

4 C and at the quene 7 C not there that (S at that) day thus not in C C
 wel I wote 11-12 C but ye I wil not haue adoo 13 C thenne arte thow 15
 now not in C 18 agayne not in C 20 C launcelot me thynketh ye 20-2 C
 herted but woldest thow but kysse me ones I shold delyuer the and thyn 22-3 C
 that is within 27 And not in C 27-8 C† & thenne she gat hym and broughte
 hym to his armour 30 of not in C 31 C courser the whiche lyked 32 C*
 commaunded the kepers faste to sadle hym with 33 C werre that there was and
 soo C done as he badde thenne owne not in C

in hys honde and hys swerde by hys syde, and than he commaunded the lady unto God and sayde,

'Lady, for thys dayes dede I shall do you servyse, if ever hit lye in my power.'

Now leve we here sir Launcelot, all that ever he myght walop, and speke we of quene Gwenyver that was brought tyll a fyre to be brente; for sir Mellyagaunce was sure, hym thought, that sir Launcelotte sholde nat be at that batayle, and therefore he ever cryed uppon sir Arthur to do hym justyse othir ellys brynge forth sir Launcelot. 5 (9)

Than was the kynge and all the courte full sore abaysshed and shamed that the quene shulde have be brente in the defaute of sir Launcelot. 10

'My lorde, kynge Arthur,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'ye may undirstonde that hit ys nat well with my lorde sir Launcelot, for and he were on lyve, so he be nat syke other in preson, wyte you well he wolde have bene here. For never harde ye that ever he fayled yet hys parte for whom he solde do batayle fore. And therefore,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'my lorde kynge Arthur, I beseche you that ye will gyff me lycence to do batayle here thys day for my lorde and mayster, and for to save my lady the quene.' 15 443v 20

'Graunte mercy, jantill sir Lavayne,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'for I dare say all that sir Mellyagaunce puttith uppon my lady the quene ys wronge. For I have spokyn with all the ten wounded knyghtes, and there ys nat one of them, and he were hole and able to do batayle, but he wolde prove uppon sir Mellyagaunce body [that it is fals that he puttith upon my] <lady>.' 25

'And so shall I,' seyde sir Lavayne, 'in the deffence of my lorde sir Launcelot, and ye woll gyff me leve.' 30

'And I gyff you leve,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'and do youre beste, for I dare well say there ys som treson done to sir Launcelot.'

1 than he *not in C* 3 *C* this good dede 4 *C* hit be in 5 here *not in C*
 5-6 *C* Launcelot wallop alle that he myghte And 6-7 *C* broughte to a 9
 and *not in C* *C* kynge Arthur 10 *C* launcelot du lake 12, 17 have *not in C*
C 14 kynge *not in C* 18 yet *not in C*† 19 *W* Launcelot Lavayne 20 *C*
 yow gyue me lycence (*S* the lycence) 28-9 *C** body that it is fals that he putteth
 vpon my quene (*homoeoteuton in W*) 30 And *not in C* 31-2 *C* leve
 Now I

Than was sir Lavayn armed and horsed, and delyverly at the lystes ende [he rode] to perfourme hys batayle. And ryght as the herrowdis shuld cry: 'Lechés les alere!' ryght so com sir Launcelot dryvyng with all the myght of hys horse. And
 5 than kynge Arthure cryed: 'Whoo!' and 'Abyde!'

And than was sir Launcelot called tofore kynge Arthur, and there he tolde opynly tofor the kynge all how that sir Mellyyagaunce had served hym firste and laste. And whan the kynge and quene and all the lordis knew off the treson
 10 of sir Mellyyagaunte, they were all ashamed on hys behalffe. Than was the quene sente fore and sette by the kynge in the grete truste of hir champion.

And than sir Launcelot and sir Mellyyagaunte dressed them togydir with spearys as thunder, and there sir Launcelot bare hym quyte over hys horse croupe. And than sir
 15 Launcelot alyght and dressed hys shyld on hys shuldir and toke hys swerde in hys honde, and so they dressed to eche other and smote many grete strokis togydir. And at the laste sir Launcelot smote hym suche a buffet uppon the
 44^r 20 helmet that he felle on the tone syde to the erthe.

And than he cryed uppon hym lowde and seyde, 'Moste noble knyght, sir Launcelot, save my lyff! For I yelde me unto you, and I requyre you, as ye be a knyght and felow of the Table Rounde, sle me nat, for I yelde me as overcomyn,
 25 and, whethir I shall lyve or dey, I put me in the kynges honde and youres.'

Than sir Launcelot wyst nat what to do, for he had lever than all the good in the worlde that he myght be revenged uppon hym. So sir Launcelot loked uppon the quene, gyff
 30 he myght aspye by ony sygne or countenaunce what she wolde have done. And anone the quene wagged hir hede

1-2 C and sodenly at 2 C* ende he rode to performe this bataille 3 C* lesses les aler C soo came in sir 4 C the force of 5 kynge *not in* C 6 And *not in* C C* called on horsbak to fore 7 that *not in* C 9 C and the quene 11 C was quene Gueneuer 11-12 C in grete 13 C* thenne there was no more els to say but syr Launcelot 14 C* them vnto bataille and took their speres and soo they came to gyders as thonder 15 C hym doune quyte 16-17 C sholder with his suerd 17-18 C hand and sir Mellyyagraunce in the same wyse dressid hym vnto hym and there they smote many 21 C hym alowde Moost 22 C launcelot du lake 28 that *not in* C 28-9 C* myghte haue ben reuenged vpon syr Mellyyagraunce and sir Launcelot loked vp to the Quene Gueneuer yf 31 C And thenne the

uppon sir Launcelot, as ho seyth 'sle hym'. And full well knew sir Launcelot by her sygnys that she wolde have hym dede.

Than sir Launcelot bade hym, 'Aryse, for shame, and perfourme thys batayle with me to the utteraunce!' 5

'Nay,' seyde sir Mellyagaunce, 'I woll never aryse untyll that ye take me as yolden and recreaunte.'

'Well, I shall proffir you a large proffir,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that ys for to say I shall unarme my hede and my lyffte quarter of my body, all that may be unarmed as for that 10 quarter, and I woll lette bynde my lyfft honde behynde me there hit shall nat helpe me, and ryght so I shall do batayle with you.'

Than sir Mellyagaunce sterte up and seyde on hyght, 'Take hede, my lorde Arthur, of thys proffir, for I woll take 15 hit. And lette hym be dissarmed and bounden accordynge to hys proffir.'

'What sey ye?' seyde kynge Arthur unto sir Launcelot. 'Woll ye abyde by youre proffir?'

'Ye, my lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for I woll never go 20 fro that I have onys sayde.'

Than the knyghtes parters of the fylde disarmed sir Launcelot, firste hys hede and than hys lyffte arme and hys lyffte syde, and they bounde his lyffte arme to hys lyffte syde fast behynde hys bak, withoute shylde or onythyng. And 25 anone they yode togydys.

Wyte you well there was many a lady and many a knyght 444^v mervayled of sir Launcelot [that] wolde jouparté hymself in suche wyse.

Than sir Mellyagaunce com wyth swerde all on hyght, 30 and sir Launcelot shewed hym opynly hys bare hede and the bare lyffte syde. And whan he wente to have smytten hym uppon the bare hede, than lyghtly he devoyded the lyffte

1 C as though she wold saye slee hym Ful 2 C by the waggynge of her hede
that 4 C bad hym ryse 5 C that bataille with me *not in C* 7 that
not in C 8 Well *not in C* C yow large profers 10-11 C vnarmed & lete
11-12 C me soo that it 14-15 C* vp vpon his legges & sayd on hyghe My
lord Arthur take hede to this profer 20 for *not in C* 23 C hede & sythen
his lyfte 24-5 C† arme behynd his bak 25 W behynde hyend 25-6 C
& thenne they were put to gyders 27-8 C lady & knyzt merueylled that sir
30 C with his suerd 33 C he auoyded the

legge and the lyffte syde and put hys honde and hys swerde
to that stroke, and so put hit on syde wyth grete slyght. And
than with grete force sir Launcelot smote hym on the
helmet such a buffett that the stroke carved the hed in two
5 partyes.

Than there was no more to do, but he was drawyn oute of
the fylde, and at the grete instaunce of the knyghtes of the
Table Rounde the kynge suffird hym to be entered, and the
mencion made uppon hym who slewe hym and for what
10 cause he was slayne.

And than the kynge and the quene made more of sir
Launcelot, and more was he cherysshed than ever he was
aforehande.

1 C* his ryght hand

12 C Launcelot du lake

V

THE HEALING OF SIR URRY

[*Winchester MS.*, ff. 444^v-449^r;
Caxton, Book XIX, chs. 10-13]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

10. How syr Urré came into Arthurs courte for to be heled of his woundes, and how kyng Arthur wold begyn to handle hym.
11. How kyng Arthur handled syr Urré, and after hym many other knyghtes of the Rounde Table.
12. How syr Launcelot was comanded by Arthur to handle hys woundes, and anone he was al hool, and how they thanked God.
13. How there was a party made of an hondred knyghtes ayenst an hondred knyghtes, and of other maters.

THAN, as the Freynshe boke makith mencion, there was (10)
 a good knyght in the londe of Hungré whos name was
 sir Urré. And he was an adventurys knyght, and in all
 placis where he myght here ony adventures dedis and of
 worschyp there wold he be.

So hit happened in Spayne there was an erle, and hys
 sunnes name was called sir Alpheus. And at a grete turna-
 mente in Spayne thys sir Urry, knyght of Hungré, and sir
 Alpheus of Spayne encountred togydirs for verry envy, and
 so aythir undirtoke other to the utteraunce. And by fortune 10
 thys sir Urry slew sir Alpheus, the erlys son of Spayne. But
 thys knyght that was slayne had yevyn sir Urry, or ever he
 were slayne, seven grete woundis, three on the hede and 445^r
 three on hys body, an one uppon hys lyffte honde. And
 thys sir Alpheus had a modir [whiche] was a grete sorseras; 15
 and she, for the despyte of hir sunnes deth, wrought by her
 suttyle craufftis that sir Urry shulde never be hole, but ever
 his woundis shulde one tyme fester and another tyme blede,
 so that he shulde never be hole untill the beste knyght of the
 worlde had serched hys woundis. And thus she made her 20
 avaunte, wherethorow hit was knowyn that this sir Urry
 sholde never be hole.

Than hys modir lete make an horse-lytter and put hym
 therein with two palfreyes caryng hym. And than she toke
 wyth hym hys syster, a full fayre damesell whos name was 25
 Fyleloly, and a payge wyth hem to kepe their horsis, and so
 they lad sir Urry thorow many contreyes. For, as the
 Freynshe boke saythe, she lad hym so seven yere thorow all
 londis crystened and never cowde fynde no knyght that
 myght ease her sunne.

So she cam unto Scotlonde and into the bondes of 30
 Inglonde. And by fortune she com unto the feste of Pente-
 coste untill kyng Arthurs courte that at that tyme was

2 C his name 4 C here of ony dedes of 6-7 C Erles sone his name was
 Alphegus 12-13 C he was 13-14 C and four on his body & vpon 15 C*
 the whiche was 21 this *not in C* 24 C theryn vnder two caryng hym
not in C 24-5 C took syr Vrres syster with hym a ful 26 C and thenne
 she took a page 29 C neuer she coude 31 C came in to Scotland 32 C
 came nyghe the 33 kyng *not in C*

holdyn at Carlehylle. And whan she cam there she made hit to be opynly knowyn how that she was com into that londe for to hele her sonne. Than kynge Arthur lette calle that lady and aske her the cause why she brought that hurte
 5 knyght into that londe.

'My moste noble kynge,' seyde that lady, 'wyte you well I brought hym hyddir to be heled of hys woundis, that of all thys seven yere myght never be hole.'

And thus she tolde the kynge, and where he was wounded
 10 and with whom, and how hys modir discoverde hit in her pryde how she had worought by enchauntemente that he
 445^v sholde never be hole untill the beste knyght of the worlde had serched hys woundis.

'And so I have passed all the londis crystynde thorow to
 15 have hym healed excepte thys londe, and gyff I fayle here in thys londe I woll never take more payne uppon me. And that ys grete pité, for he was a good knyght and of grete nobeles.'

'What ys hys name?' seyde kynge Arthure.

'My good and gracious lorde,' she seyde, 'his name ys sir
 20 Urré of the Mounte.'

'In good tyme,' seyde the kynge. 'And sythyn ye ar com into thys londe, ye ar ryght wellcom. And wyte you welle, here shall youre son be healed and ever ony Crystyn man heale hym. And for to gyff all othir men off worshyp a cur-
 25 rayge, I myselff woll asay to handyll your sonne, and so shall all the kynges, dukis and erlis that ben here presente at thys tyme, nat presumyng uppon me that I am so worthy to heale youre son be my dedis, but I woll corrayge othir men of worshyp to do as I woll do.'

30 And than the kynge commaunded all the kynges, dukes and erlis and all noble knyghtes of the Rounde Table that were there that tyme presente to com into the medow of Carlehyll. And so at that tyme there were but an hondred

1-2 C it openly to be knowen how 4 C and asked her 8-9 C yere he myghte not be hole & thenne she 9 C kynge where 10 C and of whome 10 hit *not in C* 11 C wroughte that by enchauntement soo that 12 W the beste 14 C thurgh alle the landes crystned 15 C* fayle to hele hym here 17 C† is pyte 18 kynge *not in C* 24 C* may hele 26-7 C presente with me at this tyme thereto wylle I commaunde them and wel I wote they shalle obeye and doo after my commaundement And wete you wel sayd kynge Arthur vnto Vres syster† I shalle begynne to handle hym and serche vnto my power not presumyng

an ten of the Rounde Table, for forty knyghtes were that tyme away. And so here we muste begynne at kynge Arthur, as was kyndely to begynne at hym that was that tyme the moste man of worshyp crystynde.

Than kynge Arthur loked uppon sir Urré, and he thought ⁵ (11) he was a full lykly man whan he was hole. And than the kynge made to take hym downe of the lyttar and leyde hym uppon the erth, and anone there was layde a cussheon of golde that he shulde knele uppon. And than kynge Arthur sayde,

‘Fayre knyght, me rewyth of thy hurte, and for to corrayge all other knyghtes I woll pray the sofftely to suffir me to handyll thy woundis.’

‘My moste noble crystynd kynge, do ye as ye lyste,’ seyde **446^r** sir Urré, ‘for I am at the mercy of God and at youre com- ¹⁵ maundemente.’

So than kynge Arthur softely handeled hym. And than som of hys woundis renewed uppon bledynge.

Than kynge Claryaunce of Northumbirlonde serched, and hit wolde nat be. And than sir Barraunte le Apres, that ²⁰ was called the Kynge with the Hundred Knyghtes, he assayed and fayled. So ded kynge Uryence of the londe of Gore. So ded kynge Angwysh of Irelande, and so ded kynge Newtrys of Garloth. So ded kynge Carydos of Scotlonde. So ded the duke sir Galahalt the Haute Prynce. So ded sir Constantyne ²⁵ that was kynge Cadors son of Cornwayle. So ded duke Chalaunce of Claraunce. So ded the erle of Ulbawys. So ded the erle Lambayle. So ded the erle Arystanse.

Than cam in sir Gawayne wyth hys three sunnes, sir Gyngalyn, sir Florence, and sir Lovell (thes two were ³⁰ begotyn uppon sir Braundeles syster), and all they fayled.

3 C* as is 3-4 C was the moost man of worshyp that was crystned at that tyme 5 C and the kynge thoughte 6-7 C thenne kynge Arthur made hym to be take doune 8 anone *not in C* 9 C thenne noble Arthur 11 C me repenteth of 12 C other noble Knyghtes 13 C handle your woundes 14 My *not in C* 14-15 C kynge sayd Vrré doo as ye lyste for 17 kynge *not in C* 19 C Thenne the kynge 22 C fayled and so 23 C Anguyssaunce of Irland Soo 23 C Nentres 24 C Carados 25 sir *not in C* 25-6 C dyd Constantyn that was sir Carados† son 27 C Challyns 28 C Arystause 30-1 C† vpon sir dyd the Erle Lambayle Soo dyd the Erle Arystause Thenne came in syre Gawayne with his thre sones syr gangalayne syr Florens and syr Louel these two were gotten vpon syr Brandyles syster (*duplication*)

Than cam in sir Aggravayne, sir Gaherys, and sir Mordred, and the good knyght sir Gareth that was of verry knyghthod worth all the brethirn.

So cam in the knyghtes of sir Launcelottis kyn, but sir
 5 Launcelot was nat [that] tyme in the courte, for he was that tyme uppon hys adventures. Than sir Lyonell, sir Ector de Marys, sir Bors de Ganys, sir Blamour de Ganys, sir Bleoberys de Ganys, sir Gahalantyne, sir Galyhodyn, sir Menaduke, sir Vyllars the Valyaunte, sir Hebes le
 10 Renowne, all thes were of sir Launcelottis kynne, and all they fayled.

Than cam in sir Sagramour le Desyrus, sir Dodynas le Saveage, sir Dynadan, sir Brewne le Noyre that sir Kay named La Cote Male Tayle, and sir Kay le Senesciall, sir
 15 Kay d'Estraunges, sir Mellyot de Logris, sir Petipace of Wynchylsé, sir Galleron of Galway, sir Melyon of the Moun-
 446^v tayne, sir Cardoke, sir Uwayne les Avoutres, and sir Ozanna le Cure Hardy.

Than cam in sir Ascamour, and sir Grummor and Grum-
 20 morson, sir Crosseleme, sir Severause le Brewse that was called a passynge stronge knyght.

For, as the booke seyth, the chyff lady of the Lady off the Lake fested sir Launcelot and sir Severause le Brewse, and whan she had fested them both at sundry tymes, she
 25 prayde hem to gyff her a done, and anone they graunted her. And than she prayde sir Severause that he wolde promyse her never to do batayle ayenste sir Launcelot, and in the same wyse she prayde sir Launcelot never to do batayle ayenste sir Severause, and so aythir promysed
 30 her. (For, the Freynshe booke sayth, that sir Severause had never corayge nor grete luste to do batayle ayenste no man but if hit we[re] ayenste gyauntis and ayenste dragons and wylde bestis.)

So leve we thys mater and speke we of them that at the
 35 kynges rekeyste were [there] at the hyghe feste, as knyghtes

4 C came knyghtes 14 C Kay the Seneschal 19-20 C syr Gromere
 grummors sone 20, 26, 29 C Seruause 22 of the Lady *not in C* 25 C
 a bone anone *not in C* 25-6 C graunted it her 27 C launcelot du lake
 31 grete *not in C* 34 C Soo we passe vnto them that 35 W rekeyste
 where they were at the C request made hem alle that were there at that (*see note*)
 C as of the knyghtes

of the Rounde Table, for to serche sir Urré. And to thys entente the kynge ded hit, to wyte whych was the moste nobelyste knyght amonge them all.

Than cam in sir Agglovale, sir Durnor and sir Tor that was begotyn uppon the cowardis wyff, but he was begotyn afore Aryes wedded her (and kynge Pellynor begate them all: firste sir Tor, sir Agglovale, sir Durnor, sir Lamorak, the moste nobeleste knyght, one of them that ever was in kynge Arthurs dayes as for a wordly knyght, and sir Percivale that was pyerles, excepte sir Galahad, in holy dedis. But they dyed in the queste of the Sangreall).

Than cam in sir Gryfflet le Fyze de Du, sir Lucan the Butlere, sir Bedyvere, hys brothir, sir Braundeles, sir Constantyne, sir Cadors son of Cornwayle that was kynge aftir Arthurs dayes, and sir Clegis, sir Sadok, sir Dynas le Senesciall de Cornwayle, sir Fergus, sir Dryaunte, sir Lambegus, sir Clarrus off Cleremownte, sir Cloddrus, sir Hectymere, sir Edwarde of Carnarvan, sir Pryamus whych was crystynde by the meanys of sir Trystram, the noble knyght, and thes three were brethirn; sir Helayne le Blanke that was son unto sir Bors, for he begate hym uppon kynge Brandygorys doughter, and sir Bryan de Lystenoyse; sir Gauter, sir Raynolde, sir Gyllymere, were three brethirn whych sir Launcelot wan uppon a brydge in sir Kayes armys; sir Gwyarte le Petite, sir Bellyngere le Bewse that was son to the good knyght sir Alysaunder le Orphelyn that was slayne by the treson of kynge Marke.

Also that traytoure kynge slew the noble knyght sir Trystram as he sate harpynge afore hys lady, La Beall Isode, with a trenchaunte glayve, for whos dethe was the moste waylynge of ony knyght that ever was in kynge Arthurs dayes, for there was never none so bewayled as was sir Tristram and sir Lamerok, for they were with treson slayne: sir Trystram by kynge Marke, and sir Lamorake by sir Gawayne and hys brethirn.

1-2 C† sir Turre to that entente 2 moste *not in C* 3 all *not in C* 4 in *not in C*
 5 C vpon Aryes the couherdes 8 of them *not in C* 9 kynge *not in C* 12 in
not in C 15 Cle S the 18-19 C Canaruan syre Dynas syre Pryamus
 that was crystned by sir Tristram 20 C† Helayne de blank C sone to
 21 for *not in C* 23 C bretheren that 30-31 C was moche bewaylynge of euery
 knyghte that euer were in 32 for *not in C* 33 C were traytoursly slayne

And thys sir Bellynger revenged the deth of hys fadir, sir Alysaunder, and sir Trystram, for he slewe kynge Marke. And La Beall Isode dyed sownyng uppon the crosse of sir Trystram, whereof was grete pité. And all that were with
 5 kynge Marke whych were of assente of the dethe of sir Trystram were slayne, as sir Andred and many othir.

Than cam sir Hebes, sir Morganoure, sir Sentrayle, sir Suppynabiles, sir Belyaunce le Orgulus that the good knyght sir Lamorak wan in playne batayle, sir Neroveus and
 10 sir Plenoryus, two good knyghtes that sir Launcelot wanne, sir Darras, sir Harry le Fyze Lake, sir Ermynde, brother to kyng Hermaunce, for whom sir Palomydes faught at the Rede Cité with two brethir; and sir Selyses of the Dolerous Towre, sir Edward of Orkeney, sir Ironsyde that was called
 15 the noble knyght of the Rede Laundis, that sir Gareth wan for the love of da[m]e Lyones; sir Arrokk, sir Degrevaunt, sir Degrave Saunze Vylony that faught wyth the gyaunte of the Blak Lowe; sir Epynogrys that was the kynges son of
 447^v Northumbirlonde, sir Pelleas that loved the lady Ettarde
 20 (and he had dyed for her sake, had nat bene one of the ladyes of the lake whos name was dame Nynve; and she wedde sir Pelleas, and she saved hym ever aftir, that he was never slayne by her dayes; and he was a full noble knyght); and sir Lamyell of Cardyff that was a grete lovear, sir Playne
 25 de Fors, sir Melyaus de Lyle, sir Boarte le Cure Hardy that was kynge Arthurs son, sir Madore de la Porte, sir Collgrevaunce, sir Hervyse de la Foreyst Saveayge, sir Marrok the good knyght that was betrayed with his wyff, for he made hym seven yere a warwolff; sir Persaunt, sir Pertolope, hys
 30 brothir, that was called the Grene Knyght, and sir Perymones, brother unto them bothe, whych was called the Rede Knyght, that sir Gareth wanne whan he was called Bewmaynes.

All thes hondred knyghtes and ten serched sir Urryes woundis by the commaundemente of kynge Arthur.

(12) 35 'Mercy Jesu!' seyde kynge Arthur, 'where ys sir Launcelot du Lake, that he ys nat here at thys tyme?'

1-2 C† fader Alysander and syr Tristram slewe (*see note*) 5 C Marke that were
 consentynge to the 8 C† Bellangere le orgulous 16 W dane 16-17
 C† Arrokk de greuaunt syr Degrane 20 C her loue had not 21 C lake her
 name was dame Nymue W Nyuyne 22 ever aftir *not in C* 23 by her
 dayes *not in C* 31 C broder to them bothe that was

And thus as they stood and spake of many thyngis, there one aspyed sir Launcelot that com rydyng towarde them, and anone they tolde the kynge.

'Pees,' seyde the kynge, 'lat no man say nothyng untill he be com to us.'

So whan sir Launcelot had aspyed kynge Arthur he descended downe frome hys horse and cam to the kynge and salewed hym and them all.

And anone as the damesell, sir Urryes syster, saw sir Launcelot, she romed to her brothir thereas he lay in hys lyttar and seyde,

'Brothir, here ys com a knyght that my harte gyvyth gretly unto.'

'Fayre syster,' seyde sir Urré, 'so doth my harte lyghte gretly ayenste hym, and my harte gyvith me more unto hym than to all thes that hath serched me.'

Than seyde kynge Arthur unto sir Launcelot, 'Sir, ye muste do as we have done,' and tolde hym what they had done and shewed hym them all that had serched hym.

'Jesu defende me,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'whylo so many noble kyngis and knyghtes have fayled, that I shulde presume uppon me to enchyve that all ye, my lordis, myght nat enchyve.'

'Ye shall nat chose,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'for I commaunde you to do as we all have done.'

'My moste renowmed lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I know well I dare nat, nor may nat, disobey you. But and I myght or durste, wyte you well I wolde nat take uppon me to towche that wounded knyght in that entent that I shulde passe all othir knyghtes. Jesu deffende me frome that shame!'

'Sir, ye take hit wronge,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'for ye shall nat do hit for no presumption, but for to beare us felyshyp, insomuche as ye be a felow of the Rounde Table. And

1 And *not in C* 1-2 *C* there was aspyed 2 *C* that came rydyng
3 anone *not in C* 4 *C* no maner thyng be sayd vntyl 6 had *not in C*
7 downe *not in C* 9 And *not in C* *C* the mayde syre Vrras 10 *C* she
ranne to 15 gretly *not in C* 15 *C** and certaynly I hope now to be heled for my
15-16 *C* yeueth vnto hym more thā 16 *C* haue serched 17 kynge *not in C*
Sir *not in C* 18 *C* told syr launcelot what 20 *C* Launcelot whan soo 21
noble *not in C* *C** haue assayed and fayled 24-5 *C* I will commaunde yow for
to doo 26 *C* Launcelot ye knowe 27 *C* disobey your commaundement but
31 Sir *not in C* for *not in C* 33 as *not in C* *C* table round

wyte you well,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'and ye prevayle nat and heale hym, I dare sey there ys no knyght in thys londe that may hele hym. And therefore I pray you do as we have done.'

5 And than all the kyngis and knyghtes for the moste party prayed sir Launcelot to serche hym. And than the wounded knyght, sir Urré, set hym up waykely and seyde unto sir Launcelot,

'Now, curteyse knyght, I requyre the, for Goddis sake,
10 heale my woundis! For methynkis ever sytthyn ye cam here my woundis grevyth me nat so muche as they ded.'

'A, my fayre lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'Jesu wolde that I myght helpe you! For I shame sore with myselff that I shulde be thus requyred, for never was I able in worthynes
15 to do so hygge a thyng.'

Than sir Launcelot kneled downe by the wounded knyght, sayyng, 'My lorde Arthure, I muste do youre commaundemente, whych ys sore ayenste my harte.' And than he hylde up hys hondys and loked unto the este, sayyng secretely
20 unto hymselff, 'Now, Blyssed Fadir and Son and Holy Goste, I beseche The of Thy mercy that my symple worship and honesté be saved, and Thou Blyssed Trynyté, Thou mayste yeff me power to hele thys syke knyght by the grete vertu and grace of The, but, Good Lorde, never of
25 myselff.'

And than sir Launcelot prayde sir Urré to lat hym se hys
448^v hede; and than, devoutly knelyng, he ransaked the three woundis, that they bled a lytyll; and forthwithall the woundis fayre heled and semed as they had bene hole a seven
30 yere. And in lyke wyse he serched hys body of othir three woundis, and they healed in lyke wyse. And than the laste of all he serched hys honde, and anone hit fayre healed.

Than kynge Arthur and all the kynges and knyghtes kneled downe and gave thankynges and lovyng unto God
35 and unto Hys Blyssed Modir. And ever sir Launcelote wepte, as he had bene a chylde that had bene beatyn!

3 that *not in C* 7-9 *C* and praid sir Launcelot hertely sayeng curtois 11 so
much as they ded *not in C*† 13 For *not in C* *C* shame me sore that 14 *C*
thus rebuked for 18 *C* the whiche 19 *C* in to the eest 20 *C* hym
self thow* blesid fader sone 23 me *not in C* 32 *C* serched the whiche was
in his hand and anone hit heled fayre 34 *C* louynges

Than kyng Arthure lat ravyshe prystes and clarkes in the moste devoutiste wyse to brynge in sir Urré into Carlyle with syngyng and lovyng to God. And whan thys was done the kyng lat clothe hym in ryche maner, and than was there but feaw bettir made knyghtes in all the courte, for he 5 was passyngly well made and bygly.

Than kyng Arthur asked sir Urré how he felte hymselff. 'A! my good and gracious lorde, I felte myselffe never so lusty.'

'Than woll ye juste and do ony armys?' seyd kyng 10 Arthur.

'Sir, and I had all that longed unto justis, I wolde be sone redy.'

Than kyng Arthur made a party [of] a hondred knyghtes (13) to be ayenste an hondred, and so uppon the morn they justed 15 for a dyamounde, but there justed none of the daungerous knyghtes. And so, for to shortyn thys tale, sir Urré and sir Lavayne justed beste that day, for there was none of them but he overthrew and pulled down a thirty knyghtes.

And than by assente of all the kynges and lordis sir Urré 20 and sir Lavayne were made knyghtes of the Table Rounde. And than sir Lavayne keste hys love unto dame Fyleloly, sir Urré syster, and than they were wedded with grete joy, and so kyng Arthur gaff to every of them a barony of londis.

And this sir Urré wolde never go frome sir Launcelot, 25 but he and sir Lavayne awayted evermore uppon hym; and they were in all the courte accounted for good knyghtes and full desyrous in armys. And many noble dedis they ded, for they wolde have no reste but ever sought uppon their dedis. 449^r Thus they lyved in all that courte wyth grete nobeles and 30 joy longe tymes.

But every nyght and day sir Aggravayne, sir Gawaynes brother, awayted quene Gwenyver and sir Launcelot to put hem bothe to a rebuke and a shame.

1 C lete araye† preestes (*see note*) 2 C deuoutest manere C Vrré within Carleil 4-5 C in the rychest maner that coude be thoughte and thenne were there 7 C and Arthur 8 A *not in C* C good lord he sayd 10 Than *not in C* C* doo dedes of armes 12 C Sir sayd Vrré and 14 kyng *not in C* 15 C ageynste an honderd knyghtes and 19 a *not in C* 20 C the assente 22 than *not in C* 23 C wedded to gyder with 24 so *not in C* 29-30 C soughte adventures thus 31 C tyme 33 C Launcelot du lake 34 bothe *not in C* C rebuke & shame

And so I leve here of this tale, and overlepe grete bookis
 of sir Launcelot, what grete adventures he ded whan he was
 called 'le Shyvalere de Charyot'. For, as the Freynshe
 booke sayth, because of dispyte that knyghtes and ladyes
 5 called hym 'the Knyght that rode in the Charyot', lyke as he
 were juged to the jybett, therefore, in the despite of all them
 that named hym so, he was caryed in a charyotte a twelve-
 monethe; for but lytill aftir that he had slayne sir Mellya-
 gaunte in the quenys quarell, he never of a twelve-moneth
 10 com on horsebak. And, as the Freynshe booke sayth, he ded
 that twelve-moneth more than forty batayles.

And bycause I have loste the very mater of Shevalere
 de Charyot I departe from the tale of sir Launcelot; and
 here I go unto the morte Arthur, and that caused sir
 15 Aggravayne.

AND HERE ON THE OTHIR SYDE FOLOWYTH *THE MOSTE
 PYTEUOUS TALE OF THE MORTE ARTHURE SAUNZ GWERDON PAR LE
 SHYVALERE SIR THOMAS MALLEORRÉ, KNYGHT.*

JESU, AYEDE LY PUR VOUTRE BONE MERCY! AMEN.

1 C ouer hyp	2 C Launcelot du lake	3 C le cheualer* du charyot	6 W
the jubett C the galhous	C Therfor in despyte	9 C neuer in a twelue	
12-13 C of la† chevaler* du† charyot	14 C morte of kyng Arthur	15 C	
Agrauayne Explicit liber XIX	16-19 C And here after foloweth the moost		
pytous history of the morte of kyng Arthur the whiche is the XX book		19 W	
ayed ely			

THE MOST PITEOUS TALE
OF
THE MORTE ARTHUR SAUNZ GWERDON

[*Winchester MS., ff. 449^r–484^v;*
Caxton, Books XX and XXI]

I
SLANDER AND STRIFE

[*Winchester MS.*, ff. 449^r-458^r;
Caxton, Book XX, chs. 1-8]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

Here foloweth the book of the pyteous hystorye whyche is of the morte or deth of kyng Arthur and the chapytres of the twenty book.

1. How syr Agravayn and syr Mordred were besy upon syr Gawayn for to dysclose the love bytwene syr Launcelot and quene Guenever.
2. How syr Agravayn dysclosed theyr love to kyng Arthur, and how kyng Arthur gaf them lycence to take hym.
3. How syr Launcelot was espyed in the quenes chambre, and how syr Agravayn and syr Mordred came wyth twelve knyghtes to slee hym.
4. How syr Launcelot slew syr Colgrevice and armed hym in his harnoys and after slewe syr Agravayn and twelve of his felawes.
5. How syr Launcelot came to syr Bors and tolde hym how he had spedde, and in what adventure he had ben, and how he escaped.
6. Of the counceyl and advys whiche was taken by syr Launcelot and by hys frendes for to save the quene.
7. How syr Mordred rode hastely to the kyng to telle hym of th'affray and deth of syr Agravayn and the other knyghtes.
8. How syr Launcelot and hys kynnesmen rescowed the quene from the fyre, and how he slewe many knyghtes.

IN May, whan every harte floryshyth and burgenyth (for, (1)
 as the season ys lusty to beholde and comfortable, so man
 and woman rejoyssyth and gladith of somer commynge with
 his freyshe floures, for wynter wyth hys rowghe wyndis and
 blastis causyth lusty men and women to cower and to syt by 5
 fyres), so thys season hit befelle in the moneth of May a
 grete angur and unhappy that stynted nat tylle the floure of
 chyvalry of the worlde was destroyed and slayne.

And all was longe uppon two unhappy knyghtis whych 449^v
 were named sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred, that were 10
 brethir unto sir Gawayne. For thys sir Aggravayne and
 sir Mordred had ever a prevy hate unto the quene, dame
 Gwenyver, and to sir Launcelot; and dayly and nyghtly they
 ever wacched uppon sir Launcelot.

So hyt myssefortuned sir Gawayne and all hys brethirne 15
 were in kynge Arthurs chambir, and than sir Aggravayne
 seyde thus opynly, and nat in no counceyle, that manye
 knyghtis myght here:

'I mervayle that we all be nat ashamed bothe to se and to
 know how sir Launcelot lyeth dayly and nyghtly by the 20
 quene. And all we know well that hit ys so, and hit ys shame-
 fully suffird of us all that we shulde suffir so noble a kynge as
 kynge Arthur ys to be shamed.'

Than spake sir Gawayne and seyde,

'Brothir, sir Aggravayne, I pray you and charge you, meve 25
 no such maters no more afore me, for wyte you well, I woll
 nat be of youre counceyle.'

'So God me helpe,' seyde sir Gaherys and sir Gareth, 'we
 woll nat be knowyn of your dedis.'

'Than woll I!' seyde sir Mordred.

'I lyve you well,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'for ever unto all 30
 unhappynes, sir, ye woll graunte. And I wolde that ye
 leffte and make you nat so bysy, for I know,' seyde sir
 Gawayne, 'what woll falle of hit.'

1 C euery lusty herte 5 C causeth a lusty man and woman 5-6 C sytte
 fast by the fyre So in this season as in the monethe of May it 7 C vnhap
 8 C* chyualry of alle the world 9 C the whiche 15 C it myshapped syr
 18 C here it 21 C† knowe it so 23 C is soo to 26 C wel sayd syr
 Gawayne I 29 C knowynge broder Agrauayne of 32 C unhappynes
 broder syr Mordred there to wille ye graunte 33 C* lefte alle this and made

'Falle whatsumever falle may,' seyde sir Aggravayne, 'I woll disclose hit to the kynge!'

'Nat be my counceyle,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'for, and there aryse warre and wrake betwyxte sir Launcelot [and us], wyte
 5 you well, brothir, there woll many kynges and grete lordis holde with sir Launcelot. Also, brothir, sir Aggravayne,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'ye muste remembir how oftyntymes sir
 450^r Launcelot hath rescowed the kynge and the quene; and the beste of us all had bene full colde at the harte-roote had nat
 10 sir Launcelot bene bettir than we, and that hathe he preved hymself full ofte. And as for my parte,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'I woll never be ayenste sir Launcelot for one dayes dede, that was whan he rescowed me frome kynge Carados of the Dolerous Towre and slew hym and saved my lyff. Also,
 15 brother, sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred, in lyke wyse sir Launcelot rescowed you bothe and three score and two frome sir Tarquyne. And therefore, brothir, methynkis suche noble dedis and kyndnes shulde be remembirde.'

'Do ye as ye lyst,' seyde sir [Aggrav]ayne, 'for I woll
 20 layne hit no lenger.'

So wyth thes wordis cam in sir Arthur.

'Now, brothir,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'stynte youre stryff.'

'That woll I nat,' seyde sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred.

'Well, woll ye so?' seyde sir Gawayne. 'Than God spede
 25 you, for I woll nat here of youre talis, nothir be of your counceile.'

'No more woll I,' seyde sir Gaherys.

'Nother I,' seyde sir Gareth, 'for I shall never say evyll by that man that made me knyght.'

30 And therewythall they three departed makynge grete dole.

'Alas!' seyde sir Gawayne and sir Gareth, 'now ys thys realme holy destroyed and myscheved, and the noble felyshyp of the Rounde Table shall be disparbeled.'

1 C Falle of hit what falle may 4 C ryse C* launcelot and vs (see note)
 13 that was not in C 17-18 C Turquyn Me thynketh broder suche kynde
 dedes 19 W but do C* Agrauayne W Gawayne (see note) 21 So
 not in C C came to them kynge Arthur 22 C broder stynte your noyse sayd
 syre Gawayne 23 That not in C C we wylle not 24 Well not in C
 25 C tales ne be 27-8 C no more wyll I sayd sir Gareth and sir Gaherys for we
 wyl neuer 29-30 C* man for by cause sayd syre Gareth syr launcelot made
 me knyghte by no manere owe I to say ylle of hym and there with al 32
 destroyed and not in C† 33 C be disparplyd

So they departed, and than kynge Arthure asked them (2) what noyse they made.

'My lorde,' seyde sir Aggravayne, 'I shall telle you, for I may kepe hit no lenger. Here ys I and my brothir sir Mordred brake unto my brothir sir Gawayne, sir Gaherys and to 5 sir Gareth; for thys ys all, to make hit shorte: we know all that sir Launcelot holdith youre quene, and hath done longe, and we be your syster sunnes, we may suffir hit no lenger. And all we wote that ye shulde be above sir Launcelot, and ye ar the kynge that made hym knyght, and therefore we 10 450^v will preve hit that he is a traytoure to youre person.'

'Gyff hit be so,' seyde the kynge, 'wyte you well, he ys non othir. But I wolde be lothe to begyn such a thyng but I myght have prevys of hit, for sir Launcelot ys an hardy knyght, and all ye know that he ys the beste knyght amonge 15 us all, and but if he be takyn with the dede he woll fyght with hym that bryngith up the noyse, and I know no knyght that ys able to macch hym. Therefore, and hit be sothe as ye say, I wolde that he were takyn with the dede.'

For, as the Freynshe booke seyth, the kynge was full 20 lothe that such a noyse shulde be uppon sir Launcelot and his quene; for the kynge had a demyng of hit, but he wold nat here thereoff, for sir Launcelot had done so much for hym and for the quene so many tymes that wyte you well the kynge loved hym passyngly well. 25

'My lorde,' seyde sir Aggravayne, 'ye shall ryde to-morne an-huntyng, and doute ye nat, sir Launcelot woll nat go wyth you. And so whan hit drawith towarde nyght ye may sende the quene worde that ye woll ly oute all that nyght, and so may ye sende for your cookis. And than, uppon payne of 30 deth, that nyght we shall take hym wyth the quene, and we shall brynge hym unto you, quycke or dede.'

'I woll well,' seyde the kynge. 'Than I counceyle you to take with you sure felyshyp.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Aggravayne, 'my brothir sir Mordred 35

1 C sir Arthur	6 C† Gareth how this we knowe	8 C sones & we	12 C
sayd syr Arthur wete	14 C preues vpon hit	15 that <i>not in C</i>	21 C lothe
thereto that ony noyse	21-2 C† his queue	22 of hit <i>not in C</i>	22-3 C
not here of hit for	24 C and the quene	28 C Thenne whan it	31 C
we shalle take hym that nyght	31-2 C and outhur we shal brynge hym to yow		
dede or quyck	33-4 C yow sayd the kynge take		

and I woll take wyth us twelve knyghtes of the Rounde Table.'

'Beware,' seyde kynge Arthure, 'for I warne you, ye shall fynde hym wyght.'

- 5 'Lat us deale!' seyde sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred.
 451^r So on the morne kynge Arthure rode an-huntyng and sente worde to the quene that he wolde be oute all that nyght. Than sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred gate to them twelve knyghtes and hyd hemselff in a chambir in the castell
 10 of Carlyle. And thes were their namys: sir Collgrevaunce, sir Mador de la Porte, sir Gyngalyne, sir Mellyot de Logris, sir Petipace of Wynshyls, sir Galleron of Galoway, sir Melyon de la Mountayne, sir Ascomore, sir Gromoresom Erioure, sir Cursesalayne, sir Florence, and sir Lovell. So thes
 15 twelve knyghtes were with sir Mordred and sir Aggravayne, and all they were of Scotlonde, other ellis of sir Gawaynes kynne, othir [well]-wyllers to hys brothir.

So whan the nyght cam sir Launcelot tolde sir Bors how he wolde go that nyght and speke wyth the quene.

- 20 'Sir,' seyde sir Bors, 'ye shall nat go thys nyght be my counceyle.'

'Why?' seyde sir Launcelot.

- 'Sir, for I drede me ever of sir Aggravayne that waytith
 uppon you dayly to do you shame and us all. And never gaff
 25 my harte ayenste no goynge that ever ye wente to the quene so much as now, for I mystruste that the kynge ys oute thys nyght frome the quene [bycause peradventure he hath layne som wacche for you and the quene]. Therefore I drede me sore of som treson.'

- 30 'Have ye no drede,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for I shall go and com agayne and make no tarynge.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Bors, 'that me repentis, for I drede me sore that youre goyng thys nyght shall wratth us all.'

- 'Fayre neveawe,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I mervayle me much
 35 why ye say thus, sytthyn the quene hath sente for me. And

9 C† dyd them self *Le Morte Arthur* (1767) So prewely thay gonne hem hyde
 13 C of the montayne 13-14 C† Gromore somyr Ioure (*see Index*) 14 and
 not in C 17 C* wel willers to his bretheren 23 C Sir sayd sir Bors I drede
 24 uppon not in C 27-8 C* quene by cause peraentur he hath layne somme
 wache for yow and the Quene (*homoeoteleuton in W*) 33 C goynge oute thys
 34 C merueylle moche

wyte you well, I woll nat be so much a cowarde, but she shall undirstonde I woll se her good grace.'

'God spede you well,' seyde sir Bors, 'and sende you sounde and sauff agayne!'

So sir Launcelot departed and toke hys swerde undir hys 5 (3) arme, and so he walked in hys mantell, that noble knyght, 451^v and put hymselff in grete joupaté. And so he past on tylle he cam to the quenys chambir, and so lyghtly he was had into the chambir.

For, as the Freynshhe booke seyth, the quene and sir 10 Launcelot were togydirs. And whether they were abed other at other maner of disportis, me lyst nat thereof make no mencion, for love that tyme was nat as love ys nowadayes.

But thus as they were togydir there cam sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred wyth twelve knyghtes with them of the 15 Rounde Table, and they seyde with grete cryyng and scaryng voyce,

'Thou traytoure, sir Launcelot, now ar thou takyn!'

And thus they cryed wyth a lowde voyce, that all the courte myght hyre hit. And thes fourtene knyghtes all were 20 armed at all poyntis, as they shulde fyght in a batayle.

'Alas!' seyde quene Gwenyver, 'now ar we myscheved bothel!'

'Madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ys there here ony armour within you that myght cover my body wythall? And 25 if there be ony, gyff hit me and I shall sone stynte their malice, by the grace of God!'

'Now, truly,' seyde the quyne, 'I have none armour nother helme, shyld, swerde, nother speare, wherefore I dred me sore oure longe love ys com to a myschyvus ende. 30 For I here by their noyse there be many noble knyghtes, and well I wote they be surely armed, and ayenst them ye may make no resistance. Wherefore ye ar lykly to be slayne, and than shall I be brente! For and ye myght ascape them,' seyde the quene, 'I wolde nat doute but that ye wolde 35 rescowe me in what daunger that I ever stood in.'

6-7 C† soo in his mantel that noble knyghte putte 8-10 C quenes chamber and
thenne sir launcelot was lyztely putte in to the chambir And thenne as the 13 C
as is 16 and scaryng *not in* C† 18 C Traytour knyghte syr launcelot du lake
20 C and they all xiiij were 25 C within your chambre C* my poure body
28 Now *not in* C 29 nother helme *not in* C 32 C armed ageynste

'Alas!' seyde sir Launcelot, 'in all my lyff thus was I never bestad that I shulde be thus shamefully slayne, for lake of myne armour.'

But ever sir Aggravayne and sir Mordred cryed,

5 'Traytour knyght, come oute of the quenys chambir!
52^r For wyte thou well thou arte besette so that thou shalt nat ascape.'

'A, Jesu mercy!' seyde sir Launcelot, 'thys shamefull cry and noyse I may nat suffir, for better were deth at onys than
10 thus to endure thys payne.'

Than he toke the quene in hys armys and kyssed her and seyde,

'Moste nobelest Crysten quene, I besech you, as ye have ben ever my speciall good lady, and I at all tymes your poure
15 knyght and trew unto my power, and as I never fayled you in ryght nor in wronge sytthyn the firste day kynge Arthur made me knyght, that ye woll pray for my soule if that I be slayne. For well I am assured that sir Bors, my nevewe, and all the remenaunte of my kynne, with sir Lavayne and sir Urré,
20 that they woll nat fayle you to rescow you from the fyer. And therfore, myne owne lady, recomforte yourselff, whatsomever com of me, that ye go with sir Bors, my nevew, and they all woll do you all the plesure that they may, and ye shall lyve lyke a quene uppon my londis.'

25 'Nay, sir Launcelot, nay!' seyde the quene. 'Wyte thou well that I woll <nat> lyve longe aftir thy dayes. But and ye be slayne I woll take my dethe as mekely as ever ded marter take hys dethe for Jesu Crystes sake.'

'Well, madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'syth hit ys so that
30 the day ys com that oure love muste departe, wyte you well I shall selle my lyff as dere as I may. And a thousandfolde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I am more hevvyar for you than for myselff! And now I had levir than to be lorde of all Crystendom that I had sure armour uppon me, that men myght speke of
35 my dedys or ever I were slayne.'

4 C* euer in one sir Agraayne 6 C arte soo besette that 8 C O Ihesu
8-9 W shamefull cry and noyse I may nat repeated 13 C moost noble 14-
15 C† your true poure knyghte vnto 22-3 C* neuwe and sir Vre and they
23 C* they can or may 25 C Nay launcelot sayd the 26 C wel I wyll
neuer* lyue after 26-7 C thou be 27-8 C† as mekely for Ihesus Crystus
sake as euer dyd ony crysten Quene 29 sir not in C 31 C shall S shalle

'Truly,' seyde the quene, 'and hit myght please God, I wolde that they wolde take me and sle me and suffir you to ascape.'

'That shall never be,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'God deffende me frome such a shame! But, Jesu Cryste, be Thou my shyld and myne armoure!'

And therewith sir Launcelot wrapped hys mantel aboute (4) 452^v
hys arme well and surely; and by than they had getyn a grete fourme oute of the halle, and therewith they all russed at the dore.

'Now, fayre lordys,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'leve youre noyse and youre russhynge, and I shall sette opyn thys dore, and tha[n] may ye do with me what hit lykith you.'

'Com of, than,' seyde they all, 'and do hit, for hit awaylyth the nat to stryve ayenste us all! And therefore lat us into thys chambir, and we shall save thy lyff untill thou com to kynge Arthur.'

Than sir Launcelot unbarred the dore, and with hys lyffte honde he hylde hit opyn a lytyll, that but one man myght com in at onys. And so there cam strydyng a good knyght, a much man and a large, and hys name was called sir Collgrevaunce of Goore. And he wyth a swerde streke at sir Launcelot myghtly, and so he put asyde the streke, and gaff hym such a buffete uppon the helmet that he felle grovelyng 'dede' wythin the chambir dore.

Than sir Launcelot with grete myght drew the knyght within the chambir dore. And than sir Launcelot, wyth helpe of the quene and her ladyes, he was lyghtly armed in Collgrevaunce armoure. And ever stood sir Aggravaunce and sir Mordred, crying,

'Traytoure knyght! Come forthe oute of the quenys chambir!'

'Sires, leve youre noyse,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for wyte you well, sir Aggravaunce, ye shall nat preson me thys nyght!'

1-2 C Quene I wold and it myghte please god that 4 W seyde seyde 5
Cryste *not in C* 9 C there with all they rasshed 11 Now *not in C* 12-
13 W and that may C* and thenne may 19 C so that 21 C and large
11-2 called sir *not in C* 23 so *not in C* 25 C* grouelynge dede F (*Mort*
Artu, p. 93): si l'abat mort a terre 26 C* drewe that dede knyght 28 he *not*
n C 29 C syr Colgrevaunce 31 forthe *not in C* 33 sires *not in C* C
auncelot vnto sir Agrauayne For

And therefore, and ye do be my counceyle, go ye all frome
 thys chambir dore and make you no suche cryyng and such
 maner of sclaunder as ye do. For I promyse you be my
 knyghthode, and ye woll departe and make no more noyse, I
 5 shall as to-morne appyere afore you all and before the kynge,
 and than lat hit be sene whych of you all, other ellis ye all,
 that woll depreve me of treson. And there shall I answere
 53^r you, as a knyght shulde, that hydir I cam to the quene for no
 maner of male engyne, and that woll I preve and make hit
 10 good uppon you wyth my hondys.'

'Fye uppon the, traytour,' seyde sir Aggravayne and sir
 Mordred, 'for we woll have the magré thyne hede and sle the,
 and we lyst! For we let the wyte we have the choyse of
 kynge Arthure to save the other sle the.'

15 'A, sirres,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ys there none other grace
 with you? Than kepe youreselff!'

And than sir Launcelot sette all opyn the chambir dore,
 and myghtyly and knyghtly he strode in amonge them. And
 anone at the firste stroke he slew sir Aggravayne, and anone
 20 aftir twelve of hys felowys. Within a whyle he had layde
 them down colde to the erthe, for there was none of the
 twelve knyghtes myght stonde sir Launcelot one buffet. And
 also he wounded sir Mordred, and therewithall he fled with
 all hys myght. And than sir Launcelot returned agayne unto
 25 the quene and seyde,

'Madame, now wyte you well, all oure trew love ys brought
 to an ende, for now wyll kyng Arthur ever be my foo. And
 therefore, madam, and hit lyke you that I may have you with
 me, I shall save you frome all maner adventures daungers.'

30 'Sir, that ys nat beste,' seyde the quene, 'mesemyth, for now
 ye have don so much harme hit woll be beste that ye holde you
 styll with this. And if ye se that as to-morne they woll putte
 me unto dethe, than may ye rescowe me as ye thynke beste.'

'I woll well,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for have ye no doute,
 35 whyle I am a man lyvyng I shall rescow you.'

2 C make not suche 7 C wille accuse me C I shal 11 C Fy on 12
 for not in C 19 C fyrst buffet he 19-21 C† Agrauayne and twelue of his
 felawes after within a lytel whyle after he layd hem cold 22 C twelue that
 myghte W myght stonde sir Launcelot repeated 23 C Also syr Launcelot
 wounded therewithall not in C 29 C daungorous 30 Sir not in C
 for not in C 33 C vnto the dethe

And than he kyste her, and ayther of hem gaff othir a rynge, and so the quene he leffte there and wente untill hys lodgyngge.

Whan sir Bors saw sir Launcelot he was never so glad of (5)
hys home-comynge.

'Jesu mercy!' seyde sir Launcelot, 'why be ye all armed? 5
What meanyth thys?'

'Sir,' seyde sir Bors, 'aftir ye were departed frome us we all that ben of youre blood and youre well-wyllars were so adre^tched that som of us lepe oute of oure beddis naked, 10 453^v
and som in their dremys caught naked swerdys in their hondis. And therefore,' seyde sir Bors, 'we demed there was som grete stryff on honde, and so we demed that we were betrapped with som treson; and therefore we made us thus redy, what nede that ever [y]e were in.'

'My fayre nevew,' seyde sir Launcelot unto sir Bors, 'now shall ye wyte all that thys nyght I was more harde bestad than ever I was dayes of my lyff. And thanked be God, I am myselff ascaped their daungere.' And so he tolde them all how and in what maner, as ye have harde toforehande. 'And 20
therefore, my felowys,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I pray you all that ye woll be of harte good, and helpe me in what nede that ever I stonde, for now ys warre comyn to us all.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Bors, 'all ys wellcom that God sendyth us, and as we have takyn much weale with you and much wor- 25
shyp, we woll take the woo with you as we have takyn the weale.'

And therefore they seyde, all the good knyghtes,

'Loke ye take no discomforte! For there ys no bondys of knyghtes undir hevyn but we shall be able to greve them as muche as they us, and therefore discomforte nat youreselff 30
by no maner. And we shall gadir togyder all that we love and that lovyth us, and what that ye woll have done shall be done. And therefore lat us take the wo and the joy togydir.'

2 C soo there he lefte the quene and 5 C* comynge as he was thenne 9-10
W so adremed that C* soo dretched that *Le Morte Arthur* (1876) Owre knyghtis
haue be drechyd to-nyght 12 C† deme there is 13 C at hand & thene we
all demed 15 W we 18 C† wan euer 18-19 C† was in my lyf & yet I
escaped And so 20 C to fore And 22 C of good herte in† 22-3 C nede
someuer I 25 as not in C 25-6 C worshyp and therfor we 27 C alle
there were many good 28 C there nys no bandys 30 C they maye vs
33-p. 1170, 1 C* And therfor syr Launcelot sayd they we wil take the woo with
the wele Graunt mercy *Le Morte Arthur* (1891) Aftir the wele to take the wo

'Grauntmercy,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'of youre good com-
forte, for in my grete distresse, fayre newew, ye comforte me
gretely. But thys, my fayre newew, I wolde that ye ded, in all
haste that ye may, [or] hit ys far dayes paste: that ye woll
5 loke in their lodgyng that ben lodged nyghe here aboute the
kyng, whych woll holde with me and whych woll nat. For
now I wolde know whych were my frendis fro my foeos.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Bors, 'I shall do my payne, and or hit be
seven of the klok I shall wyte of such as ye have dou(t) fore,
10 who that woll holde with you.'

Than sir Bors called unto hym sir Lyonel, sir Ector de
Marys, sir Blamour de Ganys, sir Gahalantyne, sir Galy-
hodyn, sir Galyhud, sir Menaduke, sir Vyllyers the Valy-
aunte, syr Hebes le Renowne, sir Lavayne, sir Urré of
15 Hungry, sir Neroveus, sir Plenoryus (for thes two were
knyghtes tha(t) sir Launcelot wan uppon a brydge, and
therefore they wolde never be ayenst hym), and sir Harry le
Fyz Lake, and sir Selyses of the Dolerous Towre, sir Mellyas
de Lyle, and sir Bellangere le Bewse that was sir Alysaudir
20 le Orphelyne [sone]; bycause hys modir was kyn unto sir
Launcelot, he hylde wyth hym. So cam sir Palomydes and
sir Saphir, hys brothir; sir Clegis, sir Sadok, sir Dynas and
sir Clarryus of Cleremount.

So thes two-and-twenty knyghtes drew hem togydirs, and
15 by than they were armed and on horsebak they promysed sir
Launcelot to do what he wolde. Than there felle to them,
what of Northe Walys and of Cornwayle, for sir Lamorakes
sake and for sir Trystrames sake, to the numbir of a seven
score knyghtes. Than spake sir Launcelot:

20 'Wyte you well, I have bene ever syns I cam to thys
courte well-wylled unto my lorde Arthur and unto my lady

2 C my fayr newewe 3 C* gretely and moche I am beholdyng vnto yow But
thys (W thus) 4 W may for† (contamination) hit ys far dayes C may or*
it be forth† dayes that ye wille 5 C lodged here nyghe 9-10 C† haue
sayd before who W have doue (probably misread by Caxton as done) fore who who
12 C* ganys sir Bleoberys de ganys (homoeoteleuton in W?) 15 for not in C
15-16 W two were knyghtes than C two knyghtes sire launcelot made and the one
he wanne vpon 17-18 C Harre le fyse du lake 19-20 C syr Alysanders
sone* la orphelyn (homoeoteleuton in W) 20 C* moder Alys la Beale pelleryn
and she was 21 C Launcelot and he 22-3 C broder to hold with syr
launcelot And syre Clegys of† Sadok and syr Dynas syr Claryus of Cleremont
28-9 C a four score 29-30 C knyghtes My lordes sayd syre Launcelot wete
30-1 C came in to this Countrey wel

quene Gwenyver unto my power. And thys nyght bycause my lady the quene sente for me to speke with her, I suppose hit was made by treson; howbehit I dare largely excuse her person, natwithstondynge I was there [be a forecaste] nerehonde slayne but as Jesu provyded for me.'

And than that noble knyght sir Launcelot tolde hem how he was harde bestad in the quenys chambir, and how and in what maner he ascaped from them.

'And therefore wyte you well, my fayre lordis, I am sure there nys but warre unto me and to myne. And for cause I have slayne thys nyght sir Aggravayne, sir Gawaynes brothir, and at the leste twelve of hys felowis, and for thys cause now am I sure of mortall warre. For thes knyghtes were sente by kynge Arthur to betray me, and therefore the kyng woll in thys hete and malice jounge the quene unto brennyng, and that may nat I suffir that she shulde be brente for my sake. For and I may be harde and suffirde and so takyn, I woll feyght for the quene, that she ys a trew lady untill her lorde. But the kyng in hys hete, I drede, woll nat take me as I ought to be takyn.'

'My lorde, sir Launcelot,' seyde sir Bors, 'be myne advyce, ye shall take the woo wyth the weall. And sytthyn hit ys fallyn as hit ys, I counceyle you to kepe youreselff, for and ye woll youreselffe there ys no felyshyp of knyghtes crystynde that shall do you wronge. And also I woll counceyle you, my lorde, that my lady quene Gwenyver, and she be in ony distres, insomuch as she ys in payne for youre sake, that ye knyghtly rescow here; for and ye ded ony other wyse all the worlde wolde speke you shame to the worldis ende. Insomuch as ye were takyn with her, whether ye ded ryght othir wronge, hit ys now youre parte to holde wyth the quene, that she be nat slayne and put to a myschevous deth. For and she so dye, the shame shall be evermore youre.'

5 C* prouyded me I escaped alle theyr malyce and treason 6 C hem al how
9 C therfore sayd sir Launcelot wete 10 to not in C C for by cause 11
C nyghte these knyghtes I wote wel as is sire Agrauayne 12 C felawes for this
13 C I am C sente and ordeyned by 15 C this hete S his hete 15-16
C quene to the fyre and that 16 C not I S I not 19 C drede me wyll
22 W yf ye (yf not in C*) 22 C* wele and take hit in pacyence and thanke god
of hit And sythen 23 C yow kepe S yow to kepe 26-7 C lord syr
Launcelot that and my lady quene Gueneuer be in distresse 28 for not in C†
29 C world wyll C* speke of yow 33 evermore not in C†

'Now Jesu deffende me from shame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'and kepe and save my lady the quene from vylany and shamefull dethe, and that she never be destroyed in my defaute! Wherefore, my fayre lordy[s], my kyn and my fryndis,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'what woll ye do?'

And anone they seyde all with one voyce,

'We woll do as ye woll do.'

'Than I put thys case unto you,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that my lorde, kynge Arthur, by evyll counceile woll to-morne in hys hete put my lady the quene unto the fyre and there to be brente, than, I pray you, counceile me what ys beste for me to do.'

Than they seyde all at onys with one voice,

'Sir, us thynkis beste that ye knyghtly rescow the quene. Insomuch as she shall be brente, hit ys for youre sake; and hit ys to suppose, and ye myght be handeled, ye shulde have the same dethe, othir ellis a more shamefuller dethe. And, sir, we say all that ye have rescowed her frome her deth many tymys for other mennes quarels; therefore us semyth hit ys more youre worshyp that ye rescow the quene from thys quarell, insomuch that she hath hit for your sake.'

Than sir Launcelot stood styлле and sayde,

'My fayre lordis, wyte you well I wolde be lothe to do that thyng that shulde dishonour you or my bloode; and wyte you well I wolde be full lothe that my lady the quene shu[ld]e dye such a shamefull deth. But and hit be so that ye woll counceyle me to rescow her, I must do much harme or I rescow her, and peradventure I shall there destroy som of my beste fryndis, <and> [that shold moche repente me. And peradventure there be som, and they coude wel brynge it aboute or disobeye my lord kynge Arthur, they wold sone come to me, the whiche I were loth to hurte.] And if so be that I may wynne the quene away, where shall I kepe her?'

'Sir, that shall be the leste care of us all,' seyde sir Bors, 'for how ded the moste noble knyght sir Trystram? By youre

1 Now *not in C* 6 C Thenne they with one voyce *not in C*† 8 C Than
not in C case *not in C* 9 C that yf my lord Arthur 12 C best to 18-19
 C ye haue many tymes rescowed her from dethe for other 19 therefore *not in C*
 20-1 C this perylle* in soo moche she 28 W there destroy there 29-32
Homoeoteleuton in W 30 C be somme 31 C Arthue S Arthur C soone
 33 C þ^t I rescowe her where 34 Sir *not in C* 35 for *not in C*

good wyll, kept nat he with hym La Beall Isode nere three yere in Joyous Garde, the whych was done by youre althers avyce? And that same place ys youre owne, and in lyke wyse may ye do, and ye lyst, and take the quene knyghtly away with you, if so be that the kynge woll jouge her to be brente. And in Joyous Garde may ye kepe her longe inowe untill the hete be paste of the kynge, and than hit may fortune you to brynge the quene agayne to the kynge with grete worshyp, and peradventure ye shall have than thanke for youre bryngyng home, whether othir may happyn to have magré.'

'That ys hard for to do,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for by sir Trystram I may have a warnyng: for whan by meanys of trefte sir Trystram brought agayne La Beall Isode unto kynge Marke from Joyous Garde, loke ye now what felle on the ende, how samefully that false traytour kyng Marke slew hym as he sate harpyng afore hys lady, La Beall Isode. Wyth a grounden glayve he threste hym in behynde to the harte, whych grevyth sore me,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'to speke of his dethe, for all the worlde may nat fynde such another knyght.'

'All thys ys trouthe,' seyde sir Bors, 'but there ys one thyng shall corrayge you and us all: ye know well that kynge Arthur and kynge Marke were never lyke of condicions, for there was never yet man that ever coude preve kynge Arthur untrew of hys promyse.'

But so, to make shorte tale, they were all condiscended that, for bettir othir for wars, if so were that the quene were brought on that morne to the fyre, shortely they all wolde rescow here. And so by the advyce of sir Launcelot they put hem all in a wood as nyghe Carlyle as they myght, and there they abode styll to wyte what the kynge wold do.

Now turne we agayne, that whan sir Mordred was ascaped

2-3 *C* elthers deuyse 4-5 *C* Quene lyghtely away yf it soo be the kynge
6 *C* ye may 7-8 *C* the hete of the kynge be paste And thenne shalle ye brynge
ageyne the quene to 9-11 *C** thenne peradventure ye shalle haue thanke for
her bryngyng home and loue and thanke where other shall haue maugre 12
C hard to doo *W* Launcelot to do for 15 ye now *not in C*† *C* what befelle
18-19 *C* herte hit greueth me said 20 *C* suche a knyghte 23 *W* condicions
24 that ever *not in C* 26 *C** consented 27-8 *C* were on that morne
broughte to 30 *C** in an enbushment in a woode (*homoeoteleuton in W*?)
32—p. 1174, 1 *C* ageyne vnto syre Mordred that whan he was escaped
from the noble knyghte sire

frome sir Launcelot he gate hys horse and cam to kyng
 Arthur sore wounded and all forbled, and there he tolde the
 kyng all how hit was, and how they were all slayne save
 hymselff alone.

- 5 'A, Jesu, mercy! How may thys be?' seyde the kyng.
 'Toke ye hym in the quenys chambir?'

'Yee, so God me helpe,' seyde sir Mordred, 'there we
 founde hym unarmed, and anone he slew sir Collgrevaunce
 and armed hym in hys armour.'

- 10 And so he tolde the kyng frome the begynnyng to the
 endynge.

'Jesu mercy!' seyde the kyng, 'he ys a mervaylous knyght
 of proues. And alas,' seyde the kyng, 'me sore repentith that
 456^r ever sir Launcelot sholde be ayenste me, for now I am sure
 15 the noble felyshyp of the Rounde Table ys brokyn for ever,
 for wyth hym woll many a noble knyght holde. And now hit
 ys fallen so,' seyde the kyng, 'that I may nat with my wor-
 shyp but my quene muste suffir dethe,' and was sore amoved.

So than there was made grete ordynaunce in thys ire, and
 20 the quene muste nedis be jouged to the deth. And the law
 was such in tho dayes that whatsomever they were, of what
 astate or degré, if they were founden gylty of treson there
 shuld be none other remedy but deth, and othir the menour
 other the takynge wyth the dede shulde be causer of their
 25 hasty jougement. And ryght so was hit ordayned for quene
 Gwenyver: bycause sir Mordred was ascaped sore wounded,
 and the dethe of thirtene knyghtes of the Rounde Table,
 thes previs and experyences caused kyng Arthur to com-
 maunde the quene to the fyre and there to be brente.

- 30 Than spake sir Gawayn and seyde,
 'My lorde Arthure, I wolde counceyle you nat to be
 over hasty, but that ye wolde put hit in respite, thys jouge-
 mente of my lady the quene, for many causis. One ys thys,
 thoughe hyt were so that sir Launcelot were founde in the

1 C* hois and mounted vpon hym and rode vnto Kyng 2 C wounded and
 smytyn and alle forbled 4 C hym self al only 8 C and there he sir *not*
in C 13 And *not in C* C Allas me sore repenteth sayd the Kyng that
 14 C ageynst me Now 18 C but the quene must suffer the dethe and
 was sore amoved *not in C†* 19-20 C this hete that the 20 nedis *not in C*
 23-4 C outhir the men† or the takynge (*see note*) 28 W experyense C*
 exepryences 29 and *not in C* 33 C One it is though

quenys chambir, yet hit myght be so that he cam thydir for none evyll. For ye know, my lorde,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that my lady the quene hath oftyntymes ben gretely beholdyn unto sir Launcelot, more than to ony othir knyght; for oftyntymes he hath saved her lyff and done batayle for 5 her whan all the courte refused the quene. And peradventure she sente for hym for goodness and for none evyll, to rewarde hym for his good dedys that he had done to her in tymes past. And peraventure my lady the quene sente for hym to that entente, that sir Launcelot sholde a com prevaly to her, 10 456^v wenyng that hyt had be beste in eschewyng of slaundir; for oftyntymys we do many thynges that we wene for the beste be, and yet peradventure hit turnyth to the warste. For I dare sey,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'my lady, your quene, ys to you both good and trew. And as for sir Launcelot, I dare 15 say he woll make hit good uppon ony knyght lyvyng that woll put uppon hym vylany or shame, and in lyke wyse he woll make good for my lady the quene.'

'That I beleve well,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'but I woll nat that way worke with sir Launcelot, for he trustyth so much 20 uppon hys hondis and hys myght that he doutyth no man. And therefore for my quene he shall nevermore fyght, for she shall have the law. And if I may gete sir Launcelot, wyte you well he shall have as shamefull a dethe.'

'Jesu defende me,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that I never se hit 25 nor know hit.'

'Why say you so?' seyde kynge Arthur. 'For, perdé, ye have no cause to love hym! For thys nyght last past he slew youre brothir sir Aggravayne, a full good knyght, and allmoste he had slayne youre othir brother, sir Mordred, and 30 also there he slew thirtene noble knyghtes. And also remembir you, sir Gawayne, he slew two sunnes of youre, sir Florens and sir Lovell.'

3-4 C that the quene is moche 5 C oftymes S oftyme 10 a not in C
 10-11 C* come to her good grace pryuely and secretely wenyng to her that hit was
 best so to do in eschewyng & dredyng of sklaunder (S silkaunder) 12-13 C wene
 it be for the best & yet 15 C Launcelot sayd sir Gawayne I dare 17 C
 hym self vylony 18 C lady dame Gueneuer 20 worke not in C† 22 C
 neuer fyghte more 24 C a shameful dethe 25 me not in C C I may neuer
 26 nor know hit not in C† 27 C For soth ye 28 C loue sir Launcelot
 31-2 C also sir Gawayne remembre ye he

'My lorde,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'of all thys I have a know-
 leche, whych of her dethis sore repentis me. But insomuch
 as I gaff hem warnynge and tolde my brothir and my sonnes
 aforehonde what wolde falle on the ende, and insomuche as
 5 they wolde nat do be my counceyle, I woll nat meddyll me
 thereoff, nor revenge me nothyng of their dethys; for I
 tolde them there was no boote to stryve with sir Launcelot.
 Howbehit I am sory of the deth of my brothir and of my two
 457* sunnes, but they ar the causars of their owne dethe; for oftyn-
 10 tymes I warned my brothir sir Aggravayne, and I tolde hym
 of the perellis.'

(8) Than seyde kynge Arthur unto sir Gawayne,
 'Make you redy, I pray you, in youre beste armour, wyth
 youre brethirn, sir Gaherys and sir Ga[reth], to brynge my
 15 quene to the fyre and there to have her jougement.'

'Nay, my moste noble kynge,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that
 woll I never do, for wyte you well I woll never be in that
 place where so noble a quene as ys my lady dame Gwenyver
 shall take such a shamefull ende. For wyte you well,' seyde
 20 sir Gawayne, 'my harte woll nat serve me for to se her dye,
 and hit shall never be seyde that ever I was of youre counceyle
 for her deth.'

'Than,' seyde the kynge unto sir Gawayne, 'suffir your
 brethirn sir Gaherys and sir Gareth to be there.'

25 'My lorde,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'wyte you well they wyll
 be lothe to be there present bycause of many adventures that
 ys lyke to falle, but they ar yonge and full unable to say you
 nay.'

Than spake sir Gaherys and the good knyght sir Gareth
 30 unto kynge Arthur,

'Sir, ye may well commande us to be there, but wyte you
 well hit shall be sore ayenste oure wyll. But and we be there
 by youre strayte commaundement, ye shall playnly holde us

1 a *not in C* 1-2 *C* knoueleche of whos dethes I repente me sore but 3, 4
 as *not in C* 3, 8 *C*† my bretheren 4 *C* in the 7 *C* hem it was 8
 two *not in C* 9 *C*† for they are 10-11 *C** hym the peryls the which ben
 now fallen 12 *C* the noble Kynge 12-13 *C** Gawayne dere neuw I pray
 yow make yow redy in your best 14 and *not in C* *W* sir Gawayne to *C**
 syre Gareth to 15 *C* Iugement and receyue the dethe 16 *C* noble lord sayd
 19 such *not in C* 20 *C* wyll neuer serue 21-2 *C* counceyle of her 26-7
C aduentures the whiche ben lyke there to falle 30 *C* vnto syre Arthur

there excused: we woll be there in pesyble wyse, and beare none harneyse of warre uppon us.'

'In the name of God,' seyde the kyng, 'than make you redy, for she shall have sone her jugemente.'

'Alas,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that ever I shulde endure to se this wofull day!'

So sir Gawayne turned hym and wepte hartely, and so he wente into hys chambir. And so the quene was lad furthe withoute Carlyle, and anone she was dispoyled into he[r] smokke. And than her gostely fadir was brought to her to be shryven of her myssededis. Than was there wepyng and waylynge and wryngyng of hondis of many lordys and ladyes; but there were but feaw in comparison that wolde beare ony 457' armour for to strengthe the dethe of the quene.

Than was there one that sir Launcelot had sente unto [that place], whych wente to aspye what tyme the quene shulde go unto her deth. And anone as he saw the quene dispoyled into her smok and shryvyn, than he gaff sir Launcelot warnyng anone. Than was there but spurrying and pluckyng up of horse, and ryght so they cam unto the fyre. And who that stooode ayenste them, there were they slayne; [there myght none withstande sir Launcelot.

So all that bare armes and withstooode them, there were they slayne], full many a noble knyght. For there was slayne sir Bellyas le Orgulus, sir Segwarydes, sir Gryfflet, sir Braundyles, sir Agglovale, sir Tor; sir Gauter, sir Gyllymer, sir Raynold, three brethir, and sir Damas, sir Priamus, sir Kay le Straunge, sir Dryaunt, sir Lambegus, sir Hermynde, sir Pertolyp, sir Perymones, two brethren whych were called the Grene Knyght and the Red Knyght. 30

And so in thys russhyng and hurlyng, as sir Launcelot thrange here and there, hit mysfortuned hym to sle sir Gaherys and sir Gareth, the noble knyght, for they were unarmed and unwares. As the Freynshe booke sayth, sir Launcelot smote sir Gaherys and sir Gareth uppon the 35

4 C soone haue her Iugement anone 8 C and thēne the 9 C there she
10 C And soo thenne 15-16 C vnto that place for to aspye 19 anone *not in*
C 20 C horses 22-4 C* slayne there myghte none withstande sir Launcelot
so all that bare armes and withstooode hem there were they slayne ful many (*homoeoteleuton in W*) 27 C Reynolds C Pryamus S Pyramus 28 C Kay the straunger
32 C it myhapped hym 34 C vnware For as

brayne-pannes, wherethorow that they were slayne in the felde. Howbehit in very trouth sir Launcelot saw them [nat]. And so were they founde dede amonge the thyckyste of the prees.

5 Than sir Launcelot, whan he had thus done, and slayne and put to flyght all that wolde wythstonde hym, than he rode streyt unto quene Gwenyver and made caste a kurdyl and a gown uppon her, and than he made her to be sette behynde hym and prayde her to be of good chere. Now wyte you
10 well the quene was glad that she was at that tyme ascaped frome the deth, and than she thanked God and sir Launcelot.

458^r And so he rode hys way wyth the quene, as the Freynshe booke seyth, unto Joyous Garde, and there he kepte her as a
15 noble knyght shulde. And many grete lordis and many good knyghtes were sente hym, and many full noble knyghtes drew unto hym. Whan they harde that kynge Arthure and sir Launcelot were at debate many knyghtes were glad, and many were sory of their debate.

2 *C** sawe hem not *F* (*Mort Artu*, p. 100): Lancelos qui aloit les rens cherchant nel
connut mie 5 *C* Thenne whan syr launcelot had thus 7 *C* vnto dame
Gueneuer 7-8 *C* maade a kyrtyl and a gowne to be cast vpon 9 Now *not in C*
10 at that tyme *not in C* 15 *C* shold doo 15-19 *C* lordes and somme kynges
sent syr Launcelot many good knyghtes and many noble knyghtes drewe vnto sir
Launcelot whan this was knowen openly that kyng Arthure and sire launcelot were
18-19 *C* gladde of their debate and many were ful heuy of their debate.

II

THE VENGEANCE OF SIR GAWAIN

[*Winchester MS.*, ff. 458^r–469^v;
Caxton, *Book XX*, chs. 9–18]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

9. Of the sorowe and lamentacyon for the dethe of hys† newewes and other good knyghtes, and also for the quene, his wyf.
10. How kyng Arthur, at the requeste of syr Gawayn, concluded to make warre ayenst syr Launcelot and layed syege to his castel called Joyous Garde.
11. Of the comynycacyon bytwene kyng Arthur and syr Launcelot, and how kyng Arthur reprevyd hym.
12. How the cosyns and kynnesmen of syr Launcelot excyted hym to goo oute to batayl, and how they made them redy.
13. How syr Gawayn justed and smote doun syr Lyonel, and how syr Launcelot horsed kyng Arthur.
14. How the Pope sent doun his bulles to make pees, and how syr Launcelot brought the quene to kyng Arthur.
15. Of the delyveraunce of the quene to the kyng by sir Launcelot, and what langage syr Gawayn had to syr Launcelot.
16. Of the comynycacyon bytwene syr Gawayn and syr Launcelot, wyth moche other langage.
17. How syr Launcelot departed fro the kyng and fro Joyous Garde oversee-warde, and what knyghtes wente wyth hym.
18. How syr Launcelot passed over the see, and how he made grete lordes of the knyghtes that wente wyth hym.

† S his

NOW turne we agayne unto kynge Arthure, that whan (9)
 hit was tolde hym how and in what maner the quene
 was taken away frome the fyre, and whan he harde of the deth
 of his noble knyghtes, and in especiall sir Gaherys and sir
 Gareth, than he sowned for verry pure sorow. And whan 5
 he awooke of hys swoughe, than he sayde,

‘Alas, that ever I bare crowne uppon my hede! For now
 have I loste the fayryst felyshyp of noble knyghtes that ever
 hylde Crystyn kynge togydirs. Alas, my good knyghtes be
 slayne and gone away fro me, that now within thys two dayes I 10
 have loste nygh forty knyghtes and also the noble felyshyp of
 sir Launcelot and hys blood, for now I may nevermore holde
 hem togydirs with my worshyp. Now, alas, that ever thys
 warre began!

‘Now, fayre felowis,’ seyde the kynge, ‘I charge you that 15
 no man telle sir Gawayne of the deth of hys two brethirne,
 for I am sure,’ seyde the kynge, ‘whan he hyryth telle that
 sir Gareth ys dede, he wyll go nygh oute of hys mynde.
 Merci Jesu,’ seyde the kynge, ‘why slew he sir Gaherys and
 sir Gareth? For I dare sey, as for sir Gareth, he loved sir 20
 Launcelot of all men erthly.’

‘That ys trouth,’ seyde som knyghtes, ‘but they were
 slayne in the hurlynge, as sir Launcelot thrange in the
 thyckyst of the prees. And as they were unarmed, he smote
 them and wyst nat whom that he smote, and so unhappely 25
 they were slayne.’ 458^v

‘Well,’ seyde Arthure, ‘the deth of them woll cause the
 grettist mortall warre that ever was, for I am sure that whan
 sir Gawayne knowyth hereoff that sir Gareth ys slayne, I
 shall never have reste of hym tyll I have destroyed sir Launce- 30
 lottys kynne and hymself bothe, othir ellis he to destroy me.
 And therefore,’ seyde the kynge, ‘wyte you well, my harte

1 C Soo torne 2 C maner of wyse the 4 C especyal for syr S especyal
 of syr 5 C Gareths deth thenne the kyng swounded verry not in C† 10
 and gone not in C (*homoeoteleuton*) that not in C C within these two 11
 nygh not in C 12-13 C neuer hold hem to gyders no more with my worshyp
 Allas 17 C whan sir Gawayne hereth 19-20 C syre Gareth and sire
 Gaherys 23 C hurtlyng 24 C thyck 27 Well not in C C The dethe of
 them sayd Arthur wyll 28-30 C was I am sure wyste sir Gawayne that syr
 Gareth were slayne I shold neuer 30 C tyl I had

was never so hevy as hit ys now. And much more I am
 soryar for my good knyghtes losse than for the losse of my
 fayre quene; for quenys I myght have inow, but such a
 felyshyp of good knyghtes shall never be togydys in no
 5 company. And now I dare sey,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'there
 was never Crystyn kynge that ever hylde such a felyshyp
 togydys. And alas, that ever sir Launcelot and I shulde be
 at debate! A, Aggravayne, Aggravayne!' seyde the kynge,
 'Jesu forgyff hit thy soule, for thynne evyll wyll that thou
 10 haddist and sir Mordred, thy brothir, unto sir Launcelot
 hath caused all this sorow.'

And ever amonge thes complayntes the kynge wepte and
 sowned.

Than cam there one to sir Gawayne and tolde how the
 15 quene was lad away with sir Launcelot, and nygh a four-and-
 twenty knyghtes slayne.

'A, Jesu, save me my two brethirn!' seyde sir Gawayne,
 'For full well wyst I,' sayde sir Gawayne, 'that sir Launcelot
 wolde rescow her, othir ellis he wolde dye in that fylde; and
 20 to say the trouth he were nat of worshyp but if he had
 rescowed the quene, insomuch as she shulde have be brente
 for his sake. And as in that,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'he hath
 done but knyghtly, and as I wolde have done myselff and
 I had stonde in lyke case. But where ar my brethirn?' seyde
 25 sir Gawayne, 'I mervayle that I se nat of them.'

Than seyde that man, 'Truly, sir Gaherys and sir Gareth
 be slayne.'

!59* 'Jesu deffende!' seyde sir Gawayne. 'For all thys worlde I
 wolde nat that they were slayne, and in especiall my good
 30 brothir sir Gareth.'

'Sir,' seyde the man, 'he ys slayne, and that ys grete pité.'

'Who slew hym?' seyde sir Gawayne.

'Sir Launcelot,' seyde the man, 'slew hem both.'

'That may I nat beleve,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that ever he

6 that ever *not in C* 9-10 *C* thou and thy broder syre Mordred haddest vnto
 12-13 *W* wepte amonge and sowned (*contamination*) 14 *C* told hym how
 17 *C* O Ihesu defende my bretheren 18 *C* wyst I that 20-21 *C* he had
 not ben a man of worshyp had he not rescowed the quene that day 21
 as *not in C* 25 *C* merueyll I here not 26-7 *C* Truly sayd that man sir
 Gareth and syr Gaherys be 28 *C* the world 33 *C* Sir sayd the man
 Launcelot slewe

slew my good brother sir Gareth, for I dare say, my brothir loved hym bettir than me and all hys brethirn and the kyng bothe. Also I dare sey, an sir Launcelot had desyred my brothir sir Gareth with hym, he wolde have ben with hym ayenste the kyng and us all. And therefore I may never ⁵ belyeve that sir Launcelot slew my brethern.'

'Veryly, sir,' seyde the man, 'hit ys noysed that he slew hym.'

'Alas,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'now ys my joy gone!' (10)

And than he felle downe and sowned, and longe he lay there as he had ben dede. And whan he arose oute of hys ¹⁰ swoughe he cryed oute sorowfully and seyde,

'Alas!'

And forthwith he ran unto the kyng, cryingng and wepyng, and seyde,

'A, myne uncle kyng Arthur! My good brother sir ¹⁵ Gareth ys slayne, and so ys my brothir sir Gaherys, whych were two noble knyghtes.'

Than the kyng wepte and he bothe, and so they felle on-sownynge. And whan they were revyved, than spake sir Gawayne and seyde, ²⁰

'Sir, I woll goo and se my brother sir Gareth.'

'Sir, ye may nat se hym,' seyde the kyng, 'for I caused hym to be entered and sir Gaherys bothe, for I well undirstood that ye wolde make overmuche sorow, and the syght of sir Gareth shulde have caused youre double sorrow.' ²⁵

'Alas, my lorde,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'how slew he my brothir sir Gareth? I pray you telle me.'

'Truly,' seyde the kyng, 'I shall tell you as hit hath bene tolde me: sir Launcelot slew hym and sir Gaherys both.'

'Alas,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'they beare none armys ³⁰ ayenst hym, neyther of them bothe.'

'I wote nat how hit was,' seyde the kyng, 'but as hit ys sayde, sir Launcelot slew them in the thyk prees and knew ⁴⁵⁹ them nat. And therefore lat us shape a remedy for to revenge their dethys.' ³⁵

1-2 C say my broder Gareth loued 6 C broder 7 Veryly *not in* C† C
sayd this man 10 C And thenne whanne he oute *not in* C 13 C and
ry3te soo syr Gawayne ranne to the 14 and seyde *not in* C 15 C O kyng
Arthur myne vnkel my good 16 C slayne and soo S slayne soo 21
C go see 22 Sir *not in* C 27 C* gareth myn own good lord I praye 28-
9 C as it is told 33 C them bothe in the thyckest of the prees*

'My kynge, my lorde, and myne uncle,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'wyte you well, now I shall make you a promyse whych I shall holde be my knyghthode, that frome thys day forwarde I shall never fayle sir Launcelot untill that one of us
 5 have slayne that othir. And therefore I requyre you, my lorde and kynge, dresse you unto the warre, for wyte you well, I woll be revenged uppon sir Launcelot; and therefore, as ye woll have my servyse and my love, now haste you thereto and assay youre frendis. For I promyse unto God,'
 10 seyde sir Gawayn, 'for the deth of my brothir, sir Gareth, I shall seke sir Launcelot thorowoute seven kynges realmys, but I shall sle hym, other ellis he shall sle me.'

'Sir, ye shall nat nede to seke hym so far,' seyde the kynge, 'for as I here say, sir Launcelot woll abyde me and us
 15 all wythin the castell of Joyous Garde. And mucche peple drawyth unto hym, as I here say.'

'That may I ryght well belyve,' seyde sir Gawayne; 'but, my lorde,' he sayde, 'assay your fryndis and I woll assay myne.'

20 'Hit shall be done,' seyde the kyng, 'and as I suppose I shall be bygge inowghe to dryve hym oute of the bygyst toure of hys castell.'

So than the kynge sente lettirs and wryttis thorowoute all Inglonde, both the lengthe and the brede, for to assomon all
 25 hys knyghtes. And so unto kynge Arthure drew many knyghtes, deukes, and erlis, that he had a grete oste. And whan they were assembeled the kynge enfourmed hem how sir Launcelot had beraffte hym hys queene.

Than the kynge and all hys oste made hem redy to ley
 30 syege aboute sir Launcelot where he lay within Joyous Garde.

And anone sir Launcelot harde thereof and purveyde hym off many good knyghtes; 'for with hym helde many knyghtes,' som for hys owne sake and som for the quenys
 460^r 35 sake. Thus they were on bothe partyes well furnysshed and

2 C promyse that 3-4 forwarde *not in C* 5 C the other 13 Sir *not in C*
 14-15 C† and yow in the Ioyous 17 ryght well *not in C* 21 C drawe hym
 24 C in the lengthe 25 kynge *not in C* 26 C Erles soo that
 32 And anone *not in C* C Therof herd sir Launcelot and 33-4 C* knyghtes
 for with hym helde many knyghtes and some F (*Mort Artu*, ed. Frappier, p. 112): por ce qu'il estoit tant amez de toutes parz (*homoeoteleuton in W*)

garnysshed of all māner of thyng that longed unto the warre. But kynge Arthurs oste was so grete that sir Launcelottis oste wolde nat abyde hym in the fylde. For he was full lothe to do batayle ayenste the kynge; but sir Launcelot drew hym unto hys stronge castell with all maner of vytayle 5 plenté, and as many noble men as he myght suffyse within the towne and the castell.

Than cam kynge Arthure with sir Gawayne wyth a grete oste and leyde syge all aboute Joyus Garde, both the towne and the castell. And there they made stronge warre on bothe 10 partyes, but in no wyse sir Launcelot wolde ryde oute of the castell of longe tyme; and nother he wold nat suffir none of hys good knyghtes to issew oute, nother of the towne nother of the castell, untill fiftene wykes were paste.

So hit felle uppon a day that sir Launcelot lokod over the 15 (11) wallys and spake on hyght unto kynge Arthure and to sir Gawayne:

'My lordis bothe, wyte you well all thys ys in vayne that ye make at thys syge, for here wynne ye no worshyp, but magré and dishonoure. For and hit lyst me to com myselff 20 oute and my good knyghtes, I shulde full sone make an ende of thys warre.'

'Com forth,' seyde kynge Arthur unto sir Launcelot, 'and thou darste, and I promyse the I shall mete the in myddis of thys fylde.' 25

'God deffende me,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that ever I shulde encounter wyth the moste noble kynge that made me knyght.'

'Now, fye uppon thy fayre langayge!' seyde the kynge, 'for wyte thou well and truste hit, I am thy mortall foo and 30 ever woll to my deth-day; for thou haste slayne my good knyghtes and full noble men of my blood, that shall I never recover agayne. Also thou haste layne be my quene and holdyn her many wynters, and sytthyn, lyke a traytoure, taken her away fro me by fors.' 35

2 Csoo bygge that 2-3 C launcelot wold not 6 plenté not in C 8-9 C an hughe hoost 9 C a syge 9-10 C both at the Towne and at the Castel 11-12 C oute nor go out of his Castel 12 C tyme neyther nat suffir not in C† 15 C Thenne it befel C* daye in heruest tyme 18 C al is 23 sir not in C 25 C the felde 29 Now not in C 30 C wete yow† wel 32 C I shal 35 away not in C

460^v 'My moste noble lorde and kynge,' seyde sir Launcelot,
 'ye may sey what ye woll, for ye wote well wyth youreselff I
 woll nat stryve. But thereas ye say that I have slayne youre
 good knyghtes, I wote woll that I have done so, and that me
 5 sore repentith; but I was forced to do batayle with hem in
 savyng of my lyff, othir ellis I muste have suffirde hem to
 have slayne me. And as for my lady quene Gwenyver,
 excepte youre person of your hyghnes and my lorde sir
 Gawayne, there nys no knyght undir hevyn that dare make
 10 hit good uppon me that ever I was traytour unto youre
 person. And where hit please you to say that I have holdyn
 my lady, youre quene, yerys and wynters, unto that I shall
 ever make a large answey, and prove hit uppon any knyght
 that beryth the lyff, excepte your person and sir Gawayne,
 15 that my lady, quene Gwenyver, ys as trew a lady unto youre
 person as ys ony lady lyvyng unto her lorde, and that woll
 I make good with my hondis. Howbehyt hit hath lyked her
 good grace to have me in favoure and cherysh me more than
 any other knyght; and unto my power agayne I have
 20 deserved her love, for oftyntymes, my lorde, ye have con-
 cented that she sholde have be brente and destroyed in
 youre hete, and than hit fortunied me to do batayle for her,
 and or I departed from her adversary they confessed there
 untrouthe, and she full worsshypfully excused. And at suche
 25 tymes, my lorde Arthur,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ye loved me
 and thanked me whan I saved your quene frome the fyre,
 and than ye promysed me for ever to be my good lorde. And
 now methynkith ye rewarde me evyll for my good servyse.
 And, my lorde, mesemyth I had loste a grete parte of my
 30 worshyp in my knyghthod and I had suffird my lady, youre
 461^r quene, to have ben brente, and insomuche as she shulde
 have bene brente for my sake; for syttyn I have done
 batayles for youre quene in other quarels than in myne owne
 quarell, mesemyth now I had more ryght to do batayle for
 35 her in her ryght quarell. And therefore, my good and
 gracious lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'take your quene unto
 youre good grace, for she ys both tru and good.'

5 *C* enforced 9 *C* there is no 10 *C* was traytour *S* was a traytour
 16 *C* as ony is lyuyng 17-18 *W* her good grace repeated 18 *C* me in chyerte
 and to cherysshe 21 have *not* in *C* 28 *C** me ful ylle (*homoeoteleuton* in *W*?)
 31 as *not* in *C* 33-4 *C* owne me semeth 35 *C* in ryghte 37 *C** bothe fayr true

'Fy on the, false recreayed knyght!' seyde sir Gawayn. 'For I lat the wyte: my lorde, myne uncle kynge Arthur shall have hys quene and the bothe magré thy vysayge, and sle you bothe and save you whether hit please hym.'

'Hit may well be,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'but wyte thou ⁵ well, my lorde sir Gawayne, and me lyst to com oute of thys castell ye shuld wyn me and the quene more harder than ever ye wan a stronge batayle.'

'Now, fy on thy proude wordis!' seyde sir Gawayne. 'As for my lady the quene, wyte thou well, I woll never say her ¹⁰ shame. But thou, false and recrayde knyght,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'what cause haddist thou to sle my good brother sir Gareth that loved the more than me and all my kynne? And alas, thou madist hym knyght thyne owne hondis! Why slewest thou hym that loved the so well?' ¹⁵

'For to excuse me,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'hit boteneth me nat, but by Jesu, and by the feyth that I owghe unto the hyghe Order of Knyghthode, I wolde with as a good a wyll have slayne my newew, sir Bors de Ganys. And alas, that ever I was so unhappy,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that I had nat ²⁰ seyne sir Gareth and sir Gaherys!'

'Thou lyst, recrayed knyght,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'thou slewyste hem in the despite of me. And therefore wyte thou well, sir Launcelot, I shall make warre uppon the, and all the whyle that I may lyve be thyne enemy!' ²⁵

'That me repentes,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for well I undir- ⁴⁶¹ stonde hit boteneth me nat to seke none accordemente whyle ye, sir Gawayne, ar so myschevously sett. And if ye were nat, I wolde nat doute to have the good grace of my lorde kynge Arthure.'

'I leve well, false recrayed knyght, for thou haste many ³⁰ longe dayes overlad me and us all, and destroyed many of oure good knyghtes.'

'Sir, ye say as hit pleasith you,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'yet

2 For *not in C* 3 bothe *not in C* 4 and save you *not in C†* 9 Now *not in C*
 10 wyte thou well *not in C* C saye of her 13 C† more and than
 al (and *not in S*) 13-14 C kynne Allas 16 C it helpeth me 18 C I
 shold with 19 C* ganys at þt tyme but allas 23 C in despyte 24 sir
 Launcelot *not in C* C warre to the 25 be thyne enemy *not in C†* 27
 C it helpeth not 31 C I byleue it wel C knyght sayd sir Gawayne for
 34 Sir *not in C* C launcelot & yet

may hit never be seyde on me and opynly preved that ever I be forecaste of treson slew no goode knyght as ye, my lorde sir Gawayne, have done; and so ded I never but in my defence, that I was dryven thereto in savyng of my lyff.'

5 'A, thou false knyght,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that thou menyst by sir Lamorak. But wyte thou well, I slew hym!'

'Sir, ye slew hym nat youreselff,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for hit had ben overmuch for you, for he was one of the beste knyghtes crystynde of his ayge. And hit was grete pité of hys deth!'

(12) 'Well, well, sir Launcelot,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'sythyn thou enbraydyst me of sir Lamorak, wyte thou well, I shall never leve the tyll I have the at suche awayle that thou shalt nat ascape my hondis.'

15 'I truste you well inowgh,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'and ye may geste me, I gett but lytyll mercy.'

But the Freynshe booke seyth kynge Arthur wolde have takyn hys quene agayne and to have bene accorded with sir Launcelot, but sir Gawayne wolde nat suffir hym by no maner of meane. And so sir Gawayne made many men to blow uppon sir Launcelot, and so all at onys they called hym 'false recrayed knyght'.

But whan sir Bors de Ganys, sir Ector de Marys and sir Lyonell harde thys outecry they called unto them sir Palomydes and sir Lavayne an sir Urré wyth many mo knyghtes of their bloode, and all they wente unto sir Launcelot and seyde thus:

462^r 'My lorde, wyte you well we have grete scorne of the grete rebukis that we have harde sir Gawayne sey unto you; wherefore we pray you, and charge you as ye woll haveoure servyse, kepe us no lenger wythin thys wallis, for we lat you wete playnly we woll ryde into the fylde and do batayle wyth hem. For ye fare as a man that were aferde, and for all their fayre speche hit woll nat awayle you, for wyte you well sir

2-3 C as . . . ye haue 5 thou *not in C* 6 But *not in C* 7 Sir *not in C* for *not in C* 8 C* ouer moche on hand for yow to haue slayne hym for he 11 C wel sayd sayd sir Gawayne to Launcelot sythen 17 C but as the C the noble kyng 18 to *not in C* 20 C And thenne syre 21 C And all 23 C Thenne when 24-5 C* Palomydes sir Safyrs broder and 25 an sir Urré *not in C*† knyghtes *not in C* 28 C lord sir launcelot wete 29 C we herd gawayn 31-2 C† for wete yow wel playnly 33-4 C alle your* fair

Gawayne woll nevir suffir you to accorde wyth kynge Arthur. And therefore fyght for youre lyff and ryght, and [ye] dare.'

'Alas,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for to ryde oute of thys castell and to do batayle I am full lothe.'

Than sir Launcelot spake on hyght unto kyng Arthur and sir Gawayne:

'My lorde, I requyre you and beseche you, sytthyn that I am thus requyred and conjoured to ryde into the fylde, that neyther you, my lorde kyng Arthur, nother you, sir Gawayne, com nat into the fylde.'

'What shall we do?' than seyde sir Gawayne. 'Is nat thys the kynges quarell to fyght wyth the? And also hit ys my quarell to fyght wyth the because of the dethe of my brothir, sir Gareth.'

'Than muste I nedys unto batayle,' seyde sir Launcelot. 'Now wyte you well, my lorde Arthur and sir Gawayne, ye woll repent hit whansomever I do batayle wyth you.'

And so than they departed eythir frome othir; and than aythir party made hem redy on the morne for to do batayle, and grete purveyaunce was made on bothe sydys. And sir Gawayne lat purvey many knyghtes for to wayte uppon sir Launcelot for to oversette hym and to sle hym. And on the morn at underne kynges Arthure was redy in the fylde with three grete ostys.

And than sir Launcelottis felyshyp com oute at the three gatis in full good aray; and sir Lyonell cam in the formyst batayle, and sir Launcelot cam in the myddyll, and sir Bors com oute at the thirde gate. And thus they cam in order and rule as full noble knyghtes. And ever sir Launcelot charged all hys knyghtes in ony wyse to save kynges Arthure and sir Gawayne.

Than cam forth sir Gawayne frome the kyngis oste and profirde to juste. And sir Lyonel was a fyers knyght, and lyghtly he encountred with hym, and there sir Gawayne smote sir Lyonell thorowoute the body, that he daysshed to

1 C wille not suffer you to be accorded 2-3 C* and your ryghte and ye dar
 12 nat *not in C†* 13 C kynges quarel with the to fyghte also *not in C* 14
 C the syr laūcelot by cause 26 C at thre 30 C and alwayes syr 33-
 4 C and he came before and proferd 35 C with syr Gawayne & there

the erth lyke as he had ben dede. And than sir Ector de Marys and other mo bare hym into the castell.

And anone there began a grete stowre and much people were slayne; and ever sir Launcelot ded what he myght to
 5 save the people on kynge Arthurs party. For sir Bors and sir Palomydes and sir Saffir overthrew many knyghtes, for they were dedely knyghtes, and sir Blamour de Ganys and sir Bleoberys, wyth sir Bellyngere le Bewse, thes six knyghtes ded much harme. And ever was kynge Arthur aboute sir
 10 Launcelot to have slayne hym, and ever sir Launcelot suffird hym and wolde nat stryke agayne. So sir Bors encountirde wyth kynge Arthur, and sir Bors smote hym, and so he alyght and drew hys swerde and seyde to sir Launcelot,
 'Sir, shall I make an ende of thys warre?' (For he mente
 15 to have slayne hym).

'Nat so hardy,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'uppon payne of thy hede, that thou touch hym no more! For I woll never se that moste noble kynge that made me knyght nother slayne nor shamed.'

20 And therewithall sir Launcelot alyght of hys horse and toke up the kynge and horsed hym agayne, and seyde thus:

'My lorde the kynge, for Goddis love, stynte thys stryff, for ye gette here no worshyp and I wolde do myne utteraunce.
 463^r But allwayes I forbear you, and ye nor none off youres forberyth nat me. And therefore, my lorde, I pray you remembir what I have done in many placis, and now am I evyll rewarded.'

So whan kynge Arthur was on horsebak he loked on sir Launcelot; than the teerys braste oute of hys yen, thynkyng
 30 of the grete curtesy that was in sir Launcelot more than in any other man. And therewith the kynge rod hys way and myght no lenger beholde hym, sayyng to hymself, 'Alas, alas, that 'ever' yet thys warre began!'

And than aythir party of the batayles wythdrew them to

2-3 *C* Castel thenne there 3-4 *C* peple was slayne 5-6 *C* for syr palomydes and syr Bors 9 *C* euer kynge Arthur was nyghe aboute syr 10-11 *C* and syr launcelot suffred 12-13 *C* Arthur and there with a spere syr Bors smote hym doun & soo 14 *Sir not in C* 14-15 *C* & that he mente to haue slayn Kynge Arthur 18-19 *C* ne shamed 22 *C* my lord Arthur for 25 nat *not in C* *C* me my lord remembre 28 *C* Thenne whan 29-30 *C* thynkyng on the 32-3 *C** hym & sayd Allas that euer this (*see note*)

repose them, and buryed the dede and serched the wounded men, and leyde to their woundes soffte salves; and thus they endured that nyght tyll on the morne. And on the morne by undirn they made them redy to do batayle, and than sir Bors lad the vawarde.

So uppon the morn there cam sir Gawayne, as brym as ony boore, wyth a grete speare in hys honde. And whan sir Bors saw hym he thought to revenge hys brother, sir Lyonell, of the despite sir Gawayne gaff hym the other day. And so, as they that knew aythir other, feautred their spearis, and with all their myght of their horsis and themselff so fyersly they mette togydirs and so felonsly that aythir bare other thorow, and so they felle bothe to the bare erthe.

And than the batayle joyned, and there was much slaughter on bothe partyes. Than sir Launcelot rescowed sir Bors and sent hym into the castell, but neyther sir Gawayne nother sir Bors dyed nat of their woundis, for they were well holpyn.

Than sir Lavayne and sir Urré prayde sir Launcelot to do hys payne and feyght as they do: 'For we se that ye forbear and spare, and that doth us much harme. And therefore we pray you spare nat youre enemyes no more than they do you.'

'Alas,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I have no harte to fyght ayenste my lorde Arthur, for ever mesemyth I do nat as me ought to do.'

'My lorde,' seyde sir Palomydes, 'thoughe ye spare them, never so much all thys day they woll can you thanke; and yf they may gete you at avayle ye ar but a dede man.'

So than sir Launcelot undirstoode that they seyde hym trouthe. Than he strayned hymselff more than he ded to-forehonde, and bycause of hys nevew, sir Bors, was sore wounded he payned hymselff the more. And so within a lytyll whyle, by evynsong tyme, sir Launcelottis party the bettir stood, for their horsis wente in blood paste the fytt-lokkes, there were so many people slayne.

1-2 C dede & to the wouëd men they leid softe 5 C the forward 9 C
despyte that syr Gawayn dyd hym as *not in C* 11 so fyersly *not in C*
13 C† the erthe 14 C batails 16-17 C Gawayne nor syr 17 C were
alle holpen 19 C* they had done C we see ye 20 us *not in C†* 21
C they done yow 23-4 C as I oughte 26 never so much *not in C* C will
neuer conne yow 27-8 C but dede So 30 of *not in C* 31 he payned
hymself the more *not in C†* 32 C Launcelot and his party the *not in C*
34 C was soo moche people

And than for verry pité sir Launcelot withhyldde hys knyghtes and suffird kynge Arthurs party to withdraw them insyde. And so he withdrew hys meyny into the castell, and aythir partyes buryed the dede and put salve unto the
5 wounded men. So whan sir Gawayne was hurte, they on kynge Arthurs party were nat so orgulus as they were tofore-honde to do batayle.

So of thys warre that was betwene kynge Arthure and sir Launcelot hit was noysed thorow all Crystyn realmys, and so
10 hit cam at the laste by relacion unto the Pope. And than the Pope toke a consideracion of the grete goodnes of kynge Arthur and of the hyghe proues off sir Launcelot, that was called the moste nobelyst knyght of the worlde. Wherefore the Pope called unto hym a noble clerke that at that tyme
15 was there presente (the Freynshe boke seyth hit was the
464^r Bysshop of Rochester), and the Pope gaff [hym bulles] undir leade, and sente hem unto the kynge, charging hym uppon payne of entirdytynge of all Inglonde that he take hys quene agayne and accorde with sir Launcelot.

(14) 20 So whan thys Bysshop was com unto Carlyle he shewed the kynge hys bullys, and whan the kynge undirstode them he wyste nat what to do: but full fayne he wolde have bene acorded with sir Launcelot, but sir Gawayn wolde nat suffir hym. But to have the quene he thereto agreed, but in no
25 wyse he wolde suffir the kynge to accorde with sir Launcelot; but as for the quene, he consented. So the Bysshop had of the kynge hys grete seale and hys assuraunce, as he was a trew and anoynted kynge, that sir Launcelot shulde go sauff and com sauff, and that the quene shulde nat be seyde
30 unto of the kynge, nother of none other, for nothyng done of tyme paste. And of all thes appoyntementes the

1 verry *not in C†* 3 C ou syde S on syde C And thenne sir launcelots party
withdrew he in to his Castel 8-9 that was betwene kynge Arthure and sir
Launcelot hit *not in C†* 9-11 C al crystendome & at the last it was noysed
afore the pope and he consydering the grete 12 of the hyghe proues *not in C*
13 C knyghtes 16-17 W gaff undir leade C* gaf hym bulles (*see note*)
17 and sente hem *not in C†* C vnto kynge Arthur of Englund charginge 19
C quene dame Gueneuer vnto hym ageyne 21 C kynge these bulles 21-2
C vnderstood these bulles he nyst what 23 but *not in C* 24 C but as for
to haue the quene ther to he agreed 25 C wyse syre Gawayne wold not suffer
26 C And thenne the Bisshop 28 C true ennoynted 28-9 C come sauf
and goo sauf 29-30 C be spoken vnto 31 C done afore tyme paste

Bysshop brought with hym sure wrytynge to shew unto sir Launcelot.

So whan the Bysshop was com to Joyous Garde, there he shewed sir Launcelot how he cam frome the Pope with wrytynge unto kyng Arthur and unto hym. And there he tolde hym the perelis, gyff he wythhelde the quene frome the kynge.

'Sir, hit was never in my thought,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'to withholde the quene frome my lorde Arthur, but I kepe her for thys cause: insomuche as she shulde have be brente for my sake, mesemed hit was my parte to save her lyff and put her from that daunger tyll bettir recover myght com. And now I thanke God,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that the Pope hathe made he[r] pease. For God knowyth,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I will be a thousandefolde more gladder to brynge her agayne than ever I was of her takyng away, wyth thys I may be sure to com sauff and go sauff, and that the quene shall have her lyberté and never for nothyng that hath be surmised afore thys tyme that she never frome thys stonde in no perell. For ellis,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I dare adventure me to kepe her frome an harder showre than ever yet I had.'

'Sir, hit shall nat nede you,' seyde the Bysshop, 'to drede thus muche, for wyte yow well, the Pope muste be obeyed, and hit were nat the Popis worshyp nother my poure honesté to know you distressed nother the quene, nother in perell nother shamed.'

And than he shewed sir Launcelot all hys wrytynge bothe frome the Pope and kynge Arthur.

'Thys ys sure ynow,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for full well I dare truste my lordys owne wrytyng and hys seale, for he was never shamed of hys promyse. Therefore,' seyde sir Launcelot unto the Bysshop, 'ye shall ryde unto the kynge afore and recommaunde me unto hys good grace, and lat hym have knowlecchyng that the same day eyght dayes, by the grace of

1 with *not in S* C sure assuraunce & wrytynge unto *not in C* 4-5 C
 how the pope had wryten to Arthur 8 Sir *not in C* C saide launcelot 9-
 10 I kepe her (*W* here) for thys cause *not in C*† 10 as *not in C* 10-11 C
 haue ben dede for my sake me semeth 14 C* made her pees 18 C*
 lyberte as she had before and 19 C tyme she 21 C euer I kepte her
 22 Sir *not in C* 22-3 C drede soo moche 25 C to wete yow 28 C and
 from kynge Arthur 34 C that this same

God, I myselff shall brynge the quene unto hym. And than sey ye to my moste redouted kyng that I woll sey largely for the quene, that I shall none excepte for drede nother for feare but the kyng hymselff and my lorde sir Gawayne; 5 and that ys for the kyngis love more than for hymselff.'

So the Bysshop departed and cam to the kyng to Carlehyll, and tolde hym all how sir Launcelot answerd hym; so that made the teares falle oute at the kyngis yen. Than sir Launcelot purveyed hym an hondred knyghtes, and all well 10 clothed in grene velvet, and their horsis trapped in the same to the heelys, and every knyght hylde a braunche of olyff in hys honde in tokenyng of pees. And the quene had four-and-twenty jantillwomen folowyng her in the same wyse. And sir Launcelot had twelve coursers folowyng hym, and 465* 15 on every courser sate a yonge jantylman; and all they were arayed in whyght velvet with sarpis of golde aboute their quarters, and the horse trapped in the same wyse down to the helys, wyth many owchys, isette with stonys and perelys in golde, to the numbir of a thousande. And in the same wyse 20 was the quene arayed, and sir Launcelot in the same, of whyght clothe of golde tyssew.

And ryght so as ye have herde, as the Freynshe booke makyth mencion, he rode with the quene frome Joyous Garde to Carlehyll. And so sir Launcelot rode thorowoute 25 Carlehyll, and so into the castell, that all men myght beholde hem. And there was many a wepyng ien.

And than sir Launcelot hymselff alyght and voyded hys horse, and toke adowne the quene, and so lad her where kyng Arthur was in hys seate; and sir Gawayne sate afore 30 hym, and many other grete lordys.

So whan sir Launcelot saw the kyng and sir Gawayne, than he lad the quene by the arme, and than he kneled downe and the quene bothe. Wyte you well, than was there many a bolde knyght wyth kyng Arthur that wepte as tendirly as 35 they had seyne all their kynne dede afore them!

1 C brynge my lady Quene Gueneuer vnto 3-4 C drede nor fere 5 C is more for the kynges loue than 7-8 C ansuerd hym and thenne the teres brast oute of the 9-10 C* alle were clothed 10 C velowet in the same not in C 16 C in grene veluet with 19-21 C thowsand and she and sir Launcelot were clothed in whyte clothe 26 hem not in C C & wete you wel ther was many 28 adowne not in C 34 a not in C† C knyghte ther with 34-5 C as though they had 35 dede not in C†

So the kynge sate styлле and seyde no worde. And whan sir Launcelot saw hys countenaunce he arose up and pulled up the quene with hym, and thus he seyde full knyghtly:

'My moste redouted kynge, ye shall undirstonde, by the (15)
Popis commaundemente and youres I have brought to you 5
my lady the quene, as ryght requyryth. And if there be ony
knyght, of what degré that ever he be off, except your per-
son, that woll sey or dare say but that she ys trew and clene
to you, I here myselff, sir Launcelot du Lake, woll make hit
good uppon hys body that she ys a trew lady unto you. 10

'But, sir, lyars ye have lystened, and that hath caused
grete debate betwyxte you and me. For tyme hath bene, my
lorde Arthur, that [y]e were gretly pleased with me whan 465^v
I ded batayle for my lady, youre quene; and full well ye
know, my moste noble kynge, that she hathe be put to grete 15
wronge or thys tyme. And sytthyn hyt pleased you at many
tymys that I shulde feyght for her, therefore mesemyth, my
good lorde, I had more cause to rescow her from the fyer
whan she sholde have ben brente for my sake.

'For they that tolde you tho talys were lyars, and so hit 20
felle uppon them: for by lyklyhode, had nat the myght of
God bene with me, I myght never have endured with four-
tene knyghtes. And they were armed and afore purposed,
and I unarmed and nat purposed; for I was sente unto my
lady, youre quyne, I wote nat for what cause, but I was nat 25
so sone within the chambir dore but anone sir Aggravayne
and sir Mordred called me traytoure and false recrayed
knyght.'

'Be my fayth, they called the ryght!' seyde sir Gawayne.

'My lorde, sir Gawayne,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'in their 30
quarell they preved nat hemself the beste, nother in the ryght.'

'Well, well, sir Launcelot,' seyde the kynge, 'I have gyvyn
you no cause to do to me as ye have done, for I have worshipt
you and youres more than ony othir knyghtes.'

2 C arose and 3 C he spak ful 4 C† Capitulum xiiii 7 C of what
someuer degree that he be excepte 11 sir *not in C* 12 grete *not in C†* 13
W he were C ye* haue ben 17 W and therefore (*not in C*) 18-19 C fyre
in soo moche she shold 21 C felle S befelle 22-3 C endured fourteen
23 were *not in C* 24 C sente for vnto 27 false *not in C* 29 Be my fayth
not in C 31 C preued hem self not in the ryght 32 W well seyde sir
Launcelot seyde the kynge 32-3 C gyuen the no 33 C as thou hast 33-4
C worshypped the and thyn more than ony of alle my knyghtes

'My lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'so ye be nat displeased,
 ye shall undirstonde that I and myne have done you oftyn-
 tymes bettir servyse than ony othir knyghtes have done, in
 many dyverce placis; and where ye have bene full ha[r]d
 5 bestadde dyvers tymes, I have rescowed you frome many
 daungers; and ever unto my power I was glad to please you
 and my lorde sir Gawayne. In justis and in turnementis and
 in batayles set, bothe on horsebak and on foote, I have
 oftyn rescowed you, and you, my lorde sir Gawayne, and
 10 many mo of youre knyghtes in many dyvers placis.
 466^r 'For now I woll make avaunte,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I
 woll that ye all wyte that as yet I founde never no maner of
 knyght but that I was over harde for hym and I had done
 myne utteraunce, God graunte mercy! Howbehit I have be
 15 macched with good knyghtes, as sir Trystram and sir
 Lamorak, but ever I had favoure unto them and a demyng
 what they were. And I take God to recorde, I never was
 wrothe nor gretly hevy wyth no good knyght and I saw hym
 besy and aboute to wyn worshyp; and glad I was ever whan
 20 I founde a good knyght that myght onythyng endure me on
 horsebak and on foote. Howbehit sir Carados of the Dolerous
 Toure was a full noble knyght and a passynge stronge man,
 and that wote ye, my lorde sir Gawayne; for he myght well
 be called a noble knyght whan he be fyne fors pulled you oute
 25 of your sadyll and bounde you overthwarte afore hym to hys
 sadyll-bow. And there, my lorde sir Gawayne, I rescowed
 you and slew hym afore your syght. Also I founde your
 brothir, sir Gaherys, and sir Terquyn ledyng hym bounden
 afore hym; and there also I rescowed youre brothir and slew
 30 sir Terquyn and delyverde three score and four of my lorde
 Arthurs knyghtes oute of hys preson. And now I dare sey,'
 seyde sir Launcelot, 'I mette never wyth so stronge a knyght
 nor so well-fyghtyng as was sir Carados and sir Tarquyn,
 for they and I faught to the uttermost.

1 C My good* lord 2 that *not in C* 2-3 C ofte better 5 C I haue my
 self 7 C Gawayne bothe in 9 and you *not in C* 12 as *not in C* 14
 C vtteraunce thāked be god how be it 17 C record sayd syr launcelot I 19
 C besy aboute 20 C fonde ony knyghte onythyng *not in C* 24 you
not in S 27-8 C fonde his broder syr Turquyn in lyke wyse ledyng sir Gaherys
 youre broder boūden 29 C there I rescowed 29-30 C slewe that Turquyn
 32 sir *not in S* 32-3 C knyghtes nor 34 C for I fought with them to the

'And therefore,' seyde sir Launcelot unto sir Gawayne, 'mesemyth ye ought of ryght to remembir this; for, and I myght have youre good wyll, I wold truste to God for to have my lorde Arthurs good grace.'

'Sir, the kynge may do as he wyll,' seyde sir Gawayne, 5 (16)
'but wyte thou well, sir Launcelot, thou and I shall never be accorded whyle we lyve, for thou hast slayne three of my brethyrn. And two of hem thou slew traytourly and piteuously, for they bare none harneys ayenste the, nother none 466v
wold do.' 10

'Sir, God wolde they had ben armed,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for than had they ben on lyve. A[s] for Gareth, I loved no kynnesman I had more than I loved hym, and ever whyle I lyve,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I woll bewayle sir Gareth hys dethe, nat all only for the grete feare I have of you, but for 15
many causys whych causyth me to be sorowfull. One is that I made hym knyght; another ys, I wote well he loved me aboven all othir knyghtes; and the third ys, he was passyng noble and trew, curteyse and jantill and well-condicionde. The fourthe ys, I wyste well, anone as I harde that sir Gareth 20
was dede, I knew well that I shulde never aftir have youre love, my lorde sir Gawayne, but everlastyng warre betwyxt us. And also I wyste well that ye wolde [cause] my noble lorde kynge Arthur for ever to be my mortall foo. And as 25
Jesu be my helpe, and be my knyghthode, I slewe never sir Gareth nother hys brother be my wyllinge, but alas that ever they were unarmed that unhappy day!

'But this much I shall offir me to you,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'if hit may please the kyngis good grace and you, my lorde sir Gawayne: I shall firste begyn at Sandwyche, and there I 30
shall go in my shearte, bare-foote; and at every ten myles ende I shall founde and gar make an house of relygions, of what order that ye woll assygne me, with an holé covente, to synge and rede day and nyght in especiall for sir Gareth sake

5, 11 Sir *not in C* 8 *C* ye slewe 10 *C* wold bere 12-13 *C* And wete ye wel syre Gawayne as *(*W* and) for sire Gareth I loued none of my kynnesman so moche as I dyd hym 14-15 *C* Gareths deth 15-16 *C* but many causes causen me
16-17 *C* is for I made 19 *C* noble true 21 I knew well *not in C* 22 my lorde sir Gawayne *not in C* 24 kynge *not in C* 25 *C*† help sayd syr Launcelot I slewe 26 *C* Gareth nor sir Gaherys by my wyll but 28 to you *not in C* 32 *S* endes *C* wyll founde *C* relygyon 34 *W* sygne

and sir Gaherys. And thys shall I perfourme [from Sandwyche unto Carlyle; and every house shall have sufficyent lyvelod. And thys shall I perfourme] whyle that I have ony lyvelod in Crystyndom, and there ys none of all thes religious
 5 placis but they shall be perfourmed, furnysshed and garnysshed with all thyngis as an holy place ought to be. And thys
 467^r were fayrar and more holyar and more perfyte to their soulis than ye, my moste noble kynge, and you, sir Gawayne, to warre uppon me, for thereby shall ye gete none awayle.'

10 Than all the knyghtes and ladyes that were there wepte as they were madde, and the tearys felle on kynge Arthur hys chekis.

'Sir Launcelot,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'I have ryght well harde thy langayge and thy grete proffirs. But wyte thou
 15 well, lat the kynge do as hit pleasith hym, I woll never forgyff the my brothirs dethe, and in especiall the deth of my brothir sir Gareth. And if myne uncle, kynge Arthur, wyll accorde wyth the, he shall loose my servys, for wyte thou well,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'thou arte bothe false to the kynge
 20 and to me.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'he beryth nat the lyff that may make hit good! And ye, sir Gawayne, woll charge me with so hyghe a thyng, ye muste pardone me, for than nedis must I answeyre you.'

25 'Nay, nay,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'we ar paste that as at thys tyme, and that causyth the Pope, for he hath charged myne uncle the kynge that he shall take agayne his quene and to accorde wyth the, sir Launcelot, as for thys season, and therefore thou shalt go sauff as thou com. But in this londe thou
 30 shalt nat abyde paste a fiftene dayes, such somons I gyff the, for so the kynge and we were condescended and accorded ar thou cam. And ellis,' seyde sir Gawayn, 'wyte thou well, thou shulde nat a comyn here but if hit were magré

1-3 C* performe from Sandwyche vnto Carleil And euery hows shal haue sufficyent lyvelode and this shal I performe (*homoeoteleuton in W*) 4 C there nys none
 5-6 C garnysshed in alle 6-7 C* be I promyse yow feythfully And this sir Gawayne me thynketh were more fayrer holier & more better† to their 14 C
 thy speche and 15 C pleasyd 15-16 C forgyue my 19 seyde sir Gawayne
 not in C 22 C make that good And yf ye 25 C Nay sayd as not in C
 26 C caused 27 C take his Quene ageyne 29 C camest 30 a not in C 31
 for not in C C were consented 32 C camest 33 C sholdest C haue comen

thyne hede. And if hit were nat for the Popis commaundement,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'I shulde do batayle with the myne owne hondis, body for body, and preve hit uppon the that thou haste ben both false unto myne uncle, kynge Arthur, and to me bothe; and that shall I preve on thy body, whan 5 thou arte departed fro hense, wheresomever that I fynde the!'

Than sir Launcelotte syghed, and therewith the tearys 467^v (17) felle on hys chekys, and than he seyde thus:

'Moste nobelyst Crysten realme, whom I have loved aboven all othir realmys! And in the I have gotyn a grete 10 parte of my worshyp, and now that I shall departe in thys wyse, truly me repentis that ever I cam in thys realme, that I shulde be thus shamefully banysshed, undeserved and causeles! But fortune ys so varyaunte, and the wheele so mutable, that there ys no constaunte abydyng. And that 15 may be preved by many olde cronycles, as of noble Ector of Troy and Alysaunder, the myghty conquerroure, and many mo other: whan they were moste in her royalté, they alyght passyng lowe. And so faryth hit by me,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for in thys realme I had worshyp, and be me and myne all 20 the hole Rounde Table hath bene encreced more in worshyp, by me and myne, than ever hit was by ony of you all.'

'And therefore wyte thou well, sir Gawayne, I may lyve uppon my londis as well as ony knyght that here ys. And yf ye, my moste redoutted kynge, woll com uppon my londys 25 with sir Gawayne to warre uppon me, I muste endure you as well as I may. But as to you, sir Gawayne, if that ye com there, I pray you charge me nat wyth treson nother felony, for and ye do, I muste answeere you.'

'Do thou thy beste,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'and therefore 30 hyghe the faste that thou were gone! And wyte thou well we shall sone com aftir, and breke th[e] strengyst castell that thou hast, uppon thy hede!'

'Hyt shall nat nede that,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for and I were as orgulous sette as ye ar, wyte you well I shulde mete 35 you in myddys of the fylde.'

1 *C* thy hede 2-3 *C*† with myn owne body ageynst thy body 6, 11 that
not in C 9 *C* Allas moost noble Crysten 14-15 *C* soo meuable there
nys none constaunte 16 as *not in C* 16-17 *C*† Ector and Troylus and
Alysander 18-19 Calyghte lowest and 21 *C*hole *S*whole 22-3 *C*
myn blood than by ony other And therfor 30 and *not in C* 32 *W* breke thy

'Make thou no more langayge,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'but delyvir the quene from the, and pyke the lyghtly oute of thys courtel!'

468^r 'Well,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'and I had wyste of thys
5 shortecomyng, I wolde a advysed me twyse or that I had
com here. For and the quene had be so dere unto me as ye
noyse her, I durste have kepte her frome the felyshyp of the
beste knyghtes undir hevyn.'

And than sir Launcelot seyde unto quene Gwenyver in
10 hyryng of the kynge and hem all,

'Madame, now I muste departe from you and thys noble
felyshyp for ever. And sytthyn hit ys so, I besech you to pray
for me, and I shall pray for you. And telle ye me, and if ye be
harde bestad by ony false tungen, but lyghtly, my good lady,
15 sende me worde; and if ony knyghtes hondys undir the
hevyn may delyver you by batayle, I shall delyver you.'

And therewithall sir Launcelot kyssed the quene, and than
he seyde all opynly,

'Now lat se whatsomever he be in thys place that dare sey
20 the quene ys nat trew unto my lorde Arthur, lat se who woll
speke and he dare speke.'

And therewith he brought the quene to the kynge, and
than sir Launcelot toke hys leve and departed. And there
nother kynge, duke, erle, barowne, nor knyght, lady nor
25 jantyllwoman, but all they wepte as people oute of mynde,
excepte sir Gawayne. And whan thys noble knyght sir
Launcelot toke his horse to ryde oute of Carlehyll, there was
sobbyng and wepyng for pure dole of hys departynge.

And so he toke his way to Joyous Garde, and than ever
30 afftir he called hit the 'Dolerous [Garde]'. And thus departed
sir Launcelot frome the courte for ever.

And so whan he cam to Joyous Garde he called hys
felyshyp unto hym and asked them what they wolde do.
Than they answerde all holé togydirs with one voyce, they
35 wold do as he wolde do.

'Than, my fayre felowys,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I muste

5	<i>C</i> haue aduysed	6	<i>C</i> comen hyder	9	quene <i>not in C</i>	12-13	<i>C</i> praye
	for me and saye me wel and yf ye be			14	but <i>not in C</i>	good <i>not in C</i>	15-
16	undir the hevyn <i>not in C</i>	19	<i>C</i> what he be	23-4	<i>C</i> ther was neyther		
	Kyng duke ne erle baron ne knyghte	25	<i>C</i> of their mynde	26	<i>C</i> noble sir		
30	<i>C</i> * gard <i>W</i> towre	35	<i>C</i> wold as	36	Than <i>not in C</i>		

departe oute of thys moste noble realme. And now I shall 468^v
 departe, hit grevyth me sore, for I shall departe with no
 worship; fo[r] a fleymed man departith never oute of a
 realme with no worship. And that ys to me grete hevynes,
 for ever I feare aftir my dayes that men shall cronycle uppon 5
 me that I was fleamed oute of thys londe. And ellis, my
 fayre lordis, be ye sure, and I had nat drad shame, my lady
 quene Gwenyvere and I shulde never have departed.'

Than spake noble knyghtes, as sir Palomydes and sir
 Saffyr, hys brothir, and sir Bellynger le Bewse, and sir Urré 10
 with sir Lavayne, with many other:

'Sir, and ye woll so be disposed to abyde in thys londe we
 woll never fayle you; and if ye lyst nat abyde in thys londe,
 there ys none of the good knyghtes that here be that woll
 fayle you, for many causis. One ys, all we that be nat of your 15
 bloode shall never be wellcom unto the courte. And sytthyn
 hit lyked us to take a parte with you in youre distres in this
 realme, wyte you well hit shall lyke us as well to go in othir
 contreyes with you and there to take suche parte as ye do.'

'My fayre lordys,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I well undirstond 20
 you, and as I can, I thanke you. And ye shall undirstonde,
 suche lyvelode as I am borne unto I shall departe with you
 in thys maner of wyse: that ys for to say, I shall departe all
 my lyvelode and all my londis frely amonge you, and my-
 selff woll have as lytyll as ony of you; for, have I sufficiaunte 25
 that may longe unto my person, I woll aske none other
 ryches nother aray. And I truste to God to maynteyne you
 on my londys as well as ever ye were maynteyned.'

Than spake all the knyghtes at onys: 'Have he shame that
 woll leve you! For we all undirstonde, in thys realme [woll 30
 be no] quyett, but ever debate and stryff, now the felyshyp of 469^r
 the Rounde Table ys brokyn. For by the noble felyshyp of
 the Rounde Table was kynge Arthur upborne, and by their
 nobeles the kynge and all the realme was ever in quyett and

4 C that is my heuynes 9-10 C Palomydes sir Safyr 12 C ye be so 14
 C there nys C ben will 17 C distresse & heuynesse in 18 S vs al† as wel
 21 C can thanke 24-5 C I my self 26-7 C† other ryche araye 28 euer
 were mayntened ony kny3tes 29 C† spap C he haue 30-1 C* vnder-
 stande in this realme wyll be now no quyete but euer stryf and debate now W
 undirstonde was never quyett in thys realme (see note) 34 C alle his realme was
 in quyete

reste. And a grete parte,' they sayde all, 'was because of youre moste nobeles, sir Launcelot.'

- (18) 'Now, truly I thanke you all of youre good sayinge! How-behit I wote well that in me was nat all the stabilité of thys
 5 realme, but in that I myght I ded my dever. And well I am sure I knew many rebellyons in my dayes that by me and myne were peased; and that I trow we all shall here of in shorte space, and that me sore repentith. For ever I drede me,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that sir Mordred woll make
 10 trouble, for he ys passyng envyous and applyeth hym muche to trouble.'

And so they were accorded to departe wyth sir Launcelot to hys landys. And to make shorte thys tale, they trussed and payed all that wolde aske them; and holé an hondred knyghtes
 15 departed with sir Launcelot at onys, and made their avowis they wolde never leve hym for weale ne for woo.

And so they shpped at Cardyff, and sayled unto Benwyke: som men calle hit Bayan and som men calle hit Beawme, where the wyne of Beawme ys. But say the sothe, sir
 20 Launcelott and hys neveawis was lorde of all Fraunce and of all the londis that longed unto Fraunce; he and hys kynrede rejoysed hit all thorow sir Launcelottis noble proues.

And than he stuffed and furnysshed and garnysshed all his noble townys and castellis. Than all the people of tho
 25 landis cam unto sir Launcelot on foote and hondis. And so whan he had stabelysshed all those contreyes, he shortly called a parlement; and there he crowned sir Lyonell kynge
 469^v off Fraunce, and sir Bors he crowned hym kynge of all kyng Claudas londis, and sir Ector de Marys, sir Launcelottis
 30 yonger brother, he crowned hym kynge of Benwyke and kynge of all Gyan, whych was sir Launcelottis owne londys. And he made sir Ector prynce of them all.

And thus he departed hys londis and avaunced all hys

2-3 *C* your noblesse Capitulum xviii Truly sayd sir Launcelot I thanke yow 4, 7
 that *not in C* 6-7 and myne *not in C* 7 *C* of hem in 10 muche *not in C*
 12 *C* accorded to go with 13 thys *not in C* 15 *W* departed departed
 16 *C* wele nor for 18-19 *C* it bayen and somme men calle it Beaume where the
 wyn of beaume is But to saye 20 *C* newewes were lordis of 23 *C* thenne sir
 Launcelot stuffed 24 *W* of the *C** of tho 26 *C* stabled *C* alle these
 29-30 *C* marys that was sir launcelot yonger broder 31 *C* Gyan that was
 sir launcelot owne land 33 *C†* & thus he departed Thenne sir Launcelot
 auauanced alle his

noble knyghtes. And firste he avaunced them off hys blood,
 as sir Blamour, he made hym duke of Lymosyn in Gyan, and
 sir Bleoberys, he made hym duke of Payters. And sir
 Gahalantyne, he made hym deuke of Overn; and sir Galyo-
 dyn, he made hym deuke of Sentonge; and sir Galyhud, he ⁵
 made hym erle of Perygot; and sir Menaduke, he made hym
 erle of Roerge; and sir Vyllars the Valyaunt, he made hym
 erle of Bearne; and sir Hebes le Renownes, he made hym erle
 of Comange; and sir Lavayne, he made hym erle of Army-
 nake; and sir Urré, he made hym erle of Estrake; and sir ¹⁰
 Neroveus, he made hym erle of Pardyak; and sir Plenor-
 yus, he made hym erle of Foyse; and sir Selyses of the
 Dolerous Toure, he made hym erle of Ma(r)sank; and sir
 Melyas de le Ile, he made hym erle of Tursanke; and sir
 Bellyngere le Bewse, he made hym erle of the Lawundis; and ¹⁵
 sir Palomydes, he made hym deuke of Provynce; and sir
 Saffir, he made hym deuke of Landok. And sir Clegys, he
 gaff hym the erle[dome] of Agente; and sir Sadok, he gaff
 hym the erldom of Sarlat; and sir Dynas le Senesciall, he
 made hym deuke of Angeoy; and sir Clarrus, he made hym ²⁰
 duke of Normandy.

Thus sir Launcelot rewarded hys noble knyghtes, and
 many mo that mesemyth hit were to longe to rehers.

1-2 C blood that was syr 3 C of poyters 8 C le renoumes 11 C
 Neroneus 13 W Mansank (=Marsan) C† Masauke 14 C delyle 15 C laundes
 16 C† of the prouynce 18 C* the erldome of Agente 19 C† Surlat 20 C Anioye

III

THE SIEGE OF BENWICK

[*Winchester MS.*, ff. 469^v–475^r;
Caxton, *Book XX*, chs. 19–22.]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

19. How kyng Arthur and syr Gawayn made a grete hoost 1edy to goo over see to make warre on syr Launcelot.
20. What message syr Gawayn sente to syr Launcelot, and kyng Arthur layed syege to Benwyck, and other maters.
21. How syr Launcelot and syr Gawayn dyd batayl togyder, and how syr Gawayn was overthrowen and hurte
22. Of the sorowe that kyng Arthur made for the warre, and of another batayl where also syr Gawayn had the werse.

SO leve we sir Launcelot in hys londis and hys noble (19)
 knyghtes with hym, and returne we agayne unto kynge 470^r
 Arthur and unto sir Gawayne that made a grete oste aredy
 to the numbir of three score thousande. And all thyng was
 made redy for shyping to passe over the see, to warre 5
 uppon sir Launcelot and uppon hys londis. And so they
 shipped at Cardyff.

And there kynge Arthur made sir Mordred chyeff ruler
 of all Ingelonde, and also he put the quene undir hys gover-
 naunce: bycause sir Mordred was kynge Arthurs son, he 10
 gaff hym the rule off hys londe and off hys wyff.

And so the kynge passed the see and landed uppon sir
 Launcelottis londis, and there he brente and wasted, thorow
 the vengeance of sir Gawayne, all that they myght overrenne.
 So whan thys worde was [com] unto sir Launcelot, that 15
 kynge Arthur and sir Gawayne were landed uppon hys
 londis and made full grete destruccion and waste, than spake
 sir Bors and seyde,

'My lorde, sir Launcelot, hit is shame that we suffir hem
 thus to ryde over oure londys. For wyte you well, suffir ye 20
 hem as longe as ye wyll, they woll do you no favoure and
 they may handyll you.'

Than seyde sir Lyonell that was ware and wyse, 'My lorde,
 sir Launcelot, I woll gyff you thys counceyle: lat us kepe
 oure stronge-walled townys untill they have hunger and 25
 colde, and blow on their nayles; and than lat us freysshly set
 uppon them and shrede hem downe as shepe in a folde, that
 ever aftir alyauntis may take ensample how the[y] lande
 uppon oure londys!'

Than spake kynge Bagdemagus to sir Launcelot and 30
 seyde, 'Sir, youre curtesy woll shende us all, and youre
 curtesy hath waked all thys sorow; for and they thus over-

3 C hoost redy 5 C for their shyping 5-6 to warre . . . hys londis *not in*
 C† Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2506): On Launcelot landys for to ryde *Mort Artu* (p.
 141): l'amonesta tant messires Gauvains qu'il recomençast la guerre encontre Lancelot
 9 C put quene Gueneuer under 15 C* word came to syr 27 C† vpon
 hym and C† in a felde 28 ever aftir *not in C* C ensample for euer how
 30-1 and seyde *not in C* 31-2 C alle and thy curtosy

ryde oure londis, they shall by proces brynge us all to nought
whyle we thus in holys us hyde.'

470^v Than seyde sir Galyhud unto sir Launcelot, 'Sir, here
bene knyghtes com of kyngis blod that woll nat longe
5 droupe and dare within thys wallys. Therefore gyff us leve,
lyke as we ben knyghtes, to mete hem in the fylde, and we
shall 'slee them and' so deale wyth them that they shall
curse the tyme that ever they cam into thys contrey.'

Than spake seven brethirn of Northe Walis which were
10 seven noble knyghtes, for a man myght seke seven kyngis
londis or he myght fynde such seven knyghtes. And thes
seven noble knyghtes seyde all at onys,

'Sir Launcelot, for Crystis sake, late us ryde oute with sir
Galyhud, for we were never wonte to coure in castels nother
15 in noble townys.'

Than spake sir Launcelot, that was mayster and gover-
noure of hem all, and seyde,

'My fayre lordis, wyte you well I am full lothe to ryde
oute with my knyghtes for shedyng of Crysten blood; and
20 yet my londis I undirstonde be full bare for to sustayne any
oste awhyle for the myghty warris that whylom made kyng
Claudas uppon thys contrey and uppon my fadir, kyng Ban,
and on myne uncle, kyng Bors. Howbehit we woll as at this
tyme kepe oure stronge wallis. And I shall sende a messyn-
25 gere unto my lorde Arthur a trefyse for to take, for better
ys pees than allwayes warre.'

So sir Launcelot sente forthe a damesel wyth a dwarff with
her, requyryng kyng Arthur to leve hys warryng uppon hys
londys. And so he starte uppon a palferey, and a dwarffe
30 ran by her syde, and whan she cam to the pavelon of kyng
Arthur, there she alyght. And there mette her a jantyll
knyght, sir Lucan the Butlere, and seyde,

'Fayre damesell, come ye frome sir Launcelot du
Lake?'

1 C ouer our landes ryde 5 C† droupe & they are within these *Le Morte Arthur*
(2574-5): 'Syr, here ar knyghtis of kynges blode that longe wylle not droupe and
dare' 6-7 C* we shalle slee them W we shall so deale wyth them *Le Morte*
Arthur (2579): I shall them sle and make full bare 9 C northwalys and they
were 10 for not in C C seke in seuen 11-12 C Knyghtes Thenne they
all said at ones 13 C vs oute ryde with 14 C we be neuer 17 and seyde
not in C 20 P sull R full 22 C countrey vpon my 29 C* and the dwerf

'Yee, sir,' she seyde, 'therefore cam I hyddir to speke with my lorde the kynge.'

'Alas,' seyde sir Lucan, 'my lorde Arthure wolde accorde with sir Launcelot, but sir Gawayne woll nat suffir hym.' And than he seyde, 'I pray to God, damesell, that ye may 5 471^r spede well,' for all we that bene aboute the kynge wolde that Launcelot ded beste of ony knyght lyvyng.'

And so with thys sir Lucan lad the damesell to the kynge, where he sate with syr Gawayne, for to hyre what she wolde say. So whan she had tolde her tale the watir ran oute of the 10 kyngis yen. And all the lordys were full glad for to advyce the kynge to be accorded with sir Launcelot, save all only sir Gawayne. And he seyde,

'My lorde, myne uncle, what woll ye do? Woll ye now turne agayne, now ye ar paste thys farre uppon youre 15 journey? All the worlde woll speke of you vylany and shame.'

'Now,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'wyte you well, sir Gawayne, I woll do as ye advyse me; and yet mesemyth,' seyde kynge Arthur, 'hys fayre proffers were nat good to be reffused. But 20 sytthyn I am com so far uppon thys journey, I woll that ye gyff the damesell her answeere, for I may nat speke to her for pité: for her profirs ben so large.'

Than sir Gawayne seyde unto the damesell thus: 'Sey ye to (20) sir Launcelot that hyt ys waste laboure now to sew to myne 25 uncle. For telle hym, and he wolde have made ony laboure for pease, he sholde have made hit or thys tyme, for telle hym now hit ys to late. And say to hym that I, sir Gawayne, so sende hym word, that I promyse hym by the faythe that I owghe to God and to knyghthode, I shall never leve hym 30 tylle he hathe slayne me or I hym!'

So the damesell wepte and departed, and so there was many a wepyng yghe. And than sir Lucan brought the damesell to her palfrey; and so she cam to sir Launcelot, where he was amonge all hys knyghtes, and whan sir Launce- 35

3-4 C wold loue launcelot 5 that *not in C* 6 C* spede wel *Le Morte Arthur*
(2643): Jesu, for hys modyris sake, Yiffe the grace wele to spede 12 C as to be
15-16 C thus fer vpon this Iourney 16-17 and shame *not in C†* 18 C thou
19 C ye wil aduyse kynge *not in C* 24 C thus Damoyse saye ye 28 to hym
not in C 29-30 C feythe I owe vnto god 32-3 C and there were many
wepyng eyen and soo sir 35 C when S whan

lott had harde hir answeye, than the tearys ran downe by hys chekys. And than hys noble knyghtes com aboute hym and seyde,

‘Sir Launcelot, wherefore make ye suche chere? Now
 5 thynke what ye ar, and what men we ar, and lat us, noble
 471^v knyghtis, macche hem in myddis of the fylde.’

‘That may be lyghtly done,’ seyde sir Launcelot, ‘but I was never so lothe to do batayle. And therefore I pray you, sirres, as ye love me, be ruled at thys tyme as I woll have you.
 10 For I woll allwayes fle that noble kynge that made me knyght; and whan I may no farther, I muste nedis deffende me. And that woll be more worshyp for me and us all tha[n] to compare with that noble kynge whom we have all served.’

Than they hylde their langayge, and as that nyght they
 15 toke their reste. And uppon the mornynge erly, in the dawninge of the day, as knyghtes loked oute, they saw the cité of Benwyke besyged rounde aboute, and gan faste to sette up laddirs. And they within keppe them oute of the towne and bete hem myghtyly frome the wallis.

20 Than cam forthe sir Gawayne, well armede, uppon a styff steede, and he cam before the chyeff gate with hys speare in hys honde, cryynge:

‘Where art thou, sir Launcelot? Ys there none of all your proude knyghtes that dare breake a speare with me?’

25 Than sir Bors made hym redy and cam forth oute of the towne. And there sir Gawayne encountred with sir Bors, and at that tyme he smote hym downe frome hys horse, and allmoste he had slayne hym. And so sir Bors was rescowed and borne into the towne.

30 Than cam forthe sir Lyonell and thoughte to revenge hym; and aythir feawtred their spearys and so ran togydirs, and there they mette spiteuously, but sir Gawayne had such a grace that he smote sir Lyonell downe. and wounded hym

2 C knyghtes strode aboute 4 Now *not in C* 9 C fayre sir at thys tyme *not in C* 12-13 W that to compare C* than to compare 15 C morne erly 17 C and fast they beganne to 18-20 C and thenne they defyed hem oute of the Towne and bete hem from the walles wyghtely Thenne 23 C syr Launcelot where arte thou 23-4 C of you proude 24 that *not in C* 27 C smote sir Bors doune 30 C* Lyonel broder to syr Bors and Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2754-5): Syr Lyonelle was all redy than And for hys broder was wonder woo 31 so *not in C* 32 C mette spytefully 33 a *not in C*

there passyngly sore. And than sir Lyonell was rescowed and borne into the towne.

And thus sir Gawayne com every day, and fayled nat but that he smote downe one knyght or othir. So thus they endured halff a yere, and muche slaughter was of people on 5 bothe partyes.

Than hit befelle uppon a day that sir Gawayne cam afore the gatis, armed at all pecis, on a noble horse, with a grete 472^r speare in hys honde, and than he cryed with a lowde voyce and seyde,

‘Where arte thou now, thou false traytour, sir Launcelot? Why holdyst thou thyself within holys and wallys lyke a cowarde? Loke oute, thou false traytoure knyght, and here I shall revenge uppon thy body the dethe of my three brethirne!’

And all thys langayge harde sir Launcelot every deale. 15 Than hys kynne and hys knyghtes drew aboute hym, and all they seyde at onys unto sir Launcelot,

‘Sir, now muste you deffende you lyke a knyght, othir ellis ye be shamed for ever, for now ye be called uppon treson, hit ys tyme for you to styrre! For ye have slepte over 20 longe, and suffirde overmuch.’

‘So God me helpe,’ seyde sir Launcelot, ‘I am ryght hevvy at sir Gawaynes wordys, for now he chargith me with a grete charge. And therefore I wote as well as ye I muste nedys deffende me, other ellis to be recreaunte.’ 25

Than sir Launcelot bade sadyll hys strongest horse and bade let fecche hys armys and brynge all to the towre of the gate. And than sir Launcelot spake on hyght unto the kynge and seyde,

‘My lorde Arthur, and noble kynge that made me knyght! 30 Wyte you well I am ryght hevvy for youre sake that ye thus sewe uppon me. And allwayes I forbore you, for and I wolde be vengeable I myght have mette you in myddys the fylde or thys tyme, and there to have made your boldiste knyghtes full tame. And now I have forborne you and 35 suffirde you halff a yere, and sir Gawayne, to do what ye

1 C passyngly sore 3 C And this† sir C he fayled 10 and seyde *not in C*
 12 C* why hydest thou 13 C oute now thou 15-16 C dele and his 18 C
 Sir Launcelot 23 C charged me 24 C wote it as 27-8 C alle vnto the gate of
 the Toure 28-9 C vnto kynge Arthur and sayd 33 C myddes of the 34 or
 thys tyme *not in C* 35-6 C forborne half a yere and suffred yow and sire

wolde do. And now I may no lenger suffir to endure, but nedis I muste deffende myselff, insomuch as sir Gawayn hathe becalled me of treson; whych ys gretly ayenste my wyll that ever I shulde fyght ayenste ony of youre blood,
 5 but now I may nat forsake hit: for I am dryvyn thereto as beste tyllle a bay.'

Than sir Gawayne seyde unto sir Launcelotte,
 472^v 'And thou darste do batayle, leve thy babelynge and com off, and lat us ease oure hartis!'

10 Than sir Launcelot armed hym and mownted uppon hys horse, and aythir of them gate greате spearys in their hondys. And so the oste withoute stooде stylle all aparte, and the noble knyghtes of the cité cam a greате numbir, that whan kyngе Arthur saw the numbir of men and knyghtes he
 15 mervaylde and seyde to hymself,

'Alas, that ever sir Launcelot was ayenst me! For now I se that he hath forborne me.'

And so the covenante was made, there sholde no man nyghe hem nother deale wyth them tyllle the tone were dede
 20 other yolden.

(21) Than sir Launcelot and sir Gawayne departed a greате way in sundir, and than they cam togydirs with all the horse myghtes as faste as they myght renne, and aythir smote othir in myddis of their shyldis. But the knyghtes were so
 25 stronge and their spearys so bygge that their horsis myght nat endure their buffettis, and so their horsis felle to the erthe. And than they avoyded their horsys and dressed their shyldis afore them; than they cam togydirs and gaff many sad strokis on dyverse placis of their bodyes, that the
 30 bloode braste oute on many sydis.

Than had sir Gawayne suche a grace and gyffte that an holy man had gyvyn hym, that every day in the yere, frome undern tyll hyghe noone, hys myght encreased tho three owres as much as thryse hys strength. And that caused sir

1-2 C may endure it no lenger for now muste I nedes defende 2 as *not in C*
 3 C hath apeeled me of treason the whiche 5 for *not in C* 7-8 C sayd
 sir Launcelot and thou 10 C armed hym lyghtely & 11 C of the knyghtes
 gat 12 so *not in C* 13 C noble knyghtes came oute of the Cyte by a grete
 nombre in so moche that whan 19 C tyl the one 21 C syr Gawayn and syr
 Launcelot 22 C* their hors 23 as faste *not in C*† 26 W buffeffettis 28 C
 they stode to gyders 30 C sydes and places (*contamination?*) 33 C hye S hye

Gawayne to wynne grete honoure. And for hys sake kynge Arthur made an ordynaunce that all maner off batayles for ony quarels that shulde be done afore kynge Arthur shulde begynne at undern; and all was done for sir Gawaynes love, that by lyklyhode if sir Gawayne were on the tone parté, he shulde have the bettir in batayle whyle hys strengthe endured three owrys. But there were that tyme but feaw knyghtes lyvyng that knewe thys advauntayge that sir Gawayne had, but kynge Arthure all only. 473^r

So sir Launcelot faught wyth sir Gawayne, and whan sir Launcelot felte hys myght evermore encrese, sir Launcelot wondred and drad hym sore to be shamed; for, as the Freynshe booke seyth, he wende, whan he felte sir Gawaynes double hys strengthe, that he had bene a fyende and none earthely man. Wherefore sir Launcelot traced and traverced, and coverde hymselff with hys shylde, and kepte hys myght and hys brethe duryng three owrys. And that whyle sir Gawayne gaff hym many sad bruntis and many sad strokis, that all knyghtes that behylde sir Launcelot mervayled how he myght endure hym, but full lytyll undirstood they that travayle that sir Launcelot had to endure hym. 15 20

And than whan hit was paste noone sir Gawaynes strengthe was gone and <he> had no more but hys owne myght. Whan sir Launcelot felte hym so com downe, than he strecched hym up and strode nere sir Gawayne and seyde thus: 25

'Now I fele ye have done youre warste! And now, my lorde sir Gawayn, I muste do my parte, for many a grete and grevous strokis I have endured you thys day with greate payne.'

And so sir Launcelot doubled hys strokis and gaff sir Gawayne suche a stroke uppon the helmet that sydelynge he felle downe uppon hys one syde. And sir Launcelot withdrew hym frome hym. 30

'Why wythdrawyst thou the?' seyde sir Gawayne. 'Turne

5 C the one 7-8 C knyghtes that tyme lyuyng 10 C Thus syr Launcelot
13 C sayth Syr Launcelot wende C Gauwayn 17 C† and his brayde duryng
thre houres F (*Mort Artu*, p. 175): en se fu il auques reposez et ot reprise sa force
et s'aleinne 18 C* bruntis And many sadde strokes *Le Mort Arthur* (2809):
Agayne xx strokys he yaff not one (*homoeoteleuton in W*) 19 C al the knyghtes
19-20 C how that he 21 C had for to 22-3 C† Gauwayn had noo 23-4
C myght Thenne syr 25 C stode nere 26 C my lord syr Gauwayn now
26 youre warste and not in C† 27 a not in C 29 C Than sir Launcelot
30 C suche a buffet on sydelynge not in C 33 C Gawayn now torne

agayne, false traytoure knyght, and sle me oute! For and thou leve me thus, anone as I am hole I shall do batayle with the agayne.'

'Sir,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I shall endure you, be Goddis grace! But wyte thou well, sir Gawayne, I woll never smyte a felde knyght.'

473^v And so sir Launcelot departed and wente unto the cité. And sir Gawayne was borne unto kynge Arthurs pavylon, and anone lechys were brought unto hym of the beste, and
10 serched and salved hym with souffte oynementis. And than sir Launcelot seyde,

'Now have good day, my lorde the kynge! For wyte you welle ye wynne no worshyp at thes wallis, for and I wolde my knyghtes outebrynge, there shulde many a douty man
15 dye. And therefore, my lorde Arthur, remembir you of olde kyndenes, and howsomever I fare, Jesu be youre gyde in all placis.'

(22) 'Now, alas,' seyde the kynge, 'that ever thys unhappy warre began! For ever sir Launcelot forbearyth me in all
20 placis, and in lyke wyse my kynne, and that ys sene well thys day, what curtesy he shewed my neveawe, sir Gawayne.'

Than kynge Arthur felle syke for sorow of sir Gawayne, that he was so sore hurte, and bycause of the warre betwyxte hym and sir Launcelot. So aftir that they on kynge Arthurs
25 party kepte the sege with lytyll warre wythouteforthe, and they withinforthe kepte their wallis and deffended them whan nede was.

Thus sir Gawayne lay syke and unsounde three wykes in hys tentis with all maner of lechecrauffte that myght be had.
30 And as sone as sir Gawayne myght go and ryde, he armed hym at all poyntis and bestroode a styff courser and gate a grete speare in hys honde, and so he cam rydynge afore the chyeff gate of Benwyke. And there he cryed on hyght and seyde,

1 oute *not in C* 2 *C* thus whan I 4 Sir seyde sir Launcelot *not in C* 7
departed and *not in C* 7, 8 *C* in to 9 anone *not in C* of the beste *not in C* †
13 *C* this wallis & yf I 14 douty *not in C* † 16 *C* howeuer I 18 Now
not in C 19 *C* warre was begonne 21 *C* † day by my newew 24 *C*
So than they 28 and unsounde *not in C* † *Le Morte Arthur* (2859): passynge
seke and unsonde 31 *C* † poyntes & sterte vpon a courser grete *not in C* † *Cf.*
Le Morte Arthur (2890): Gawayne grypes a full good spere 33 *C* † of barwyk
and seyde *not in C*

'Where arte thou, sir Launcelot? Com forth, thou false traytoure knyght and recrayed, for I am here, sir Gawayne, that woll preve thys that I say uppon the!'

And all thys langayge sir Launcelot harde and sayde thus:

'Sir Gawayne, me repentis of youre fowle sayinge, that ye 5
woll nat cease your langayge. For ye wote well, sir Gawayne, 474^r
I know youre myght and all that ye may do, and well ye
wote, sir Gawayne, ye may nat greatly hurte me.'

'Com downe, traytoure knyght,' seyde he, 'and make hit
good the contrary wyth thy hondys! For hit myssehapped 10
me the laste batayle to be hurte of thy hondis, therefore, wyte
thou well, I am com thys day to make amendis, for I wene
this day to ley the as low as thou laydest me.'

'Jesu deffende me,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that ever I be so
farre in youre daunger as ye have bene in myne, for than my 15
dayes were done. But, Gawayne,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'ye
shall nat thynke that I shall tarry longe, but sytthyn that ye
unknyghtly calle me thus of treson, ye shall have bothe
yours hondys fulle of me.'

And than sir Launcelot armed hym at all poyntis and 20
mounted uppon horse and gate a grete speare in hys honde
and rode oute at the gate. And bothe their ostis were
assembled, of them withoute and within, and stood in
aray full manly, and bothe partyes were charged to holde
hem styll to se and beholde the batayle of thes two noble 25
knyghtes.

And than they layde their spearys in their restis and so
cam togydir as thundir. And sir Gawayne brake hys speare
in an hondred peces to hys honde, and sir Launcelot smote
hym with a gretter myght, that sir Gawaynes horse feete 30
reysed, and so the horse and he felle to the erthe. Than sir
Gawayne delyverly devoyded hys horse and put hys shyld
afore hym, and egirly drew hys swerde and bade sir Launce-
lot, 'alyght, traytoure knyght!' and seyde,

'Gyff a marys sonne hath fayled me, wyte thou well a 35
kyngis sonne and a quenys sonne shall nat fayle the!'

2-3 C Gawayn wyl 4 C & than he sayd 5 fowle not in S 6 C sease of
your 16 C syr Gauwayn 17 C I tary 17-18 C ye so vnknyghtelye
18 thus not in C 21 C vpon his horse 22 C the hoostes 23 C and
of them wvthin 27 so not in C 28-9 C spere vpon syr Launcelot in an

Than sir Launcelot devoyded hys horse and dressed hys shyld afore hym and drew hys swerde, and so cam egirly togydirs and gaff many sad strokis, that all men on bothe partyes had wondir.

5 But whan sir Launcelot felte sir Gawaynes myght so
 474^v mervaylously encre, he than wythhylde hys corayge and hys wynde, and so he kepte hym undir coverte of hys myght and of hys shyld: he traced and traverced here and there to breake sir Gawaynys strokys and hys currayge. And ever
 10 sir Gawayne enforced hymself wyth all hys myght and power to destroy sir Launcelot, for, as the Freynshe booke saythe, ever as sir Gawaynes myght encreased, ryght so encreced hys wynde and hys evyll wyll.

And thus he ded grete payne unto sir Launcelot three
 15 owres, that he had much ado to defende hym. And whan the three owres were paste, that he felte sir Gawayne was com home to his owne propir strengthe, than sir Launcelot seyde,

‘Sir, now I have preved you twyse that ye ar a full daun-
 20 gerous knyght and a wondirfull man of [your] myght! And many wondir dedis have ye done in youre d^raye’s, for by youre myght encresyng ye have desceyved many a full noble knyght. And now I fele that ye have done youre myghty dedis, now, wyte you well, I muste do my dedis!’

25 And than sir Launcelot strode nere sir Gawayne and doubled hys strokis, and ever sir Gawayne deffended hym myghtly, but nevertheles sir Launcelot smote such a stroke uppon hys helme and uppon the olde wounde that sir Gawayne sanke downe and sowned. And anone as he ded
 30 awake he waved and foyned at sir Launcelot as he lay, and seyde,

‘Traytoure knyght, wyte thou well I am nat yet slayne.

1 C Launcelot auoyded 2-3 C and soo stode they to gyders 4 C* had
 therof passyng grete wonder 7 so he *not in C* 7-8 C hym self wonder^t
 covert of his myght and vnder his shelde 9 ever *not in C* 14 C Thus
 syr Gawayne dyd 15 C had ryght grete payne for to 16 C that syr
 Launcelot felte that syr 17 home *not in C†* 18-19 C sayd vnto syr Gawayn
 now haue I 20 C* of your myght W of hys myght 21 C wonderful dedes
 21 W in youre dedis (*contamination*) C* dayes 23 C* noble and valyaunte
 knyght 24 W dedis and now C* dedes Now 25-6 C stode nerre syr
 Gauwayn and thenne syr Launcelot doubled 26 ever *not in C* 28 C vpon
 sir Gauwayns helme 29 C synked down vpon hys one syde in a swounde

Therefore com thou nere me and p[er]fo[rm]e thys batayle
to the utteraunce!

'I woll no more do than I have done,' seyde sir Launcelot.
'For whan I se you on foote I woll do batayle uppon you all
the whyle I se you stande uppon youre feete; but to smyte 5
a wounded man that may nat stonde, God defende me from
such a shame!'

And than he turned hys way towarde the cité, and sir
Gawayne evermore callyng hym 'traytoure knyght' and 475^c
seyde, 10

'Traytoure knyght! Wyte thou well, sir Launcelot, whan I
am hole I shall do batayle with you agayne, for I shall never
leve the tylle the tone of us be slayne!'

Thus as thys syge endured and as sir Gawayne lay syke
nerehande a moneth, and whan he was well recovirde and 15
redy within three dayes to do batayle agayne with sir
Launcelot, ryght so cam tydyngis unto kynge Arthur frome
Inglande that made kynge Arthur and all hys oste to remeve.

1 Therefore *not in C W* and profounde *C** and perfourme 2 *C* vnto the
vttermyst 5 *C* on your feet But for to 8 *C** tourned hym and wente his
waye 10-11 *C* and sayd wyt thou wel 12 *C* wyth the ageyn 13 *C*
tyl that one 15 *C* nere a monthe

IV

THE DAY OF DESTINY

[*Winchester MS.*, ff. 475^r-483^r;
Caxton, *Book XXI*, chs. 1-7]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

1. How syr Mordred presumed and toke on hym to be kyng of Eng-
lond, and wold have maryed the quene, his faders wyf.
2. How, after that kyng Arthur had tydynges, he retorned and came
to Dover, where syr Mordred mette hym to lette his landyng; and
of the deth of syr Gawayn.
3. How after syr Gawayns ghooost apperyd to kynge Arthur and
warned hym that he shold not fyght that day.
4. How by mysadventure of an adder the batayl began, where Mor-
dred was slayn and Arthur hurte to the deth.
5. How kyng Arthur comanded to caste his swerd Excalybur into
the water, and how he was delyverd to ladyes in a barge.
6. How syr Bedwere fonde hym on the morne deed in an hermytage,
and how he abode there wyth the hermyte.
7. Of th' oppynyon of somme men of the deth of kynge Arthur, and
how quene Guenever made hir a nonne in Almesburye.

AS sir Mordred was rular of all Inglonde, he lete make (1)
 lettirs as thoughe that they had com frome beyonde the
 see, and the lettirs specyfyed that kynge Arthur was slayne
 in batayle with sir Launcelot. Wherefore sir Mordred made
 a parlemente, and called the lordys togydir, and there he 5
 made them to chose 'hym' kynge. And so was he crowned
 at Caunturbury, and hylde a feste there fiftene dayes.

And aftirwarde he drew hym unto Wynchester, and there
 he toke quene Gwenyver, and seyde playnly that he wolde
 wedde her (which was hys unclys wyff and hys fadirs wyff.) 10
 And so he made redy for the feste, and a day prefyxte that
 they shulde be wedded; wherefore quene Gwenyver was
 passyng hevvy. But she durst nat discover her harte, but
 spake fayre, and aggreed to sir Mordredys wyll.

And anone she desyred of sir Mordred to go to London 15
 to byghe all maner thynges than longed to the brydale. And
 bycause of her fayre speche sir Mordred trusted her and
 gaff her leve; and so whan she cam to London she toke the
 Towre of London, and suddeynly in all haste possyble she
 stuffed hit with all maner of vytayle, and well garnysshed hit 20
 with men, and so kepte hit.

And whan sir Mordred wyst thys he was passynge wrothe
 oute of mesure. And shorte tale to make, he layde a myghty 475^v
 syge aboute the Towre and made many assautis, and threw
 engynnes unto them, and shotte grete gunnes. But all myght 25
 nat prevayle, for quene Gwenyver wolde never, for fayre
 speache nother for foule, never to truste unto sir Mordred
 to com in hys hondis agayne.

Than cam the Byssshop of Caunturbyry, whych was a noble
 clerke and an holy man, and thus he seyde unto sir Mordred: 30

'Sir, what woll ye do? Woll ye firste displease God and

1 C he dyd do make 2 C they came from 6 W chose a kynge C* chose
 hym kyng *Le Morte Arthur* (298r): They made mordred kynge with crowne
 12 C Gweneur S Gweneuer 15 C Thenne she desyred C for to goo 16
 C manere of thynges C longed vnto the weddyng And 17-18 C hyr wel
 ynough and gaf hyr (S her) leve to goo 22 C* wyste and vnderstode how he was
 begyled he was 23 C And a shorte tale for to make he wente and layed 24
 C toure of London and 24-5 C* many grete assautes therat And threwe many
 grete engynes 26 C preuaylle Syr mordred For 27-8 C foule wold neuer
 truste to come

syttbyn shame youreselff and all knyghthode? For ys nat kyng Arthur youre uncle, and no farther but youre modirs brothir, and uppon her he hymselfe begate you, uppon hys owne syster? Therefore how may ye wed youre owne fadirs wyff? And therefor, sir,' seyde the Byssshop, 'leve thys opynyon, other ellis I shall curse you with booke, belle and candyll.'

'Do thou thy warste,' seyde sir Mordred, 'and I defyghe the!'

10 'Sir,' seyde the Byssshop, 'wyte you well I shall nat feare me to do that me ought to do. And also ye noyse that my lorde Arthur ys slayne, and that ys nat so, and therefore ye woll make a foule warke in thys londe!'

'Peas, thou false pryste!' seyde sir Mordred, 'for and thou 15 chauffe me ony more, I shall stryke of thy hede!'

So the Byssshop departed, and ded the cursynge in the moste orguluste wyse that myght be done. And than sir Mordred sought the Byssshop off Caunturbyry for to have slayne hym. Than the Byssshop fledde, and tooke parte of 20 hys good with hym, and wente nyghe unto Glassyngbyry. And there he was a preste-ermyte in a chapel, and lyved in poverté and in holy prayers; for well he undirstood that myschevous warre was at honde.

Than sir Mordred soughte uppon quene Gwenyver by 25 lettirs and sondis, and by fayre meanys and foule meanys, to have her to com oute of the Towre of London; but all thys 176^r avayled nought, for she answerd hym shortely, opynly and pryvayly, that she had levir sle herself than to be maryed with hym.

30 Than cam there worde unto sir Mordred that kyng Arthure had areysed the syge frome sir Launcelot and was commynge homwarde wyth a greate oste to be avenged uppon sir Mordred, wherefore sir Mordred made wryttes unto all the baronny of thys londe. And mucche people drew 35 unto hym; for than was the comyn voyce amonge them that

1 For *not in C* 2 *C* vncler no farther 3 *C* & on hir hym self kyng Arthur
bygate 4 owne *not in C* 5 *C* wyf Syr sayd the noble clerke leue 8-9
C Mordred wyt thou wel I shal defye the 10 *W* wyte you well and I shall
C & wyt you wel I shal 11 *C* also where ye 15 *C* shal make stryke 20
C goodes 24 *C* sought on 27 *C* auaylled not 31 *C* syege For Syr
Launcelot & he was 33-4 *C** maad wryte wryttes to 34 *C* barownry

with kynge Arthur was never othir lyff but warre and stryff,
and with sir Mordrede was grete joy and blysse. Thus was
kynge Arthur depraved, and evyll seyde off; and many there
were that kynge Arthur had brought up of nought, and
gyffyn them londis, that myght nat than say hym a good worde. 5

Lo, ye all Englysshemen, se ye nat what a myschyff here
was? For he that was the moste kynge and nobelyst knyght
of the worlde, and moste loved the felyshyp of noble
knyghtes, and by hym they all were upholdyn, and yet
myght nat thes Englyshemen holde them contente with hym. 10
Lo thus was the olde custom and usayges of thys londe, and
men say that we of thys londe have nat yet loste that custom.
Alas! thys ys a greate defaughte of us Englysshemen, for
there may no thyng us please no terme.

And so fared the peple at that tyme: they were better 15
pleased with sir Mordred than they were with the noble
kynge Arthur, and muche people drew unto sir Mordred and
seyde they wold abyde wyth hym for bettir and for wars. And
so sir Mordred drew with a greate oste to Dovir, for there he
harde sey that kyng Arthur wolde aryve, and so he thought 20
to beate hys owne fadir fro hys owne londys. And the moste
party of all Inglonde hyld wyth sir Mordred, for the people
were so new-fangill.

And so as sir Mordred was at Dovir with hys oste, so cam (2)
kyng Arthur wyth a greate navy of shyppis and galyes and 25 476^v
carykes, and there was sir Mordred redy awaytyng uppon
hys londynge, to lette hys owne fadir to londe uppon the
londe that he was kynge over.

Than there was launchyng of greate botis and smale, and
full of noble men of armys; and there was muche slaughtir of 30
jantyll knyghtes, and many a full bolde barown was layde
full lowe, on bothe partyes.

But kynge Arthur was so currageous that there myght no
maner of knyght lette hym to lande, and hys knyghtes fyrsely
folowed hym. And so they londe magré sir Mordredis 35

1 kynge *not in C* C was none other 4 C had made vp 5 C landes myght
not 7 nobelyst *not in C†* 9-10 C vpholden Now myght 11 C vsage
11-12 C And also men 12-13 C* loste ne foryeten that custom & vsage Alas
14 C no thyng plese vs noo 16 the noble *not in C* 20 C that sir Arthur
21 C his landes 22 for *not in C* 24 C was S wat 27 C his londage
27-8 C to lade vp the lande that 34 C knyghtes

hede and all hys powere, and put sir Mordred abak, 'that he fledde' and all hys people.

So whan thys batayle was done, kynge Arthure let serche hys people that were hurte and dede. And than was noble
 5 sir Gawayne founde in a greate boote, lyngge more than halff dede. Whan kyng Arthur knew that he was layde so low he wente unto hym and so fownde hym. And there the kynge made greate sorow oute of mesure, and toke sir Gawayne in hys armys, and thryse he there sowned. And than whan he
 10 was waked, kyng Arthur seyde,

'Alas! sir Gawayne, my syster son, here now thou lyghest, the man in the worlde that I loved moste. And now ys my joy gone! For now, my nevew, sir Gawayne, I woll discover me unto you, tha(t) in youre person and in sir
 15 Launcelot I moste had my joy and myne affyaunce. And now have I loste my joy of you bothe, wherefore all myne earthely joy ys gone fro me!'

'A, myn uncle,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'now I woll that ye wyte that my deth-dayes be com! And all, I may wyte,
 20 myne owne hastynes and my wy[l]fulnesse, for thorow my wylfulnes I was causer of myne owne dethe; for I was thys day hurte and smytten uppon myne olde wounde that sir
 477^r Launcelot gaff me, and I fele myselff that I muste nedis be dede by the owre of noone. And thorow me and <my> pryde
 25 ye have all thys shame and disease, for had that noble knyght, sir Launcelot, ben with you, as he was and wolde have ben, thys unhappy warre had never ben begunne; for he, thorow hys noble knyghthode and hys noble bloode, hylde all youre cankyrde enemyes in subjeccion and daungere.
 30 And now,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'ye shall mysse sir Launcelot. But alas that I wolde nat accorde with hym! And

1 hede *not in* C† 1-2 C* abak that he fledde Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3087): The false were feld, som wer fledde 3-4 C lete burye his peple that were dede 6 C whan syr Arthur wyst that syre Gawayne was layd 7 and so fownde hym *not in* C† (*homoeoteleuton*) 8 greate *not in* C 10 was *not in* C C awaked he sayd 14-15 C vnto your persone in syr Launcelot & you I W unto you than in 18 A *not in* C 18-26 C† Myn vnkel kyng Arthur said sir Gawayn wete you wel my deth day is come & alle is thorow myn owne hastynes & wilfulnes for I am smytten vpon thold wounde the which sir launcelot gaf me on the whiche I fele wel I must dye & had sir laūcelot 26-7 and wolde have ben *not in* C† 27-9 C neuer begonne & of alle this am I causer for sir laūcelot & his blood thorow their prowes helde alle 31 C allas I

there[fore], fayre unkle, I pray you that I may have paupir, penne, and inke, that I may wryte unto sir Launcelot a letter wrytten with myne owne honde.'

So whan pauper, penne and inke was brought, than sir Gawayne was sette up waykely by kynge Arthure, for he was shryven a lytyll afore. And than he toke hys penne and wrote thus, as the Freynshe booke makith mencion:

'Unto the, sir Launcelot, floure of all noble kynghes that ever I harde of or saw be my dayes, I, sir Gawayne, kynge Lottis sonne of Orkeney, and systirs sonne unto the noble kynge Arthur, sende the gretynge, lattyng the to have knowlecche that the tenth day of May I was smytten uppon the olde wounde that thou gaff me afore the cité of Benwyke, and thorow that wounde I am com to my dethe-day. And I woll that all the worlde wyte that I, sir Gawayne, knyght of the Table Rounde, soughte my dethe, and nat thorow thy deservynge, but myne owne sekyng. Wherefore I besече the, sir Launcelot, to returne agayne unto thys realme and se my tounge and pray som prayer more other les for my soule. And thys same day that I wrote the same sedull I was hurte to the dethe, whych wounde was fyrste gyffyn of thyn honde, sir Launcelot; for of a more nobelar man myght I nat be slayne.

'Also, sir Launcelot, for all the love that ever was betwyxte us, make no taryyng, but com over the see in all the goodly haste that ye may, wyth youre noble knyghes, and rescow that noble kynge that made the knyght, for he ys full strytely bestad wyth an false traytoure whych ys my halffbrothir, sir Mordred. For he hath crowned hymself kynge, and wolde have wedded my lady, quene Gwenyver; and so had he done, had she nat kepte the Towre of London with

1 C therfor* (W there) sayd syr Gawayne I praye you fayre vnkel that I may
1-6 W (sidenote) How sir Gawayn wrote a letter to sir Launcelot at the tyme of his
dethe 2-3 C Launcelot a cedle with myn owne handes 4 C And thenne
whan paper penne not in C† sir not in C 6 toke hys penne and not in C†
8 the not in C 10 C Orkeney syster sone 11 C gretynge & lete the haue
13 C thou gauest 14 C thorow the same woūd that thou gauest me I am 17 C
but it was myn owne 20-1 C this sedyl 21-2 C* dethe in the same wound the
whiche I had of thy hand 22 C† For a of a 25-6 W the the the goodly not in
C† 26 C thow mayst with thy and not in C 27 C* knyghte that is my lord
Arthur for 28 C traytour that is 29 C Mordred and he hath lete croune
hym kynge 31-p. 1232, 1 C† not put her self in the toure of london And soo

stronge honde. And so the tenth day of May last paste my
lorde kynge Arthur and we all lounded uppon them at Dover,
and there he put that false traytoure, sir Mordred, to flyght.
And so hit there mysfortuned me to be smytten uppon the
5 strooke that ye gaff me of olde.

'And the date of thys lettir was wrytten but two owrys and
an halff afore my dethe, wrytten with myne owne honde and
subscribed with parte of my harte blood. And therefore I
requyre the, moste famous knyght of the worlde, that thou
10 wolte se my tumbel.'

And than he wepte and kynge Arthur both, and sowned.
And whan they were awaked bothe, the kynge made sir
Gawayne to resceyve hys sacrament, and than sir Gawayne
prayde the kynge for to sende for sir Launcelot and to
15 cherysshe hym aboven all othir knyghtes.

And so at the owre of noone sir Gawayne yelded up the
goste. And than the kynge lat entere hym in a chapell
within Dover castell. And there yet all men may se the
skulle of hym, and the same wounde is sene that sir Launce-
20 lot gaff in batayle.

Than was hit tolde the kynge that sir Mordred had pyght
a new fylde uppon Bareon Downe. And so uppon the morne
kynge Arthur rode thydir to hym, and there was a grete
batayle betwyxt hem, and muche people were slayne on
25 bothe partyes. But at the laste kynge Arthurs party stode
beste, and sir Mordred and hys party fledde unto Cauntur-
byry.

(3) And than the kynge let serche all the downys for hys
478^r knyghtes that were slayne and entered them; and salved
30 them with soffte salvyys that full sore were wounded. Than
much people drew unto kynge Arthur, and than they sayde
that sir Mordred warred uppon kynge Arthure wyth wronge.

And anone kynge Arthure drew hym wyth his oste downe
by the seesyde westewarde, towarde Salusbyry. And there

2 kynge *not in C* 3 *C* we putt 4 *C* and there it 4-6 *C*† be stryken
vpon thy stroke And at the date 7-8 *C* and soo subscribed 8 *C* hertes
blood And I 11-12 *C* thenne sir Gawayne wept and kynge Arthur wepte
And thene they swounded both And whan they awaked bothe 13 *C* his saueour
16-17 *C* yelded vp the spyryte and thenne 20 *C* gaf hym in 22 *C*
Baramdoun 22-3 *C* morne the kynge rode 24 *C* peple was slayne 25 *C*
syr Arthurs 28 *C* alle the townes† for 30 *C* that so sore

was a day assygned betwyxte kynge Arthur and sir Mordred, that they shulde mete uppon a downe bysyde Salesbyry and nat farre frome the seesyde. And thys day was assygned on Monday aftir Trynyté Sondag, whereof kynge Arthur was passyng glad that he myght be avenged uppon sir Mordred. 5

Than sir Mordred araysed muche people aboute London, for they of Kente, Southsex and Surrey, Esax, Suffolke and Northefolke helde the moste party with sir Mordred. And many a full noble knyght drew unto hym and also the kynge; but they that loved sir Launcelot drew unto sir Mordred. 10

So uppon Trynyté Sunday at nyght kynge Arthure dremed a wondirfull dreame, and in hys dreame hym semed that he saw uppon a chafflet a chayre, and the chayre was faste to a whele, and thereuppon sate kynge Arthure 'in the rychest' clothe of golde that myght be made. And the kynge 15 thought there was undir hym, farre from hym, an hydeous depe blak watir, and therein was all maner of serpentis and wormes and wylde bestis fowle and orryble. And suddeynly the kynge thought that the whyle turned up-so-downe, and he felle amonge the serpentis, and every beste toke hym by a lymme. And than the kynge cryed as he lay in hys bed, 20

'Helpe! helpe!'

And than knyghtes, squyars and yomen awaked the kynge, and than he was so amased that he wyste nat where he was. And than so he awaked untill he hit was nyghe day, 25 and than he felle on slumberynge agayne, nat slepyng nor thorowly wakynge.

So the kyng semed verryly that there cam sir Gawayne 478^v unto hym with a numbir of fayre ladyes wyth hym. So whan kyng Arthur saw hym he seyde,

'Wellcom, my systers sonne, I wende ye had bene dede! And now I se the on lyve, much am I beholdyn unto Almyghty Jesu. A, fayre newew, what bene thes ladyes that hyder be com with you?' 30

9 C vnto syr Mordred and to the 10, 19 that *not in C†* 12-13 C dreame & that was this that hym semed he satte vpon a chafflet in a chayer 14-15 C* Arthur in the rychest clothe of gold *Le Morte Arthur* (3172): hym thowht he satte in gold all gledde 17 C there in were all 21 C bedde and slepte 22 helpe *not repeated in C* 25 And than so he awaked untill he hit was nyghe day *not in C† (homoeoteleuton)* *Le Morte Arthur* (3192): All nyght gan he wake and wepe 29 C And whan 30 C thenne he sayd 32 C beholdynge 33 C O fayre newewe and my systers some what ben

'Sir,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'all thes be ladyes for whom I
 have foughten for, whan I was man lyvyng. And all thes
 ar tho that I ded batayle fore in ryghteous quarels, and
 God hath gyvyn hem that grace at their grete prayer,
 5 bycause I ded batayle [for] them for their ryght, that they
 shulde brynge me hydder unto you. Thus much hath gyvyn
 me leve God for to warne you of youre dethe: for and ye
 fyght as to-morne with sir Mordred, as ye bothe have
 assygned, doute ye nat ye shall be slayne, and the moste
 10 party of youre people on bothe partyes. And for the grete
 grace and goodnes that Allmyghty Jesu hath unto you, and
 for pyté of you and many mo other good men there shall be
 slayne, God hath sente me to you of Hys speciall grace
 to gyff you warnyng that in no wyse ye do batayle as to-
 15 morne, but that ye take a trefte for a moneth-day. And
 proffir you largely, so that to-morne ye put in a delay. For
 within a moneth shall com sir Launcelot with all hys noble
 knyghtes, and rescow you worshypfully, and sle sir Mordred
 and all that ever wyll holde wyth hym.'
 20 Than sir Gawayne and all the ladyes vanysshed, and anone
 the kynge called uppon hys knyghtes, squyers, and yomen,
 and charged them wyghtly to fecche hys noble lordis and
 wyse bysshoppis unto hym. And whan they were com the
 kynge tolde hem of hys avision, that sir Gawayne had tolde
 25 hym and warned hym that and he fought on the morn, he
 sholde be slayne. Than the kynge commanded sir Lucan the
 Butlere and hys brothir sir Bedyvere the Bolde, with two
 479^r bysshoppis wyth hem, and charged them in ony wyse to
 take a trefte for a moneth-day wyth sir Mordred: 'And
 30 spare nat, proffir hym londys and goodys as much as ye
 thynke resonable.'

So than they departed and cam to sir Mordred where he
 had a grymme oste of an hondred thousand, and there they
 entretyd sir Mordred longe tyme. And at the laste sir
 35 Mordred was agreed for to have Cornwale and Kente by

1-2 C ladyes for whome I have foughten whanne 3 C quarel 5 W wyth them
 C* for hem for their ryght *not in* C† 6-7 C hath god gyuen me leve for 9
 C not ye must be 13 W slayne for God 16 C so as to morne to be putte
 20 C† vaynquysshed 24 C auysyon what sir 25 C that yf he 27 the
 Bolde *not in* C† 28-9 C wyse & they myght take 31 C thynke best 33
 C* hondred thousand men And

kynge Arthurs dayes; and afftir that all Inglonde, after the dayes of kynge Arthur.

Than were they condescende that kynge Arthure and (4)
sir Mordred shulde mete betwyxte bothe their ostis, and
everych of them shulde brynge fourtene persons. And so they 5
cam wyth thys worde unto Arthur.

Than seyde he, 'I am glad that thys ys done,' and so he
wente into the fylde.

And whan kynge Arthur shulde departe he warned all
hys 'hoost' that and they se ony swerde drawyn, 'loke 10
ye com on fyersely and sle that traytoure, sir Mordred, for
'I' in no wyse truste hym'. In lyke wyse sir Mordred warned
hys oste, 'that and ye se ony maner of swerde drawyn, loke
that ye com on fyersely and so sle all that ever before you
stondyth, for in no wyse I woll nat truste for thys trefte'. 15
And in the same wyse seyde sir Mordred unto hys oste:
'for I know well my fadir woll be avenged uppon me.'

And so they mette as their poyntement was, and were
agreed and accorded thorowly. And wyne was fette, and
[they] dranke togydir. Ryght so cam oute an addir of a 20
lytyll hethe-buysshe, and hit stange a knyght in the foote.
And so whan the knyght felte hym so stonge, he loked downe
and saw the adder; and anone he drew hys swerde to sle the
addir, and thought none othir harme. And whan the oste
on bothe partyes saw that swerde drawyn, than they blewe 25
beamys, trumpettis, and hornys, and shoutted grymly, and
so bothe ostis dressed hem togydirs. And kynge Arthur toke
hys horse and seyde, 'Alas, this unhappy day!' and so rode 479v
to hys party, and sir Mordred in lyke wyse.

And never syns was there never seyne a more dolefuller 30
batayle in no Crysten londe, for there was but russhynge and
rydyng, foynnyng and strykynge, and many a grym worde
was there spokyn of aythir to othir, and many a dedely stroke.

1, 2 kynge *not in C* 1 C dayes After alle W dayes and afftir all that all
10 C* hys hoost that *Le Morte Arthur* (3321). And to hys lordis gan he
saye (*see note*) 11-12 C* for I in no *Le Morte Arthur* (3322) To yonder tray-
toure have I no truste 13 maner of *not in C* 16 And in the same wyse seyde
sir Mordred unto hys oste *not in C* 18 C was & so they were 20 togydir
not in C C came an adder oute of 21 C on the foote 22 C hym stongen
24 C thought of none 26 C† beaumous 30 syns *not in C* C there seyn
32 C fewnyng 33 of *not in C*

But ever kynge Arthure rode thorowoute the bat[a]yle of sir Mordred many tymys and ded full nobely, as a noble kynge shulde do, and at all tymes he faynted never. And sir Mordred ded hys devoure that day and put hymselffe in grete
5 perell.

And thus they fought all the longe day, and never stynted tylle the noble knyghtes were layde to the colde erthe. And ever they fought styлле tylle hit was nere [ny]ght, and by than was there an hondred thousand leyde dede uppon the
10 erthe. Than was kynge Arthure wode wrothe oute of mesure, whan he saw hys people so slayne frome hym.

And so he loked aboute hym and cowde se no mo of all hys oste and good knyghtes leffte, no mo on lyve but two knyghtes: the tone was sir Lucan de Butler and hys
15 brother, sir Bedwere; and yette they were full sore wounded.

'Jesu mercy!' seyde the kynge, 'where ar all my noble knyghtes becom? Alas, that ever I shulde se thys doleful day! For now', seyde kynge Arthur, 'I am com to myne ende. But wolde to God,' seyde he, 'that I wyste now where
20 were that traytoure sir Mordred that hath caused all thys myschyff.'

Than kynge Arthur loked aboute and was ware where stood sir Mordred leanyng uppon hys swerde amonge a grete hepe of dede men.

25 'Now, gyff me my speare,' seyde kynge Arthure unto sir Lucan, 'for yondir I have aspyed the traytoure that all thys woo hath wrought.'

'Sir, latte hym be,' seyde sir Lucan, 'for he ys unhappy. And yf ye passe this unhappy day y[e] shall be ryght well
30 revenged. And, [good lord, remembre ye of your nyghtes dreame and] what the spyryte of sir Gawayne tolde you to-
480^r nyght, and yet God of Hys grete goodnes hath preserved you hyddirto. And for Goddes sake, my lorde, leve of thys, for,

1, 8-11 *MS damaged* 3 do not in *C* 3-4 *C*† Mordred that day put hym in deuoyr and in grete 8-9 *C* by that tyme 9-10 *C* vpon the down Thenne
12-13 *C* Thenne the kyng loked aboute hym & thenne was he ware of al hys hoost & of al his good knyghtes were lefte no moo on lyne (*S lyue*) 14 *C* that one
15 yette not in *C* 18 kynge not in *C* 19 seyde he not in *C* now not in *C*
22-3 *C*† Thenne was kyng arthure ware where syr Mordred lenyd vpon
25 kynge not in *C* 30-1 *W* revenged and what (*homoeoteleuton*) *C** reuengyd vpon hym Good lord remembre ye of your nyghtes dreame & what 31-2 *C*
you this nyght yet 33 *C* hyderto Therefore for goddes *C* leue of by thys

blyssed be God, ye have won the fylde: for yet we ben here
three on lyve, and with sir Mordred ys nat one of lyve. And
therefore if ye leve of now, thys wycked day of Desteny ys
paste!

'Now tyde me dethe, tyde me lyff,' seyde the kyng, 'now 5
I se hym yondir alone, he shall never ascape myne hondes!
For at a bettir avayle shall I never have hym.'

'God spyede you well!' seyde sir Bedyvere.

Than the kynge gate his speare in bothe hys hondis, and
ran towarde sir Mordred, cryng and saying, 10

'Traytoure, now ys thy dethe-day com!'

And whan sir Mordred saw kynge Arthur he ran untill
hym with hys swerde drawyn in hys honde, and there kyng
Arthur smote sir Mordred undir the shyld, with a foyne of
hys speare, thorowoute the body more than a fadom. And 15
w[ha]n sir Mordred felte that he had hys dethys wounde he
threste hymselff with the myght that he had upp to the
burre of kyng Arthurs speare, and ryght so he smote hys
fadir, kynge Arthure, with hys swerde holdynge in both hys
hondys, uppon the syde of the hede, that the swerde perced 20
the helmet and the tay of the brayne. And therewith Mor-
dred daysshed downe starke dede to the erthe.

And noble kynge Arthure felle in a swoughe to the erthe,
and there he sowned oftyntymys, and sir Lucan and sir
Bedwere offtetymys hove hym up. And so waykly betwyxte 25
them they lad hym to a lytyll chapell nat farre frome the see,
and whan the kyng was there, hym thought hym resonably
eased.

Than harde they people crye in the fylde.

'Now go thou, sir Lucan,' seyde the kyng, 'and do me to 30
wyte what betokyns that noyse in the fylde.'

So sir Lucan departed, for he was grevously wounded in
many placis; and so as he yode he saw and harkened by the
moonelyght how that pyllours and robbers were com into

1 C† by god 1-2 C For here we ben thre 2-3 C is none on lyue And yf
ye 5 C deth betyde me lyf sayth the 10 and saying *not in C* 12 C
Mordred herde syr Arthur 16 *MS damaged* 19 kynge *not in C* C
holden 21-2 C helmet and the brayne panne and therwythall syr Mordred
fyl starke deed 23 kynge *not in C* 24 C Lucan de butlere 25-6 C
waykely they ledde hym betwyxte them bothe to a 26 C see syde 27-8
C hym wel eased

the fylde to pylle and to robbe many a full noble knyght of
 80^v brochys and bees and of many a good rynge and many a
 ryche juell. And who that were nat dede all oute, there they
 slew them for their harneys and their ryches.

5 Whan sir Lucan undirstood thys warke he cam to the
 kynge as sone as he myght, and tolde hym all what he had
 harde and seyne.

'Therefore be my rede,' seyde sir Lucan, 'hit ys beste that
 we brynge you to som towne.'

10 'I wolde hit were so,' seyde the kynge, 'but I may nat
 stonde, my hede worchys so. . . A, sir Launcelot!' seyde
 kynge Arthure, 'thys day have I sore myssed the! And alas,
 that ever I was ayenste the! For now have I my dethe, where-
 of sir Gawayne me warned in my dreame.'

15 Than sir Lucan toke up the kynge the tone party and sir
 Bedwere the othir parté, and in the lyfftyng up the kynge
 sowned, and in the lyfftyng sir Lucan felle in a sowne, that
 parte of hys guttis felle o[ut]e [of hys bodye,] and therewith
 the noble knyght hys harte br[aste]. And whan the kynge
 20 awoke he behylde sir Lucan, how he lay fomyng at the mowth
 and parte of his guttes lay at hys fyete.

'Alas,' seyde the kynge, 'thys ys to me a fulle hevvy syght,
 to se thys noble deuke so dye for my sake, for he wold
 have holpyn me that had more nede of helpe than I! Alas,
 25 that he wolde nat complayne hym, for hys harte was so sette
 to helpe me. Now Jesu have mercy uppon hys soule!'

Than sir Bedwere wepte for the deth of hys brothir.

'Now leve thys mournynge and wepyng, jantyll knyght,'
 seyde the kyng, 'for all thys woll nat avayle me. For wyte
 30 thou well, and I myght lyve myselff, the dethe of sir Lucan
 wolde greve me evermore. But my tyme passyth on faste,'
 seyde the kynge. 'Therefore,' seyde kynge Arthur unto sir
 Bedwere, 'take thou here Excaliber, my good swerde, and go
 wyth hit to yondir watirs syde; and whan thou commyste

1 C and to robbe S and robbe W of of 2 C† brochys and bedys *Le Morte*
Arthur (3419): They refte theym besaunt, broche, and bee 12 And not in C
 15 C the one parte 16 up not in C 17 in the lyfftyng not in C C sowne
 wyth the lyfte 19 C knyghtes herte 18, 19 MS. damaged 20 C awoke
 S awake 20 C foomyng S soomyng 25 for not in C 28 Now not
 in C jantyll knyght not in C† 31 C* tyme hyeth fast 32 kynge not
 in C 34 C water syde

there, I charge the throw my swerde in that water, and com agayne and telle me what thou syeste there.'

'My lorde,' seyde sir Bedwere, 'youre commaundement shall be done, and lyghtly brynge you worde agayne.' 481^r

So sir Bedwere departed. And by the way he behylde that 5 noble swerde, and the pomell and the hauffte was all precious stonys. And than he seyde to hymselff, 'If I throw thys ryche swerde in the water, thereof shall never com good, but harme and losse.' And than sir Bedwere hyd Excalyber undir a tre, and so as sone as he myght he cam agayne unto 10 the kynge and seyde he had bene at the watir and had throwen the swerde into the watir.

'What sawe thou there?' seyde the kynge.

'Sir,' he seyde, he saw nothyng but wawis and wyndys.

'That ys untruly seyde of the,' seyde the kynge. 'And 15 therefore go thou lyghtly agayne, and do my commaundemente; as thou arte to me lyff and dere, spare nat, but throw hit in.'

Than sir Bedwer[e] returned agayne [an]d toke the swerde in hys honde; and <y>et hym thought synne and [s]hame to 20 throw away that noble swerde. And so effte he hyd the swerde and returned agayne and [t]olde the kynge that he had bene at the watir and done hys commaundement.

'What sawist thou there?' seyde the kynge.

'Sir,' he seyde, 'I sy nothyng but watirs wap and wawys 25 wanne.'

'A, traytour unto me and untrew,' seyde kyng Arthure, 'now hast thou betrayed me twyse! Who wolde wene that thou that hast bene to me so leve and dere, and also named so noble a knyght, that thou wolde betray me for the ryches of 30 thys swerde? But now go agayn lyghtly; for thy longe taryynge puttith me in grete jouperté of my lyff, for I have takyn colde. And but if thou do now as I bydde the, if ever I may se the, I shall sle the myne owne hondis, for thou woldist for my ryche swerde se me dede.' 35

2 C there seest 3 sir *not in C* 6 C swerde that the pomel C al of precyous
14 C* I sawe 15-16 C kynge Therefore 19-21 MS. damaged 20 C
and than hym 22 W that that 24 C what sawe thou 25 C sawe no
thyng but the waters 27 unto me and *not in C*† 28 C wold haue wente 29 C
bast been S hast been 29-30 C dere and thou arte named a noble knyghte
and wold 31 C the swerde

Than sir Bedwere departed and wente to the swerde and lyghtly toke hit up, and so he wente unto the watirs syde. And there he bounde the gyrdyll aboute the hyltis, and threw
 181^v the swerde as farre into the watir as he myght. And there cam
 5 an arme and an honde above the watir, and toke hit and cleyght hit, and shoke hit thryse and braundysshed, and than vanysshed with the swerde into the watir.

So sir Bedyvere cam agayne to the kynge and tolde hym what he saw.

10 'Alas,' seyde the kynge, 'helpe me hens, for I drede me I have taryed over [lo]nge.'

Than sir Bedwere toke the kynge uppon hys bak and so wente with hym to the watirs syde. And whan they were there, evyn faste by the banke hoved a lytyll barge wyth
 15 many fayre ladyes in hit, and amonge hem all was a quene, and all they had blak hoodis. And all they wepte and shryked whan they saw kynge Arthur.

'Now put me into that barge,' seyde the kynge.

And so he ded sofftely, and there [re]sceyved hym three
 20 ladyes with grete mournyng. And so they sette he[m]d]owne, and in one of their lappis kyng Arthure layde hys hede. And than the quene sayde,

'A, my dere brothir! Why [ha]ve ye taryed so longe frome me? Alas, thys wounde on youre hede hath caught over-
 25 much coude!'

And anone they rowed fromward the londe, and sir Bedyvere behylde all tho ladyes go frowarde hym. Than sir Bedwere cryed and seyde,

'A, my lorde Arthur, what shall becom of me, now ye go
 30 frome me and leve me here alone amonge myne enemyes?'

'Comforte thyselff,' seyde the kynge, 'and do as well as thou mayste, for in me ys no truste for to truste in. For I muste into the vale of Avylyon to hele me of my grevous wounde. And if thou here nevermore of me, pray for my
 35 soule!'

2 so he *not in C* C wente to the water syde 3 C and thenne he threwe 5-6
 C water and mette it & caught it and so shoke 7 C vanysshed awaye the
 hande wyth the swerde in the water 11 *MS. damaged* 13 C water syde
 13-14 C were at at the water syde euyng 18 C the barge 19-20 C thre quenes
 23 my *not in C* 26 C And soo than they rowed from the londe 27 C goo
 from hym 28 and seyde *not in C* 32-3 C I wyl in to

But ever the quene and ladyes wepte and shryked, that hit was pité to hyre. And as sone as sir Bedwere had loste the syght of the barge he wepte and wayled, and so toke the foreste and wente all that nyght. And in the mornynge he was ware, betwyxte two holtis hore, of a chapell and an ermy- 5 482^r tage.

Than was sir Bedwere fayne, and thyder he wente, and (6) whan he cam into the chapell he saw where lay an ermyte grovelynge on all four, faste thereby a tumber was newe gravyn. Whan the ermy[t]e saw sir Bedyvere he knewe hym 10 well, for he was but l[y]tyll tofore Bysshop of Caunturbery that sir Mordred fleamed.

'Sir,' seyde sir Bedyvere, 'what man ys there here entyred that ye pray so faste fore?'

'Fayre sunne,' seyde the ermyte, 'I wote nat veryly but by 15 demynge. But thys same nyght, at mydnyght, here cam a numbir of ladyes and brought here a dede corse and prayde me to entyre hym. And here they offird an hondred tapers, and they gaff me a thousande besautes.'

'Ala[s]!' seyde sir Bedyvere, '[th]at was my lo[r]de kynge 20 Arthur, whych lyethe here gravyn in thys chapell.'

Than sir Bedwere sowned, and whan he awooke he prayde the ermyte tha(t) he myght abyde with hym styлле, there to lyve with fastynge and prayers:

'For from hens woll I never go,' seyde sir Bedyvere, 'be 25 my wyll, but all the dayes of my lyff here to pray for my lorde Arthur.'

'Sir, ye ar wellcom to me,' seyde the ermyte, 'for I know you bettir than ye wene that I do: for ye ar sir Bedwere the Bolde, and the full noble duke sir Lucan de Butler was you[r] 30 brother.'

Than sir Bedwere tolde the ermyte all as ye have harde tofore, and so he belaffte with the ermyte that was beforehande Bysshop of Caunturbyry. And there sir Bedwere put

1 C† the quenes and 4 C and so he wente 7 C Bedwere glad and 9 C foure there fast by a 11, 12, 20, 23 MS. damaged 15-16 C by demyyng S by my demyyng 16 same not in C 17 C broughte hyder 18 C to berye 19 an hondred besautes 20 W londe 21 C Arthur that here lyeth buried in 23 that not in C 28 Sir not in C 29-30 C doo Ye are the bolde bedwere and 33-4 C to fore so there bode syr bedwere with the hermyte that was tofore bysshop

uppon hym poure clothys, and served the ermyte full lowly
in fastyng and in prayers.

Thus of Arthur I fynde no more wrytten in bokis that
bene auctorysed, nothir more of the verry sertaynté of hys
5 deth harde I never rede, but thus was he lad away in a shyp
482^v wherein were three quenys; that one was kynge Arthur syster,
quene Morgan le Fay, the tother was the quene of North
Galis, and the thirde was the quene of the Waste Londis.

(Also there was dame Nynyve, the chyff lady of the laake,
10 whych had wedded sir Pellyas, the good knyght; and thys
lady had done muche fo[r] kynge Arthure. And thys dame
Nynyve wolde never suffir sir Pe[l]leas to be in no place
where he shulde be in daungere of hys lyff, and so he lyved
unto the uttermüste of hys dayes with her in grete reste.)

15 Now more of the deth of kynge Arthur coude I never
fynde, but that thes ladyes brought hym to hys grave, and
such one was entyred there whych [the] ermyte bare wytnes
that sometyme was Bysshop of Caunterbyry. But yet the
ermyte knew nat in sertayne that he was verly the body of
20 [kyn]ge Arthur; for thys tale sir Bedwere, a knyght of the
Table Ro[un]de, made hit to be wrytten.

(7) Yet som men say in many p[ar]tys of Inglonde that kynge
Arthur ys nat dede, but h[ad] by the wyll of oure Lorde
Jesu into another place; and men say that he shall com
25 agayne, and he shall wyne the Holy Crosse. Yet I woll
nat say that hit shall be so, but rather I wolde sey: here in
thys worlde he chaunged hys lyff. And many men say that
there ys wrytten uppon the tumber theys:

HIC IACET ARTHURUS, REX QUONDAM REXQUE FUTURUS

30 And thus leve I here sir Bedyvere with the ermyte that
dwelled that tyme in a chapell besydes Glassyngbyry, and
there was hys ermytage. And so they lyved in prayers and
fastynges and grete abstynauce.

3 C fynde nener (S neuer) more	8 C galys the thyrd	9 dame not in C
9-10 C lake that had wedded Pelleas	11-12 C Arthur for she wold	11,
12 MS damaged	15 Now not in C	16 thes not in C
17 C was buryed there that the hermyte	20 a not in C	20-3 MS damaged
25 Yet not in C	26 C I wyl say	27 C lyf but many
tombe this vers	29 C qondam	28 C* vpon his
glastynburye	32 so not in S	30 C And not in C
	C in theyr prayers	31 C

And whan quene Gwenyver undirstood that kyng
 Arthure was dede and all the noble knyghtes, sir Mordred
 and all the remanaunte, than she stale away with fyve ladyes
 with her, and so she wente to Amysbyry. And there she
 lete make herselff a nunne, and wered whyght clothys and
 blak, and grete penaunce she toke uppon her, as ever ded
 synfull woman in thys londe. And never creature coude **483^r**
 make her myry, but ever she lyved in fastynge, prayers, and
 almes-dedis, that all maner of people mervayled how vertu-
 ously she was chaunged. 10

2 <i>C</i> was slayn &	3 <i>C</i> Than the quene stale aweye & v ladyes	4 <i>C</i> almes-
burye	5 <i>C</i> hir helf <i>S</i> hir self	6 uppon her <i>not in C</i>
lady in	8 ever she <i>not in C</i> <i>W</i> in in	7 <i>C</i> synful

V

THE DOLOROUS DEATH AND DEPARTING
OUT OF THIS WORLD OF SIR LAUNCELOT
AND QUEEN GUINEVERE

[*Winchester MS., ff. 483^r-484^v;*
Caxton, Book XXI, chs. 8-13]

CAXTON'S RUBRICS

8. How, whan syr Launcelot herde of the deth of kynge† Arthur and of syr Gawayn and other maters, (he) came into Englund.
9. How syr Launcelot departed to seche the quene Guenever, and how he fonde hir at Almesbuiye.
10. How syr Launcelot came to th'ermytage where th' Archebyssshop of Caunterburye was, and how he toke th' abyte on hym.
11. How syr Launcelot wente wyth his seven felowes to Amesburye* and fonde there quene Guenever deed, whom they brought to Glastynburye.
12. How syr Launcelot began to sekene, and after dyed, whos body was borne to Joyous Garde for to be buryed.
13. How syr Ector fonde syr Launcelot, hys brother, dede, and how Constantyn reygned next after Arthur; and of the ende of thys book.

† S kyng * C Amesbuyre

NOW leve we the quene in Amysbery, a nunne in whyght clothys and black—and there she was abbas and rular, as reson w[o]lde—and now turne we from her and speke we of sir Launcelot du Lake, that whan he harde (8) in hys contrey that sir Mordred was crowned kynge in 5 Inglonde and made warre ayenst kyng Arthur, hys owne fadir, and wolde lette hym to londe in hys owne londe (also hit was tolde hym how sir Mordred had leyde a syge aboute the Towre of London, bycause the q[ue]n[e] wold nat [wed]de hym), than was sir Launcelot wrot[he o]ute of mesure and 10 seyde [to] hys kynnesmen,

‘Alas! that double tra[yt]oure, sir Mordred, now me [rep]entith that ever he escaped [my] hondys, [fo]r much shame hath he done unto my lorde Arthure. For I fele b[y th]ys dolefull letter that sir Gawayne sente me, on whos 15 soule Jesu have mercy, that my lorde Arthur ys full harde bestad. Alas,’ seyde sir Launcelot, ‘that ever I shulde lyve to hyre of that moste noble kynge that made me knyght thus to be oversette with hys subgette in hys owne realme! And this dolefull lettir that my lorde sir Gawayne hath sente me 20 afore hys dethe, praynge me to se hys tumbes, wyte you well hys doleffull wordes shall never go frome my harte. For he was a full noble knyght as ever was born! And in an unhappy owre was I born that ever I shulde have that mysse-happe to sle firste sir Gawayne, sir Gaherys, the good 25 knyght, and myne owne frynde sir Gareth that was a full noble knyght. Now, alas, I may sey I am unhappy that ever I shulde do thus. And yet, alas, myght I never have hap to sle that traytoure, sir Mordred!’

‘Now leve youre complayntes,’ seyde sir Bors, ‘and firste 30 revenge you of the dethe of sir Gawayne, on whos soule Jesu have mercy! And hit woll be well done that ye se hys tumbes, 483v

1 C Almesburye 4 C lake Capitulum viii And whan 8 C tolde Syr
Launcelot how that 9-15 MS. damaged 13 W hys 14 C for alle I
15 C the doleful letter that My lord syr 18 of not in C 24-5 C that
vnhappy 26 C Gareth that ful 27 Now not in C C vnhappy sayd
Syr Launcelot that euer 28 C thus vnappely C alas yet 30 Now
not in C 31-2 on whos soule Jesu have mercy not in C 32 C see syr
Gauwayns tombe

and secundly that ye revenge my lorde Arthur and my lady quene Gwenyver.'

'I thanke you,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'for ever ye woll my worshyp.'

5 Than they made hem redy in all haste that myght be, with shypis and g[a]lyes, with hym and hys oste to pas into Inglonde. And so at the laste he cam to Dover, and there he landed with seven kyngis, and the numbir was hedeous to beholde.

10 Than sir Launcelot spyrrde of men of Dover where was the kyng becom. And anone the people tolde hym how he was slayne and sir Mordred to, with an hondred thousand that dyed uppon a day; and how sir Mordred gaff kyng Arthur the first batayle there at hys londynge, and there was
15 sir Gawayne slayne. 'And uppon the [mor]ne sir Mordred faught with the kyng on Baram Downe, and the[re t]he kyng put sir Mordred to the wars.'

'Alas,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'thys [i]s the hevyst tydyngis that ever cam [to] my harte! Now, f[a]yre sirres,' seyde sir
20 Launcelot, 'shew me [th]e tumbe of sir Gawayne.'

And anone he was brought into the castel of Dover, and so they shewed hym the tumbe. Than sir Launcelot kneled downe by the tumbe and wepte, and prayde hartely for hys soule.

25 And that nyght he lete make a dole, [and] all that wolde com of the towne or of the contrey they had as much fleyssh and fysshe and wyne and ale, and every man and woman he dalt to twelve pence, com whoso wolde. Thus with hys owne honde dalte he thys money, in a mourning gown; and ever
30 he wepte hartely and prayde the people to pray for the soule of sir Gawayne.

And on the morn all the prystes and clarkes that myght be gotyn in the contrey and in the town were there, and sange

5 C al the haste 6 MS. damaged C wyth syr Launcelot & his 7 C* &
so he passyd ouer the see tyl he came 10-11 C was kyng Arthur become Than
the peple 11 C how that he 12-13 C Mordred & an C thousand deyed on
14 C batayle at 14-15 C was good syr 15-20 MS. damaged 19
C cam to* me† Now Le Morte Arthur (3599): That made hys hert wonder sare
21 C & than certeyn peple of the towne brouzt hym in to 23 by the
tumble not in C† 25-6 C nyght he made a dole &* al they that wold come
had W dole of all 27-8 C woman had xii pens come who wold 30
hartely not in C† C prayed hem to praye 33 and in the town not in C†

massis of Requiem. And there offird first sir Launcelot, and he offird an hondred ponde, and than the seven kynges offirde, and every of them offirde fourty ponde. Also there was a thousand knyghtes, and every of them offirde a ponde; and the offering dured fro the morne to nyght.

And there sir Launcelot lay two nyghtes uppon hys tumb, in prayers and in dolefull wepyng. Than, on the thirde day, sir Launcelot called the kyngis, deukes, and erlis, with the barownes and all hys noble knyghtes, and seyde [t]hus:

'My fayre lordis, I thanke you all of youre comynge into thys contrey with me. But wyte you well all, we ar com to late, and that shall repente me whyle I lyve, but ayenste deth may no man rebell. But sytthyn hit ys so,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I woll myselffe ryde and syke my lady, quene Gwennyver. For, as I here sey, she hath had grete payne and mucche disease, and I here say that she ys fledde into the weste. And therefore ye all shall abyde me here, and but if I com agayne within thes fyftene dayes, take youre shypis and youre felyship and departe into youre contrey, for I woll do as I [sey y]ou.'

Than cam sir [B]ors and seyde, 'My lorde, sir Launcelot, what thynke ye for to d[o, n]ow for to ryde in thys realme? Wyte [yo]u well ye shall do fy[n]de feaw fryndis.'

'Be as be may as for <th>at,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'kepe you styll here, for I woll furthe on my journey, and no man nor chylde shall go with me.'

So hit was no boote to stryve, but he departed and rode westirly; and there he sought a seven or eyght dayes. And at the laste he cam to a nunry, and anone quene Gwennyver was ware of sir Launcelot as she walked in the cloyster. And anone as she saw hym there, she sowned thryse, that all ladyes and jantyllwomen had worke inowghe to holde the

1 C masse of requiem 3 and every of them offirde *not in C* (*homoeoteleuton* ?)
 C fourty ponde a pees & also 4 C knyghtes & eche of 5-6 C fro morne
 tyl nyght & syr Launcelot 7 in dolefull *not in C*† 8-9 C dukes erles barons
 & knyghtes 12 C but we came to 17 C herd 19 C wythin xv dayes Than
 take 21-25 MS. *damaged* 21 C I say to you 22 C Bors de ganys
 23 C now to 24 do *not in C* 25 as for that *not in C* 30-1 C &
 than was quene Gueneuer ware of 31 C as he walked 31-2 C & whan
 she sawe 33- p. 1252, 1 C holde the quene vp So

quene frome the erthe. So whan she myght speke she called her ladyes and jantillwomen to her, and than she sayde thus:

'Ye mervayle, fayre ladyes, why I make thys fare. Truly,' she seyde, 'hit ys for the syght of yondir knyght that yondir
5 stondith. Wherefore I pray you calle hym hyddir to me.'

Than sir Launcelot was brought before her; than the quene seyde to all tho ladyes,

'Thorow thys same man and me hath all thys warre be wrought, and the deth of the moste nobelest knyghtes of
10 the worlde; for thorow oure love that we have loved togydir
484^v ys my moste noble lorde slayne. Therefore, sir Launcelot, wyte thou well I am sette in suche a plyght to gete my soule
[hele]. And yet I truste, thorow Goddis grace and thorow Hys Passion of Hys woundis wyde, that aftir my deth I may
15 have a syght of the blyss[ed] face of Cryste Jesu, and on Doomesday to sytte on Hys ryght syde; f[o]r as synfull as ever I was, now ar seyntes in hevyn. And therefore, sir Launcelot, I requyre the and beseche the hartily, for all the
lo[v]e that ever was betwyxt us, that thou never se me no
20 more in the visayge. And I commaunde the, on Goddis behalff, that thou forsake my company. And to thy kyngedom loke thou turne agayne, and kepe well thy realme frome warre and wrake, for as well as I have loved the heretofore, myne [har]te woll nat serve now to se the; for thorow the
25 and me ys the f[lou]re of kyngis and [knyghtes] destroyed. And therefore [go] thou to thy realme, [an]d there take ye a wyff, and lyff with [hir wyth] joy and blys. [A]nd I pray the hartely to pray for me [to] the Everlastynge Lorde [tha]t I may amende my mysselyvyng.'

30 'Now, my swete madame,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'wolde ye

1-2 C† callyd ladyes 2-3 C & sayd ye 5 C you al hyddir *not in C* 6 C Whan syr
6-7 C to hyr Than she sayd to al the ladyes 8 same *not in C†* *Le*
Morte Arihur (3639): throw thys ylike man and me 12-13 W my soule helthe
C* my soule hele *Le Morte Arihur* (3655): my sowle hele I wyll abyde 13-14
and thorow Hys Passion of Hys woundis wyde *not in C†* *Le Morte Arthur* (3657):
Throw mercy of Hys woundys wyde 14-15 C deth to haue 15 Jesu *not*
in C 15-16 MS. *damaged* C at domes day 17 now *not in C* And
not in C 19 W lowe no *not in C* 22 loke *not in C* 23 here-
tofore *not in C* 24-9 MS. *damaged* 24 C hert wyl not serue me to 25
W and destroyed C* & knyghtes destroyed 26 And *not in C* C therfor
sir Launcelot goo to thy C take the 28 C hertelye praye C to our
lord 30 my *not in C*

that I shuld turne agayne unto my contrey, and there to wedde a lady? Nay, madame, wyte you well that shall I never do, for I shall never be so false unto you of that I have promysed. But the selff desteny that ye have takyn you to, I wolle take me to, for the pleasure of Jesu, and ever for you I caste me specially to pray.'

'A, sir Launcelot, if ye wolle do so and holde thy promyse! But I may never beleve you,' seyde the quene, 'but that ye wolle turne to the worlde agayne.'

'Well, madame,' seyde he, 'ye say as hit pleasith you, 10 f(o)r yet wyste ye me never false of my promyse. And God deffende but that I shulde forsake the worlde as ye have done! For in the queste of the Sankgreall I had that tyme forsakyn the vanytees of the worlde, had nat youre love bene. And if I had done so at that tyme with my harte, wylle, and 15 thought, I had passed all the knyghtes that ever were in the Sankgreall [excepte syr Galahad, my sone. And therefore, lady, sythen ye have taken you to perfeccion, I must nedys take me to perfection, of ryght. For I take recorde of God, in you I have had myn erthly joye, and yf I had founden you 20 now so dysposed, I had caste me to have had you into myn owne royaume. But sythen I fynde you thus desposed, I (10) ensure you faythfully, I wyl ever take me to penaunce and praye whyle my lyf lasteth, yf that I may fynde ony heremyte, other graye or whyte, that wyl receyve me. Wherefore, 25 madame, I praye you kysse me, and never no more.'

'Nay,' sayd the quene, 'that shal I never do, but absteyne you from suche werkes.'

And they departed; but there was never so harde an herted man but he wold have wepte to see the dolour that 30 they made, for there was lamentacyon as they had be stungyn wyth sperys, and many tymes they swouned. And the ladyes bare the quene to hir chambre.

4 C* the same deystenye *Le Morte Arthur* (3687): the same desteny that yow is dyghte 5 C* for to plesse Ihesu *Le Morte Arthur* (3689): to plesse hereafter God Allmyght 7 A sir Launcelot *not in C* C* Yf thou wylt do so sayd the quene holde 8-9 C beleue but that thou wylt torne 10 hit *not in C* 11 for *not in C* C wyst you 12 that *not in C* 13 C that tyme *not in C* 14 R ends with the word forsaken (sig. ee ii verso), and the remaining pages in the Rylands copy are Whittaker's facsimiles of P P† lord ben 17 W ends with the word Sankgreall. The rest of the text is based on P. The critical apparatus includes Whittaker's errors (Wh) and some of Wynkyn de Worde's variants 31 P laementacyon

And syr Launcelot awok, and went and took his hors, and rode al that day and al nyght in a forest, wepyng. And atte last he was ware of an ermytage and a chappel stode betwyxte two clyffes, and than he harde a lytel belle ryng to masse.
 5 And thyder he rode and alyght, and teyed his hors to the gate, and herd masse.

And he that sange masse was the Byssshop of Caunterburye. Bothe the Byssshop and sir Bedwer knewe syr Launcelot, and they spake togyders after masse. But whan syr
 10 Bedwere had tolde his tale al hole, syr Launcelottes hert almost braste for sorowe, and sir Launcelot threwe hys armes abrode, and sayd, 'Alas! Who may truste thys world?'

And than he knelyd down on his knee and prayed the Byssshop to shryve hym and assoyle hym; and than he be-
 15 sought the Byssshop that he myght be hys brother. Than the Byssshop sayd, 'I wyll gladly,' and there he put an habyte upon syr Launcelot. And there he servyd God day and nyght with prayers and fastynges.

Thus the grete hoost abode at Dover. And than sir
 20 Lyonel toke fyftene lordes with hym and rode to London to seke sir Launcelot; and there syr Lyonel was slayn and many of his lordes. Thenne syr Bors de Ganys made the grete hoost for to goo hoome ageyn, and syr Boors, syr Ector de Maris, syr Blamour, syr Bleoboris, with moo other
 25 of syr Launcelottes kynne, toke on hem to ryde al Englund overthwart and endelonge to seek syr Launcelot.

So syr Bors by fortune rode so longe tyl he came to the same chapel where syr Launcelot was. And so syr Bors herde a lytel belle knylle that range to masse, and there he
 30 alyght and herde masse. And whan masse was doon, the Byssshop, syr Launcelot and sir Bedwere came to syr Bors, and whan syr Bors sawe sir Launcelot in that maner clothyng, than he preyed the Byssshop that he myght be in the same sewte. And so there was an habyte put upon hym, and there
 35 he lyved in prayers and fastyng.

And wythin halfe a yere there was come syr Galyhud, syr Galyhodyn, sir Blamour, syr Bleoberis, syr Wylliyars, syr Clarrus, and sir Gahallantyne. So al these seven noble knyghtes there abode styll. And whan they sawe syr Launce-

lot had taken hym to suche perfeccion they had no lust to departe, but toke suche an habyte as he had.

Thus they endured in grete penaunce syx yere. And than syr Launcelot took th' abyte of preesthode of the Byssshop, and a twelve-monthe he sange masse. And there was none 5 of these other knyghtes but they redde in bookes and holpe for to synge masse, and range bellys, and dyd lowly al maner of servyce. And soo their horses wente where they wolde, for they toke no regarde of no worldly rychesses; for whan they sawe syr Launcelot endure suche penaunce 10 in prayers and fastynges they toke no force what payne they endured, for to see the nobleste knyght of the world take such abstynauce that he waxed ful lene.

And thus upon a nyght there came a vysyon to syr Launcelot and charged hym, in remysyon of his synnes, to 15 haste hym unto Almysbury: 'And by thenne thou come there, thou shalt fynde quene Guenever dede. And therefore take thy felowes with the, and purvey them of an horsbere, and fetch the cors of hir, and burye hir by her husbond, the noble kyng Arthur.' 20

So this avysyon came to Launcelot thryse in one nyght. Than syr Launcelot rose up or day and tolde the heremyte. (11)

'It were wel done,' sayd the heremyte, 'that ye made you redy and that ye dyshobeye not the avysyon.'

Than syr Launcelot toke his seven felowes with hym, and 25 on fote they yede from Glastynburye to Almysburye, the whyche is lytel more than thirty myle, and thyder they came within two dayes, for they were wayke and feble to goo.

And whan syr Launcelot was come to Almysburye within the nunerye, quene Guenever deyed but halfe an oure afore. 30 And the ladyes tolde syr Launcelot that quene Guenever tolde hem al or she passyd that syr Launcelot had ben preest nere a twelve-monthe: 'and hyder he cometh as faste as he may to fetch my cors, and besyde my lord kyng Arthur he shal berye me.' Wherefore the quene sayd in 35 heryng of hem al, 'I besече Almyghty God that I may never have power to see syr Launcelot wyth my worldly eyen!'

1 *Wh* no last 4 *P* thabyte *Wh* preesthod 6 *Wynkyn de Worde* but that
they 7 *Wh* dyd bodoly 16 *Wh* thenne then 17 *Wh* shall 18 *P*
purvey *Wh* parcuey 22 *Wh* oe day 26 *Wh* fore they

'And thus,' said al the ladyes, 'was ever hir prayer these two dayes tyl she was dede.'

Than syr Launcelot sawe hir vysage, but he wepte not gretelye, but syghed. And so he dyd al the observaunce of
 5 the servyce hymself, bothe the dyryge and on the morne he sange masse. And there was ordeyned an hors-bere, and so wyth an hondred torches ever brennyng aboute the cors of the quene and ever syr Launcelot with his eyght felowes wente aboute the hors-bere, syngyng and redyng many an
 10 holy oryson, and frankensens upon the corps encensed.

Thus syr Launcelot and his eyght felowes wente on foot from Almysburye unto Glastynburye; and whan they were come to the chapel and the hermytage, there she had a dyryge wyth grete devocyon. And on the morne the here-
 15 myte that somtyme was Bysshop of Canterburye sange the masse of Requyem wyth grete devocyon, and syr Launcelot was the fyrst that offeryd, and than als his eyght felowes. And than she was wrapped in cered clothe of Raynes, from the toppe to the too, in thirtyfolde; and after she was put in
 20 a webbe of leed, and than in a coffyn of marbyl.

And whan she was put in th' erth syr Launcelot swouned, and laye longe styлле, whyle the hermyte came and awaked hym, and sayd,

'Ye be to blame, for ye dysplese God with suche maner of
 25 sorow-makyng.'

'Truly,' sayd syr Launcelot, 'I trust I do not dysplese God, for He knoweth myn entente: for my sorow was not, nor is not, for ony rejoysyng of synne, but my sorow may never have ende. For whan I remembre of hir beaulté and of hir
 30 noblesse, that was bothe wyth hyr kyng and wyth hyr, so whan I sawe his corps and hir corps so lye togyders, truly myn herte wold not serve to susteyne my careful body. Also whan I remembre me how by my defaute and myn orgule and my pryde that they were bothe layed ful lowe, that were
 35 pereles that ever was lyvyng of Cristen people, wyt you wel,' sayd syr Launcelot, 'this remembred, of their kyndenes and myn unkyndenes, sanke so to myn herte that I myght not susteyne myself.' So the Frensshe book maketh mencyon.

4 *Wh* bat he 5-6 *Wynkyn de Worde* Dirige at nyght and the masse on the
 morowe 8 *Wynkyn de Worde* his seuen 21 *P* therth 36 *Wh* there kyndenes

Thenne syr Launcelot never after ete but lytel mete, nor (12)
 dranke, tyl he was dede, for than he seekened more and more
 and dried and dwyned awaye. For the Bysshop nor none of
 his felowes myght not make hym to ete and lytel he dranke,
 that he was waxen by a kybbet shorter than he was, that the
 peple coude not knowe hym. For evermore, day and nyght, 5
 he prayed, but somtyme he slombred a broken slepe. Ever
 he was lyeng groveling on the tombe of kyng Arthur and
 quene Guenever, and there was no comforte that the Bysshop,
 nor syr Bors, nor none of his felowes coude make hym, it 10
 avaylled not.

Soo wythin syx wekys after, syr Launcelot fyl seek and
 laye in his bedde. And thenne he sente for the Bysshop that
 there was heremyte, and al his trewe felowes.

Than syr Launcelot sayd wyth drery steven, 'Syr Bysshop, 15
 I praye you gyve to me al my ryghtes that longeth to a
 Crysten man.'

'It shal not nede you,' sayd the heremyte and al his
 felowes, 'it is but hevynesse of your blood. Ye shal be wel
 mended by the grace of God to-morne.' 20

'My fayr lordes,' sayd syr Launcelot, 'wyt you wel my
 careful body wyll into th' erthe, I have warnyng more than
 now I wyl say. Therefore gyve me my ryghtes.'

S(o) whan he was howselyd and enelyd and had al that
 a Crysten man ought to have, he prayed the Bysshop 25
 that his felowes myght bere his body to Joyous Garde.
 (Somme men say it was Anwyk, and somme men say it was
 Bamborow.)

'Howbeit,' sayd syr Launcelot, 'me repenteth sore, but I
 made myn avowe somtyme that in Joyous Garde I wold be 30
 buried. And bycause of brekyng of myn avowe, I praye you
 al, lede me thyder.'

Than there was wepyng and wryngyng of handes among
 his felowes.

So at a seson of the nyght they al wente to theyr beddes, 35
 for they alle laye in one chambre. And so after mydnyght,
 ayenst day, the Bysshop that was hermyte, as he laye in his

1 P Thene S Theñe 12 Wh wekye 17 S chrysten 22 Wh wyl in to
 P wyll in to P therthe P haue Wh houe 24 P Se Wh So 27 Wh
 anwyk & somme may say 28 S hamborow 37 Wh bysshop then was

bedde aslepe, he fyl upon a grete laughter. And therwyth al the felyshyp awoke and came to the Bysshop and asked hym what he eyled.

'A, Jesu mercy!' sayd the Bysshop, 'why dyd ye awake me? I was never in al my lyf so mery and so wel at ease.'

'Wherefore?' sayd syr Bors.

'Truly,' sayd the Bysshop, 'here was syr Launcelot with me, with mo angellis than ever I sawe men in one day. And I sawe the angellys heve up syr Launcelot unto heven, and the yates of heven opened ayenst hym.'

'It is but dretchyng of swevens,' sayd syr Bors, 'for I doubte not syr Launcelot ayleth nothyng but good.'

'It may wel be,' sayd the Bysshop. 'Goo ye to his bedde, and than shall ye preve the soth.'

So whan syr Bors and his felowes came to his bedde they founde hym starke dede; and he laye as he had smyled, and the swettest savour aboute hym that ever they felte. Than was there wepyng and wryngyng of handes, and the grettest dole they made that ever made men.

And on the morne the Bysshop dyd his masse of Requyem, and after the Bysshop and al the nine knyghtes put syr Launcelot in the same hors-bere that quene Guenevere was layed in tofore that she was buryed. And soo the Bysshop and they al togyders wente wyth the body of syr Launcelot dayly, tyl they came to Joyous Garde; and ever they had an hondred torches brennyng aboute hym.

And so within fyftene dayes they came to Joyous Garde. And there they layed his corps in the body of the quere, and sange and redde many saulters and praye(r)s over hym and aboute hym. And ever his vysage was layed open and naked, that al folkes myght beholde hym; for suche was the custom in tho dayes that al men of worshyp shold so lye wyth open vysage tyl that they were buryed.

And ryght thus as they were at theyr servyce, there came syr Ector de Maris that had seven yere sought al Englonde, Scotland, and Walys, sekyng his brother, syr Launcelot. And whan syr Ector herde suche noyse and lyghte in the quyre of Joyous Garde, he alyght and put his hors from hym

1 *Wh* bedd

8 *Wynkyn de Worde* vpon one daye

14 *P* preue *Wh* proue

22 *P* Lanacelot *Wh* Launcelot

24 *Wh* togydere

26 *Wh* bernnyng

and came into the quyre. And there he sawe men synge (and) wepe, and al they knewe syr Ector, but he knewe not them.

Than wente syr Bors unto syr Ector and tolde hym how there laye his brother, syr Launcelot, dede. And than syr Ector threwe hys shelde, swerde, and helme from hym, and 5 whan he behelde syr Launcelottes vysage he fyl down in a swoun. And whan he waked it were harde ony tonge to telle the doleful complayntes that he made for his brother.

'A, Launcelot!' he sayd, 'thou were hede of al Crysten knyghtes! And now I dare say,' sayd syr Ector, 'thou sir 10 Launcelot, there thou lvest, that thou were never matched of erthely knyghtes hande. And thou were the curtest knyght that ever bare shelde! And thou were the truest frende to thy lovar that ever bestrade hors, and thou were the trewest lover of a synful man that ever loved woman, and 15 thou were the kyndest man that ever strake wyth swerde. And thou were the godelyest persone that ever cam emonge prees of knyghtes, and thou was the mekest man and the jentyllst that ever ete in halle emonge ladyes, and thou were the sternest knyght to thy mortal foo that ever put 20 spere in the reeste.'

Than there was wepyng and dolour out of mesure.

Thus they kepte syr Launcelots corps on-lofte fyftene dayes, and than they buryed it with grete devocyon. And than at leyser they wente al with the Byssshop of Canterburye to his 25 ermytage, and there they were togyder more than a monthe.

Than syr Costantyn that was syr Cadores sone of Cornwayl was chosen kyng of England, and he was a ful noble knyght, and worshypfully he rulyd this royame. And than thys kyng Costantyn sent for the Byssshop of Caunterburye, 30 for he herde saye where he was. And so he was restored unto his byssshopryche and lefte that ermytage, and syr Bedwere was there ever styлле heremyte to his lyves ende.

Than syr Bors de Ganys, syr Ector de Maris, syr Gahalantyne, syr Galyhud, sir Galyhodyn, syr Blamour, syr 35 Bleoberys, syr Wyllars (le) Valyaunt, syr Clarrus of Clere-

1 P qnyre Wh quyre 1-2 P synge (end of line) wepe 11 Wynkyn de Worde
omits that 18 Wynkyn de Worde thou were 21 Wh in the breste 36 P
Wyllars de valyaunt Wh Wyllys de balyaunt Wynkyn de Worde Vyllyers le
valyaunt Wh Clartus

mounte, al these knyghtes drewe them to theyr contreyes. Howbeit kyng Costantyn wold have had them wyth hym, but they wold not abyde in this royaume. And there they al lyved in their cuntreyes as holy men.

- 5 And somme Englysshe bookes maken mencyon that they wente never oute of Englonde after the deth of syr Launcelot—but that was but favour of makers! For the Frensshe book maketh mencyon—and is auctorysed—that syr Bors, syr Ector, syr Blamour and syr Bleoberis wente into the
 10 Holy Lande, thereas Jesu Cryst was quicke and deed. And anone as they had stablysshed theyr londes, for, the book saith, so syr Launcelot commaunded them for to do or ever he passyd oute of thys world, <there> these foure knyghtes dyd many bataylles upon the myscreantes, or Turkes. And
 15 there they <dyed> upon a Good Fryday for Goddes sake.

HERE IS THE ENDE OF THE HOOLE BOOK OF KYNG ARTHUR AND OF HIS NOBLE KNYGHTES OF THE ROUNDE TABLE, THAT WHAN THEY WERE HOLÉ TOGYDERS THERE WAS EVER AN HONDRED AND FORTY. AND HERE IS THE ENDE OF *The Deth of Arthur*.

- 20 I PRAYE YOU ALL JENTYLMEN AND JENTYLWYMMEN THAT REDETH THIS BOOK OF ARTHUR AND HIS KNYGHTES FROM THE BEGYNNYNG TO THE ENDYNGE, PRAYE FOR ME WHYLE I AM ON LYVE THAT GOD SENDE ME GOOD DELYVERAUNCE. AND WHAN I AM DEED, I PRAYE YOU ALL PRAYE FOR MY SOULE.
 25 FOR THIS BOOK WAS ENDED THE NINTH YERE OF THE REYNGNE OF KING EDWARD THE FOURTH, BY SYR THOMAS MALEORÉ, KNYGHT, AS JESU HELPE HYM FOR HYS GRETE MYGHT, AS HE IS THE SERVAUNT OF JESU BOTHE DAY AND NYGHT.]

4 S cuntreys 13 P† world And these 15 P† they ded 16 S end
 Wh of the booke book 29 Caxton's colophon: Thus endeth thys noble and
 lous book entytled le morte Darthur Notwythstondyng it treateth of the byrth
 lyf and actes of the sayd kyng Arthur of his noble knyghtes of the rounde table
 theyr meruayllous enquestes and aduentures thachyeuyng of the sangreal & in thende
 the dolorous deth & departyng out of thys world of them al whiche book was
 reduced iu to englysshe by syr Thomas Malory knyght as afore is sayd and by
 me deuyled in to XXI bookes chapytred and enprynted and fynnysshed in thabbe
 westmestre the last day of Iuyl the yere of our lord MCCCCLXXXV Caxton me
 fieri fecit

COMMENTARY

IN the following pages I have set myself the seemingly thankless task of giving, in addition to what is normally expected of a commentary, the results of a word-for-word comparison of Malory's works with their available sources. When one reflects that for this purpose a very large part of what Malory wrote—over a thousand pages in the present edition—has had to be collated with still more voluminous and often much less readable works, one may well wonder whether the effort has been worth while; but no such thought can enter one's mind while the journey through this unexplored region lasts. Instead of being tedious, it acquires an attraction similar to that which the quest of an unknown knight had for Arthurian characters. It leads through a series of simple and tangible discoveries to the understanding of the complex processes which underlie a great writer's work, and it makes the writer himself into a living person. To facilitate this experience for those who may wish to follow the same track I have dispensed here with the record of obviously insignificant facts and have included only such material as is reasonably likely to be of real interest. The choice may at times have been arbitrary, but it has been prompted throughout by the desire to place on record whatever may directly or indirectly throw light on the author's originality, on his outlook and methods, and on his attitude to the literary traditions which preceded him.

I have endeavoured not to neglect the commentary proper, but I have been deliberately sparing of the type of annotation that tends to deny the reader the chance of exercising his judgement, as well as of any comment that might duplicate the clues supplied by the Glossary. Textual points, on the other hand, have been dealt with on a comparatively generous scale, as is inevitable with

a text in which no errors are emended except those which can be accounted for.

Each section is prefaced by a short essay, the purpose of which is to draw attention to some of the issues raised in the notes and to give an account in more general terms of Malory's treatment of his sources. This has given me the opportunity of adding here and there some facts and conclusions to what is already known about his sources, and has occasionally involved me in long excursions into the field of medieval French romance. But neither in the prefatory essays nor in the body of the notes have I dealt with any problems other than those which concern the text and its background, no matter how tempting some of the related issues may have seemed. I have taken it for granted that in a study of this kind deliberate omission is essential and that it is better to attempt too little than too much—even at the risk of inviting comparison with Dr. Johnson who consoled himself for the fact that he was not working on his edition of Shakespeare by the thought that at least he was not working at anything else.

The figures in thick type preceding each entry refer to pages and lines in the present edition; when introduced by cf. or see within a note they refer to other entries in the Commentary. The symbols used for the texts are as follows:

- C* = Caxton's edition.
- F* = The French source or sources used by Malory or their nearest extant representatives.
- M* = Malory.
- MA* = The alliterative *Morte Arthure* (Thornton MS.).
- P* = The Pierpont Morgan copy of Caxton's edition.
- R* = The John Rylands copy of Caxton's edition.
- S* = H. O. Sommer's edition.
- VM* = The *Estoire de Merlin* (The *Vulgate Merlin*).
- W* = The Winchester manuscript.
- X* = The common source of *C* and *W*.

THE TALE OF KING ARTHUR

NONE of Malory's works contains a greater variety of material than his *Tale of King Arthur*. It relates Arthur's birth, his accession to the throne, the victories he won over hostile neighbours, the tragic story of Balin, the quests undertaken by Gawain, Torre, and Pellinor, and a series of adventures which Gawain shares with Uwain and Marhalte. Two other themes are interwoven with these: the life and death of Merlin, and the treacherous intrigues of Arthur's half-sister, Morgan le Fay. Malory is responsible neither for the main content nor for the arrangement of these stories: they were all composed and put together in the form of a cyclic romance by a French writer of the thirteenth century whose work survives to-day in two fourteenth-century manuscripts and in a short fifteenth-century fragment. This work is generally known in Arthurian criticism under the somewhat unattractive and inappropriate title of *Suite du Merlin*. It was from this work that Malory borrowed the whole matter of his *Tale of King Arthur*—not, as has so far been assumed, from two or three different works.¹ But before one can form any idea of the way in which he dealt with it, some attempt should be made to situate the *Suite du Merlin* in the general scheme of the Arthurian Prose Cycle.

The original branches of the cycle were the *Lancelot*, the *Queste del Saint Graal*, and the *Mort Artu*. Each of these belonged to a different tradition: the *Lancelot* was an expansion of Chrétien de Troyes' *Charrette* and carried into prose fiction the lyrical refinements and the elaborate narrative methods of courtly romance; the *Queste* was an attempt to put Arthurian chivalry to the test of a spiritual ideal by developing and remodelling certain episodes of Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*, while the *Mort Artu* was to a large extent a revival of the chronicle tradition inaugurated by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace. To expand these compositions the prose writers employed a method typical of their age: instead of writing sequels to each story they added pre-

¹ Cf. H. O. Sommer's edition of *Le Morte Darthur*, vol. iii, pp. 14-58, and my *Malory*, pp. 130-4.

liminaries; first, the early history of the Grail, or the *Estoire del Graal*, and then the early history of the Arthurian kingdom or the *Estoire de Merlin* (often referred to as the *Vulgate Merlin*). When this was done there still remained the central branch of the cycle, the *Lancelot*, for which no suitable preliminary existed; and it was in order to provide such a preliminary that the *Suite du Merlin* was produced. It survives for the most part in a British Museum manuscript of the fourteenth century known as the 'Huth MS.' or the 'Huth *Merlin*'¹ and in a manuscript belonging to the Cambridge University Library, recently identified as containing the most complete known version of the work. A short fragment of it exists in a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale.² These three texts can occasionally be supplemented by the two non-French versions of the *Suite*: the *Demanda del Sancto Grial*³ and Malory's *Tale of King Arthur*.

Like so many works of the period, the *Suite du Merlin* has suffered from the inability of most of the modern critics to adjust their aesthetic criteria to the peculiarities of medieval narrative art. The view put forward by Gaston Paris in his Introduction to the *Huth Merlin* was that this work was nothing more than an agglomeration of disconnected incidents arranged without any semblance of plan or logic. That a modern reader unfamiliar with the long history of medieval methods of composition should think likewise is only natural, but that historians of literature who since Gaston Paris's day have studied the prose romances very closely should regard them as lacking in any kind of coherent structure is at best surprising. The more sensitive of them might well have been put on their guard by a significant remark in M. Ferdinand Lot's monograph on the *Prose Lancelot*: 'Le *Lancelot*,' he writes, 'n'est pas une mosaïque d'où l'on pourrait avec adresse enlever des cubes pour les remplacer par d'autres, c'est une sparterie ou une tapisserie:

¹ Published in 1866 by Gaston Paris and Jacob Ulrich for the 'Société des Anciens Textes Français'.

² MS. B.N. fr. 112. The fragment was published by H. O. Sommer in the *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, No. 47.

³ Reprinted from the 1535 edition by Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Libros de Caballerías*, Madrid, 1907.

si l'on tente d'y pratiquer une coupure, tout part en morceaux.¹ But the implications of this peculiarity of the prose cycle were not realized, and the opinion that the cycle as a whole and the *Suite* in particular were incoherent compilations has remained unchallenged until now. What is more, this attitude has suggested to certain critics the idea that the extant *Suite* is a corruption of earlier and more complete 'redactions', or even of a whole succession of 'redactions', and that it shows a gradual 'shrinking' of the original narrative texture.² Some parts of the earliest redaction of the *Suite* are supposed to have survived in Malory's version of the Balin episode and in the Grail section of the French Prose *Tristan*; the next redaction has not been discovered, but traces of the third have been found in the Huth *Merlin*. It would be easy to dispose of this theory, as I have endeavoured to do in the notes on the relevant passages,³ by showing that each of the texts upon which it is based can be accounted for without any reference to hypothetical earlier versions.⁴ But it would seem on the whole more profitable to attempt to discover how in fact the *Suite du Merlin* originated than to discuss the reality of hypothetical sources not a fragment of which is known to exist.

Anyone approaching the problem in an unbiased frame

¹ *Étude sur le Lancelot en prose*, Paris, 1918, p. 28.

² For details see Eduard Wechssler's *Ueber die verschiedenen Redaktionen des Robert von Borron zugeschriebenen Graal-Lancelot-Cyklus* (Halle, 1895); E. Vettermann's *Die Balen Dichtungen und ihre Quellen* (Halle, 1918); and E. Brugger's articles in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xxix. 56 ff., xxx. 169 ff., xxxi. 239 ff., xxxiii. 145 ff., xxxiv. 99 ff., and xxxv. 1 ff.

³ See notes 78. 22-7 and 92. 14-21.

⁴ On the Grail episodes in the Prose *Tristan*, see A. Pauphilet, 'La Quête du Saint Graal du MS. B.N. fr. 343', in *Romania*, xxxvi. To show how the urge to discover what lies *behind* the extant texts can blind otherwise clear-sighted critics to simple facts it is enough to refer to the view, put forward by Wechssler in his treatise on the Borron Cycle, that some proper names in Malory, such as Margawse (the Queen of Orkeney), Garnyshe (the 'sorrowful knight'), and others, which are found nowhere else, must belong to 'redaction A'. That Malory simply invented these names, as is obvious to anyone familiar with his methods, never occurred to Wechssler or to any of his followers. Another curious example is E. Vettermann's assumption of an early redaction containing 'a description of Galahad's visit to the Isle Merlin' (*ein Besuch Galahads auf der Isle Merlin*), an assumption based on a misinterpretation of the phrase 'on this side the island' which Dr. Vettermann took to mean 'on the side of the island facing the mainland' instead of 'on the mainland facing the island'. Cf. my Introduction to *Le Roman de Balain* (Manchester University Press, 1942), pp. x-xi.

of mind and examining the complex structure of the *Suite* in relation to its antecedents, will find that the genesis of that work is the reverse of what the current theory suggests: that what we have before us is not a process of regression and decay, but one of consistent evolution from simpler and less complete patterns to more coherent and comprehensive ones. Perhaps the most obvious example is the story of Torre and Pellinore. The initial *donnée* of the story is found in Pseudo-Wauchier's continuation of Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*:¹ a damsel refuses to grant Perceval her love unless he brings her the head of a white stag. Before Perceval starts on his quest he carries away the damsel's hound. He then finds and kills the stag, but while he is cutting it up another damsel, the owner of the stag, removes the hound, and in order to get it back Perceval has to challenge a knight who lives in a tomb. This 'absurd complex of adventures' as J. D. Bruce styles it² is skilfully split by the author of the *Suite du Merlin* into three separate quests: Gauvain undertakes the quest of the stag, Torre that of the knight who has taken the hound, and Pellinore is to rescue the damsel herself from the knight who has carried her away. The prose-writer saw that the weakness of the original tale lay in the accumulation of too many tasks in the hands of one protagonist—a common failing in the early 'biographical' type of romance. He successfully avoided this by introducing three questers instead of one, while presenting the three quests as parts of a single adventure. To achieve still greater coherence he made the two damsels into one *damoisele chasserresse* combining the distinctive features of her prototypes. In Pseudo-Wauchier neither damsel is a huntress, but one of them is in some unexplained way attached to her hound and the other to her stag. In the *Suite* the damsel appears *en guise de veneresse*, preceded by *un chiers rout blanc* and *un bracer*, and surrounded by *trente muetes de chiens*.

This is merely one small instance of the progress achieved by the author of the *Suite* in narrative technique. More important is the way in which he interprets the continuator's task throughout his work. The first two 'continuations' of

¹ *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal*, ed. Ch. Potvin, ll. 22393 ff.

² *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, vol. i, p. 302.

the cycle—the *Estoire de Merlin* and the *Estoire del Graal*—had been intended merely to provide factual additions to an already existing set of episodes. The *Suite* has a purpose of a different kind: it attempts above all to *elucidate* the earlier cyclic compositions and to give reasonable answers to the questions which will occur to any careful reader of the Arthurian Cycle. This can best be seen from the series of episodes centring round the theme of Arthur's magic sword, Excalibur. The author of the *Suite* seems to have noticed the curious discrepancy between the initial and the final scenes of the story.¹ According to the *Estoire de Merlin*, Arthur had acquired his sword by drawing it from the magic anvil; but he disposed of it, according to the *Mort Arzu*, by having it thrown into a lake, after the great battle of Salisbury Plain: a hand came out of the water and caught it, 'and shook it thrice and brandished it', and then vanished with the sword into the water. No attempt is ever made to explain why Arthur should dispose of the sword in this way, or, for that matter, why he should wish to get rid of it at all. To elucidate this, the author of the *Suite* gives a long sequence of events: the news is brought to Arthur's court of an unknown knight (we learn eventually that his name is Pellinore) who dwells in a near-by forest and forces all those who pass to joust with him. After an unsuccessful attempt by Gifflet to defeat the unwelcome champion Arthur has to accept the challenge himself. In a long and fierce combat Arthur breaks his sword against that of his opponent, but Merlin's timely appearance saves him. A sword worthy of the young king must now be found, and it must be strong enough to serve him all his life. The circumstances in which Arthur and Merlin discover the good sword are clearly intended to serve as a preparation for the concluding scene of the battle of Salisbury Plain. Arthur and Merlin come to a lake and see in the middle of it a hand holding a sword, 'et estoit viestu li bras d'un samit blanc, et tenoit la mains l'espee hors de l'iaue'.² When the time comes

¹ I repeat here, for the sake of completeness, the substance of pp. xv-xvi of my Introduction to *Le Roman de Balain*.

² *Merlin*, ed. G. Paris et J. Ulrich, vol. i, p. 197. In the *Suite du Merlin* this sword is called 'Escalibor'; no name is given to the one which Arthur draws from the anvil.

to complete the magic circle, the same hand will receive the sword from the dying king, and the sword will thus return to the enchanted place from which it came. Once extended into a consistent design with an appearance of logical sequence, the supernatural incident becomes acceptable even to the rationally minded: the sense of symmetry suffices to justify its presence. To carry the process of elucidation one stage further the author makes the sword itself into a magic weapon. In explaining its virtues to Arthur, Merlin remarks that the leather of which its scabbard is made is such that no man who bears it can lose any blood or receive a mortal wound. A reason is thus given for Arthur's invincibility: he is now destined, like Roland, to be the last survivor of his glorious fellowship.

But the miraculous scabbard has yet another part to play: it becomes a source of contention between Arthur and Morgan, his treacherous sister, who appears in the *Lancelot* and the *Estoire de Merlin*, but whose persistent attempts to destroy or imprison the knights of the Round Table are not properly motivated in either of these works.¹ Morgan succeeds in getting the king's sword and scabbard for her champion, Accolon, hoping that this will enable him to kill Arthur in single combat. A miracle saves the king: Nivienne, the Lady of the Lake ('la damoisele du lac'), casts a spell upon Accolon and makes him drop the magic weapon. Arthur picks it up, retrieves the scabbard, and defeats his opponent. Morgan then attempts to murder Arthur in his sleep, but he wakes up in time, and she has to escape with her men. Her son Ivain, a knight of the Round Table, is banished from the court. As he rides through the forest looking for adventures he is joined by Gauvain and eventually by Morholt. The remaining part of the *Suite*, concerned as it is with the romantic exploits of these three characters, sets the scene for the weird and fascinating enterprises of Lancelot and his fellow-knights. And so the author's method of composition remains consistent throughout: the threads of the narrative left loose or incomplete by previous writers are lengthened into new sequences of incidents which are made to elucidate the old.

¹ Cf. *The Vulgate Version*, &c., vol. v, pp. 167, 193-4; vol. ii, pp. 254 and 338.

That such was the purpose of the author can also be seen from his account of the death of Merlin.¹ The Prose *Lancelot* describes in a few lines how Merlin was treated by the woman he loved:

'En la fin sot de par lui tant de mervoilles que ele l'angigna et lo seela tot andormi en une cave dedanz la perilleuse forest de Darnantes qui marchist a la mer de Cornoaille et au reiaume de Sorelois. Illuec remest en tel maniere que onques puis par nului ne fu seuz ne par lui nul home veuz qui noveles en seust dire' (MS. B.N. fr. 768, f. 9).

The story of Merlin and Nivienne in the *Suite* is largely an elaboration of this *donnée*. Once again, the author's object is to supply motive and circumstance where the cycle fails to do so, an object not unlike that of a novelist working on a given set of facts. What were the 'marvels' that Merlin so carelessly disclosed to Nivienne? How did she succeed in outwitting him? By way of answering these questions the author adds the story of Merlin and Nivienne's journey to the forest of En-Val. In that forest they discover the lake of Diana, and Merlin tells Nivienne how Diana's unfortunate lover, Faunus, met with his death. Near the lake was a tomb filled with magic water that had the power of healing wounds. One day, after Faunus had been wounded in a chase, Diana persuaded him to lie in the tomb, from which she had previously drained off the water, and killed him by pouring in boiling lead.² Nivienne is so attracted by the lake that she asks Merlin to build her a manor on its shore. He does as she bids him. But he knows that his end is near and prophesies that it will come when he returns to Britain. When, after many long digressions, the author resumes the Merlin-Nivienne theme, the stage is set for the final act: arriving in a 'perilous forest' Merlin and Nivienne find another 'marvel', a small chamber built among the rocks: 'et en sont li huis de fier, si fors que qui seroit dedens . . . ja mais n'en isteroit'; two unfortunate lovers, Anasteu and a poor knight's daughter, who preferred death to imminent separa-

¹ For a similar analysis of two other episodes, see my Introduction to *Le Roman de Balain*, op. cit., pp. xiv and xvii-xxii.

² Diana's reason for murdering Faunus is that she is in love with another knight, Felix, and that Faunus is an obstacle to her happiness. On the origins of this episode, see E. Brugger, 'L'Enserrement Merlin', iv, *Zeitschrift f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, vol. xxxv, pp. 19-26.

tion are buried there. With the example of Diana's stratagem fresh in her mind, and the opportunity offered by the secret chamber, Niviene soon discovers the way to dispose of Merlin: she casts a spell upon him and throws him 'en la fosse ou li dui amant gisoient tout enviers; apriés fait metre la lame dessus'. It is clear that all this sequence of incidents was invented with the object of motivating the episode of Merlin's death: the story of Anasteu and of the secret chamber provides the setting, that of Diana and Faunus the preparation, and it is not too much to say that the consistent elaboration of the plot and its motives raises the amorphous traditions of the early chronicles to a new aesthetic level.

But if this development may be regarded as an approximation to the analytical methods of modern fiction, it carries with it a peculiar treatment of the architectural problem—one which, if consistently applied on a large scale, tends to make the work totally incomprehensible to the modern reader. The working out of the various themes which form the texture of the *Suite du Merlin* calls for the use of what may be described as 'tapestry technique'. The various threads of the story, lengthened as it were in retrospect, must necessarily alternate with one another: each must appear at once as a digression from the one which immediately precedes it and as a continuation of some earlier stretch of the narrative. The use of this method goes back to twelfth-century verse romances, and its theoretical justification can be found in contemporary treatises on the art of poetry;¹ but its consistent application to the *Suite du Merlin* is clearly induced by the necessity of leading up simultaneously to a variety of given themes. The result is a narrative resembling a woven fabric—a solid structure defying any attempt at dissection, and yet irreconcilable with the modern 'Aristotelean' notion of composition. Perhaps the clearest example is the one analysed in the Introduction² to these volumes: the three sets of incidents centring round the themes of Merlin and Niviene, Arthur and Accolon, and Arthur's war against the five hostile kings. The first of these themes opens with the story of how Merlin, who was in love with Niviene, took her to the forest of En-Val. This

¹ Cf. *Introduction*, pp. I-III.

² Pp. lii-liv.

is followed by the third theme: Arthur's army is attacked and massacred by the five hostile kings who are eventually defeated by Arthur, Keu, Gauvain, and Gifflet. Then the second theme appears (Morgan brings about the battle between Arthur and Accolon), only to be followed by the first (on her return to Great Britain Nivene kills Merlin by shutting him up in a tomb), and the second (the battle between Arthur and Accolon). This succession of digressions is the natural result of the author's initial endeavour to elaborate the three initial *données*: Morgan's treachery, Merlin's death, and Arthur's victory over his enemies; for in order to supply their antecedents, he inevitably has to treat these as simultaneous happenings, and he cannot do so unless each of the three themes is intertwined with the other two.

One of the advantages of this method from the thirteenth-century point of view was that it afforded possibilities of further and almost indefinite elaboration. The work could never be considered complete; any *remanieur* picking up the threads where his predecessor had left them could lengthen them further by the use of the same technique, and it is this peculiarity of the French cyclic romances that accounts for their growth in the late medieval period. It is the more significant, therefore, that when Malory began to rewrite them he reversed, or attempted to reverse, the whole process and proceeded to reshape the old material, at first tentatively, but in the end resolutely, in accordance with a totally different architectural design.

At the time when he wrote his *Tale of King Arthur* Malory knew very little about the Arthurian Cycle as a whole and was unable to appreciate the bearing of the *Suite* on its other branches; but even if he had been familiar with the entire Arthurian tradition it is probable that his knowledge of it would not have affected his method. For his conception of narrative was opposed to the 'cyclic' conception: he saw it not as part of an indefinitely extensible whole, but as a well-circumscribed set of incidents, unrelated to earlier or later events. He was equally indifferent to anything that the *Tale* might lead up to and to anything in the nature of a sequence within the *Tale* itself; and so instead of treating each theme

as a recurrent motif dovetailed into others, and each episode as a continuation or an anticipation of other episodes, he saw the whole work as an independent production and each division of it as a self-contained entity. His treatment of the Balin episodes is an example of this attitude. In the *Suite* the main purpose of the Balin story was to serve as a prelude to the *Queste del Saint Graal*: Balin, the unhappy knight, brings misfortune to all whom he wishes to serve. He sees his friends and companions struck one after another by an invisible hand when under his protection. At length he discovers the murderer, Garlan, and kills him at a banquet; but when Garlan's brother, King Pellehan, meets Balin in single combat, Balin's sword breaks and he rushes into a room in the castle to find another. There he comes upon the sacred lance kept in the Grail chamber and with it strikes the 'Dolorous Stroke' which lays waste the kingdoms of Listinois and of Terre Forainne. Thus the story of Balin leads up through Balin's involuntary violation of a sanctuary and the Dolorous Stroke to the theme of the 'Blighted Land' which belongs to the *Queste del Saint Graal*.¹ In Malory this elaborate structure is broken at a vital point: the 'Dolorous Stroke' is not related to the violation of the Grail mysteries; it is a punishment for a totally different offence, namely the murder of the lady who came as a messenger from the Lady of the Isle of Avalon (the 'Lady of the Lake', as Malory calls her), to claim Balin's head. Balin is told that *because of the dethe of that lady he will stryke a stroke moste dolorous that ever man stroke*. As a result the Dolorous Stroke loses its original significance and acquires a new meaning which can be understood without reference to anything that lies beyond the Balin story proper. The same method applied to the themes which are intertwined within the *Tale* has the effect of preventing them from breaking into one another and of straightening out the narrative pattern. Sometimes this is achieved by the grouping together of several widely separated portions of the same story, as in the case of the themes which interrupt the tale of Morgan's treachery;² sometimes Malory simply cuts the thread at

¹ Cf. *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 204.

² For an analysis of these episodes, see *Introduction*, pp. lii-lv.

a convenient point and so makes two originally related incidents into independent ones.¹

Such changes may seem to be of little consequence; but their significance lies less in what they achieve than in the developments which they suggest in the field of fiction: they are the forerunners of a new conception of the novel, the unmistakable signs of the breaking up of the late medieval pattern of composition and of the advent of a simpler and more circumscribed narrative design. It was not until he came to his last two works—the *Book of Launcelot and Guinevere* and the *Morte Arthur*—that Malory himself reaped the full benefit of his experiment and evolved with its aid a novelist's technique and attitude. In the *Tale of King Arthur* the aesthetic merits of his method are only apparent in the one instance just quoted: the story of Balin. Although in Malory's rendering the story loses some of its original implications, the theme of *mescheance* is expressed in it as clearly as it is in the French, for Balin is first and foremost a victim of a relentless destiny which is neither a just retribution for a misdeed nor a simple accident, but part of a tragic pattern of human existence. It may be that in the French version this pattern is worked out more consistently: when the old man at the gate of the castle warns Balin of the danger ahead, he tells him that even if he turns back, it will not avail him as his doom is sealed; in Malory he says simply 'torne ageyne and it will availle the' and so seems to offer Balin a chance of escape; but Balin goes blindly forward, as if he knew that 'the blast was blown for him' and that nothing could divert him from his path. The progress from his first fatal gesture—the refusal to surrender the magic sword—to the fratricidal struggle in which he kills with this sword 'the best friend that he has and the man he most loves' is quickened by the compression of intervening incidents; as in the case of the Arthur story proper, the magic circle of destiny is drawn more firmly and irrevocably round the hero's unhappy life, his noble deeds, and his courageous challenge to fate. And when the fatal battle is joined between the two brothers the horror of it is

¹ As in the case of Morgan's attempt on Urience's life. Cf. p. 149 of the text and *Introduction*, loc. cit.

the greater, the meaning clearer. The tolling of that distant bell still rings in our ears: 'that sword shall be your destruction, and that is great pity', enriched and darkened by the relentless prophecy which follows the Dolorous Stroke: 'So he rode forthe thorow the fayre contreyes and citeys and founde the peple dede slayne on every syde, and all that evir were on lyve cryed and seyde, "A, Balyne! Thou hast done and caused grete dommage in thys contreyes! . . . And doute nat but the vengeance woll falle on the at the laste"'. Because the vengeance is hastened one no longer feels, with Malory, as one does with his source, that each incident is a cross-roads whence numerous tracks may lead in as many different directions. Relieved of some of its ramifications the story moves towards its climax with a greater appearance of design and a greater sense of necessity. And the sacrifice of the cyclic technique is perhaps not too high a price to pay for the revival of a tragic theme which but for Malory would have remained imprisoned in the tangled web of early fiction.

Malory's reactions to the numerous other peculiarities of his French source do not as a rule lend themselves to generalization, but in one respect his attitude seems to have been consistent throughout: he deliberately avoided, as far as he could, the manifestations of the supernatural. He dismissed in a very summary fashion the episode of Morgan le Fay changing herself and her followers into stones in order to elude Arthur, and when he came across an example of Morgan's gift of prophecy he omitted it altogether from his account: in the *Suite* Morgan, having withdrawn to her castle, erects a tomb and places in it a book which foretells the manner of Arthur's and Gawain's death; Malory confines himself to the remark that she fortified her castle against Arthur. This reluctance to bring in the atmosphere of the fantastic and the irrational shows itself in a variety of ways, not the least important of which is the attempt at precise localization. The fairy kingdom of Logres which in the French romances lacked geographical definition becomes a recognizable part of England with well-defined boundaries,¹ sometimes even reminiscent of the battlefields

¹ See notes 7. 2, 10. 39-40, 17. 3, 61. 6-7, and 127. 23.

of the Wars of the Roses.¹ Incidents which appealed to the French authors because of their fairy element are reproduced with an emphasis on their human and realistic aspects and with a noticeable neglect of magic. In the story of Arthur's fight with Accolon what impresses Malory is not the part played by the enchanted sword and its scabbard which render Arthur invulnerable, but the seemingly monstrous fact that Accolon is fighting against his anointed lord; to make this humanly credible he blackens Accolon's character and uses the story as an example of criminal behaviour, not of the power of witchcraft.² The most striking case, however, is the virtual suppression of the Merlin-Nivienne theme—one of the three constituent parts of the entire narrative. To subsequent writers this theme appeared to be the very essence of romantic fiction; to the medieval French writers, sceptical though they may have been at times about Merlin's magic, his life and the irony of his death at the hands of the woman to whom he had recklessly entrusted the secret of his 'subtle crafts' were the core and the substance of the unending series of adventures and quests which grew out of the Arthurian Cycle. Malory shifts the whole emphasis of the tale from the story of a great magician to that of a great king—just as in the contest between Arthur and Accolon he sees an example, not of magic wrought by a supernatural influence, but of a human conflict between a noble monarch and a traitor. He has neither the simple faith of his medieval forerunners nor the imaginative outlook of his successors; he is, as indeed one would expect him to be, equally remote from the *naïveté* of the former and from the sophisticated conventions of the latter. In these contrasts would seem to lie the clue to the significance of Malory's own conception and treatment of Arthurian romance.

Note on the Cambridge MS. of the 'Suite du Merlin'

Early in 1945 I was asked by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Library to examine a French manuscript purporting to be the 'History of the Grail'. It had been offered to them for sale by a

¹ See notes 11. 27-8, 16. 35-7, 24. 31-4, 25. 11-12, 32. 20-2, and 33. 7.

² See notes 143. 5-6, 144. 9, and 146. 28-9.

London bookseller who had purchased it in the autumn of 1944 from Messrs. Christie. According to a statement by its previous owner, Mr. G. Dent, the manuscript had been found by his grandfather, J. E. Dent, in an old hide trunk at Ribston Hall, Wetherby, Yorks., together with various old deeds and seals relating to the property,¹ and had in all probability been there for some centuries.

It did not take long to find that the title 'History of the Grail' was misleading, and that the manuscript contained, in addition to the complete text of the *Estoire del Graal*, which is by no means unique, a version of the *Suite du Merlin*, more complete and in some respects more authentic than any that had hitherto come to light. Most of it was clearly the work of an early fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman scribe using a Picard original. Late in the fifteenth century an English copyist must have removed some of the damaged parchment leaves and replaced them by vellum leaves of the same size, on which he transcribed in his own spelling, but otherwise very accurately, the corresponding portions of the text. Soon after this the volume would seem to have been in the possession of someone familiar with Malory's work, for on f. 199r, in the top margin, I came across the following note written in a curious mixture of French and English by an early sixteenth-century reader: *Ci commence le livre que Sir Thomas Malori chevalier reduce in Engloys et fuist emprente par William Caxton*. This is the only reference to Malory yet found in an Old French text.

From the point of view of content, the Cambridge MS., as it may now be called,² has several claims to the attention of students of Arthurian romance: it fills the lacunae in the Huth MS.,³ it contains some of the material which has hitherto only been known through a late fifteenth-century fragment,⁴ and it includes, after the story of Arthur's coronation, a long account of Arthur's wars against the rebel kings drawn from the *Estoire de Merlin*. It thus supplies the source of Malory's pp. 17-41 to which there is no parallel at all in the Huth MS., and which have hitherto been thought to derive direct from the *Estoire de Merlin*. In the sections which are represented in both the Huth and the Cambridge MSS., the latter offers many distinctly more authentic readings⁵ and often helps to emend some of

¹ Ribston Hall formerly belonged to the Knights Templars, and the documents found with the manuscript go as far back as the twelfth century.

² The Syndics of the Cambridge University Library purchased it in the spring of 1945 on the strength of my report, and were kind enough to put it at my disposal at the John Rylands Library before entering it in their catalogue. I am much indebted to them and to the authorities of the John Rylands Library for all their help in this connexion.

³ Cf. notes 67. 9-27 and 85. 4-21.

⁴ MS. B.N. fr. 112.

⁵ Cf. notes 10. 5-7, 65. 33, and 72. 10.

ne pout mie tūc tūc tūc plōrant
e qūe doel fēlant en sa chambrie qū
lōut le bat si tūc tūc tūc mlt e la
pūe entre les braz com cil q lēmort
pūe e si lēdēdānd quele auoit e
ele lū dist que est vōdriat est mort
e lōut se mlt mlt e lū dist pur
qūe le respōit iō nel lūc tōlēt
māc cōrd nēst vīcū c l mōde que
cō dūm tōut cōm iō face v l hōis
m e dūl qūd mēme c tōtē cōm
que bāt vōe qūl fait a tōtē cet d
māc qūd mlt dē e fāt vīcū dūl
qūl nē fāt a zīr q pū mōn
c pūe auoir a chēton que bāt mē
a mēz e dē l aūtre fōz i fāuie

icō mē aūe. Ensi com si dūc lōut
qūdē ilōut fāt e hōe out q
māde a mēner cē chēuax pū
chēuācher e lē pū dūe si mlt
ta lō pū tōcēment qūd pōit
e si tēnā lā tōn pū cē mēnā
fāfēme al nātū apēl qūl tē
fū a lēes si fū qū lāuōt eū lā
rūle dē tē gēn que fūvēt rē
rūlēs. ¶ Lūvōt tōut al mātū q
lū dūc tē fū a lēes si eū out mlt
qū dōel e mlt lū pēlā dē cō q
out mēne pū dūe si mēdā cō
bāvōn a sōm mlt lūlōz dūl e
mūstā lā bōntē e lō dēpū que lū
dūc lū aūvōt fāt eū lō rōpōndē

Ci commence le livre que Sir Thomas Malori, Chevalier, reduce in Englois, et fuist emprunté par William Caxton. (Sidenote on f. 180^r of the Cambridge MS. of the Suite du Merlin)

the hopelessly corrupt passages. But while it is obviously much closer than the Huth MS. to the original *Suite du Merlin* it does not altogether replace that manuscript.¹ The two must be regarded as collateral versions of a common original, and each can be used to supplement and correct the other.

That original may well have been a direct descendant of Malory's 'French Book', if not the 'French Book' itself. The crucial passage for determining Malory's relation to the Cambridge MS. is the somewhat incoherent narrative found in Malory's pp. 39-41. Here the author of Malory's source, anxious as he no doubt was to bring to an end the chronicle of Arthur's wars and to abandon the *Estoire de Merlin* for his own original composition seems to have selected from that work several widely separated incidents and arranged them in a somewhat haphazard way. Of these Malory has preserved four and the Cambridge text two.² It follows, then, that either the author of the Cambridge version or some 'remanieur' who preceded him deleted at least two of the incidents which occurred in the original *Suite*. In either case it is safe to assume that Malory's 'French Book', even if it was not the original *Suite*, was superior to both the extant French versions of it, and that the textual evidence of Malory's *Tale of King Arthur* is at least as valid as that of any other known derivative of the *Suite*.

A further inference is that any divergence between Malory and the available French MSS. must be very carefully examined before it can be ascribed to his invention. The material collected in the following pages can, in fact, be used for two distinct purposes: it can serve to determine some of the otherwise unknown features of the French *Suite*, and it can illustrate Malory's own contribution. For fear of neglecting either of these issues one often has to refrain from conclusions bearing upon the other, tempting though they may seem. This applies more especially to the minor points in Malory which are not at present traceable to the French texts but which another lucky discovery may well show to be part and parcel of the French tradition. In compiling this section of the Commentary I have therefore endeavoured to steer clear of words and phrases 'not in *F*' which seemed to me to be of uncertain provenance, and of too little interest in themselves to deserve notice.

When I first saw the Cambridge MS. it was too late for me to make use of it for a revision of the text of the *Tale of King Arthur* which at that time had already gone to press, or even to make any extensive alterations in the relevant section of the Commentary. All I have been able to do is to revise those of my notes which seemed to

¹ Cf. notes 13. 28-9 and 73. 3-4.

² Cf. note 39. 1-41. 14.

me to be more directly affected by the discovery, leaving the rest to be corrected, if need be, at a later stage. Hence the apparent inconsistencies in the references to 'F': in the footnotes to the text all the quotations representing *F* are still drawn from the Huth MS. and from MS. Harl. 6340 of the *Estoire de Merlin*; in the Commentary some of the quotations from these texts have been replaced by more relevant ones from the Cambridge MS., while others, in which the choice of the text seemed immaterial, have been left unaltered. A line-for-line collation of the *Tale of King Arthur* with the Cambridge text may yet throw much interesting light on the whole problem.

I give below a list of some of the words and phrases in Malory's *Tale of King Arthur* which I have not been able to trace to the extant French texts, but which for reasons already explained I have not thought it necessary to include in the Commentary:

7. 3 in Cornewail. 15. 19-20 on twelfth day. 32. 30 he was a passynge good knyght and but a yonge man. 41. 18-19 she was sente thydir to aspye the courte of kynge Arthure. 42. 2 to putte hit oute of thought. 46. 21 that my maystir may be buried. 47. 21 undir a cloth. 47. 23 of dyvers colourcs. 48. 27 be my fadirs soule Uther. 49. 9 for all thy crafittis. 50. 27-8 all the place thereas they fought was ovirbledde with bloode. 51. 19 for drede of hys wratthe. 63. 3 by good meanys of the barownes. 64. 1-3 Than had the kynge and all the barownes . . . grete despite at hym. 64. 12-13 the beste frende that ye have. 64. 34-5 God thanke youre Hyghnesse . . . Youre bounté may no man prayse halff unto the valew. 65. 8 God thanke youre good grace. 69. 1-3 Peradventure . . . fallith on hymselff. 70. 12 for sorow he myght no lenger beholde them. 82. 20 had good chere. 99. 10-11 for I muste be reason ye ar my nevew, my sistirs son. 103. 32-3 We fyght but for a symple mater. 112. 17 that was a bettir knyght than he. 126. 37-127. 1 hit was pité to here. 129. 14 I shall honoure the whyle that I lyve. 140. 17 in grete perell of deth. 143. 34-5 and seyde, 'Hit is no tyme for me to suffir the to reste'. 144. 19-21 For though I lak wepon . . . that shall be thy shame. 146. 15-17 'Well,' seyde kyng Arthure, &c. 150. 29 she alyght of hir horse. 157. 5-6 Many knyghtes wysshed hir brente. 158. 14-15 into a grete foreste. 159. 30-1 Of this dyspyte of parte I am avenged. 168. 34-5 that I may se your vysage. 169. 4-5 that is grete pyté, for he was a passynge good knyght of his body.

I

MERLIN

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Malory's source for this section is represented by the two MSS. of the *Suite du Merlin*, viz.:

1. Huth MS. (Br. Mus. Add. 38117), ff. 56^v, col. 1-99^r, col. 1,¹ published under the title of *Merlin, roman en prose du XIII^e siècle*, by Gaston Paris and Jacob Ulrich ('Société des Anciens Textes Français', Paris, 1886), vol. i, pp. 98-212.

2. Cambridge MS., ff. 199^r, col. 1-246^v, col. 2.

In some cases reference has to be made to the source of the *Suite du Merlin*, the *Estoire de Merlin*, represented by a number of MSS. of the Arthurian Cycle. The relevant portion is found in H. O. Sommer's edition of *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, Washington, 1908, vol. ii, pp. 58-124.

F is used as a symbol for any one of the three texts, but where these are referred to individually *VM* stands for the *Estoire de Merlin*, *Huth MS.* for No. 1 above, and *Camb.* for No. 2.

II. Critical Works.

1. G. Paris, [Introduction to] *Merlin*, &c. (see above), vol. i, pp. lxx-lxxii.

[The following remark on p. lxxi is still the most accurate description of the provenance of this section of the *Tale*: 'Les quatre premiers chapitres du livre I sont tirés de Robert de Boron; puis, pour les ch. v-xvi, Malory s'adresse au *Merlin* ordinaire. Au ch. xvii, il commence à suivre notre texte, et, sauf quelques modifications ou additions que nous ne relevons pas, et surtout sauf de fortes abréviations, il ne le quitte pas jusqu'à la fin du livre I.']

2. H. O. Sommer, [Introduction to] *Le Mort d'Arthur by Syr Thomas Malory*, London, 1891, vol. iii, pp. 14-70.

7. 1-7. *Hit befel in the dayes of Uther Pendragon*, &c. *M* begins his *Tale of King Arthur* with the events immediately preceding Arthur's birth, omitting even such important preliminaries as the early life of Merlin and the foundation of the Round Table. These and other matters vital for the understanding of subsequent events occupy some thirty-eight leaves in *F*. The beginning of *M*'s *Tale* corresponds to the following passage (Huth MS., f. 56^v, cols. 1-2):

'Et ensi fu un grant tans que li rois tint acoustumeement sa court a Carduel, tant que une fois avint un jour que il prist talent le roi que il semonroit tous ses barons, et i amenaissent tout lor femes et un et autre. Ensi les fist li rois semondre al Noel. Et envoia par tout ses lettres. Ensi comme li rois l'ot commandé si le firent, et bien sachiés que il i vint grant

¹ To facilitate reference to the printed text I have used the old foliation of the MS., which took no account of the missing leaves.

plenté de damoiseles, de pucies et de chevaliers. Je ne puis ne ne doi tous chiaus dire qui a cele court furent, mais vous conterai chiaus et celes dont mes contes parole. Tant voel je bien que tu saches [*sic*] que li dus de Teintaguel i fu, et si i amena sa feme Ygerne. Et quant li rois le vit, si l'ama moult en son cuer.'

In *F*, then, Uther and Igerne meet by accident, at a feast to which all the barons of the kingdom are invited. *M* gives the story a more fitting opening: to put an end to the war with the duke of Tintagel the king sends for him, 'charyng hym to bryng his wyf with hym'. The interest is thus focused from the beginning on the intrigue which is to serve as a prelude to the Arthur story proper.

7. 2. *kyng of all England*. Not in *F*. The frontiers of Uther's kingdom as conceived by the French romance writers are never clearly defined, but they certainly do not extend as far as 'all England' in *M*'s sense.
7. 10-18. *he made them grete chere . . . unto oure owne castell*. In passing through *M*'s hands the story of Uther's love for Igerne has lost much of its original character. In *F* Uther has no dishonourable intentions. When Igerne leaves the court after the feast he tells her *que elle emporte son cuer avoec lui*, and for a whole year after her departure he is disconsolate. When he can bear his *mesaise* no longer he confides in his friends; they advise him to hold another feast at Carduel and invite the guests to stay at the castle. The moment he sees the duchess again, he says to Ulfin, his chief *consillier*, that *l'amour Ygerne l'ochie, si que il ne pot durer quant il ne la voit, et quant il la voit se li aliege sa doulours*. Ulfin tries to comfort the king by saying that no woman has yet refused to grant a favour when properly asked. Igerne's behaviour, however, shows no such weakness: unmoved by the king's presents she rejects his suit. Ulfin then tries a new stratagem: on his advice the king sends the duke of Tintagel a golden cup, asking that the duchess should drink from it *pour l'amour de lui*. Igerne is indignant. The same night she tells her husband that the king is in love with her, and urges him to take her away. They depart *au plus celeement qu'il porent* (cf. *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. Sommer, vol. ii, pp. 59-61; Huth MS., ff. 56^v, col. 2-58^v, col. 2).
7. 38-8. 1. *the other castel hyght Terrabyl*. Not in *F*, but cf. 61. 11-16.
8. 18-19. *thou sekest Merlyn; therefore seke no further, for I am he*. In *F* Merlin, who appears first as an old man (*vieus homs*), then as a cripple (*con-trais*), is met by Ulfin, not by the king. He does not disclose his identity, but the king hearing of the second meeting at once says: 'ce est Merlins qui ensi se gabe de nous.'
8. 38. *as ye be a true kyng enoynted*. Not in *F*. Cf. p. 549, ll. 14 and 16; p. 1439, l. 28.
9. 8-9. *ye shalle be lyke the duke her husband*. In *F* Merlin says 'Sire, frotés vostre visage de ceste herbe' (*Camb.*). Huth MS. (f. 61^r, col. 2) adds: 'et vos mains'.
9. 9-11. *Ulfiys shal be lyke syre Brastias and I will be lyke . . . syr Jordanus*. In *F* Merlin takes on the appearance of Brastias and Ulfin that of Jordanus. The fact that the Auchinleck MS. of *Arthur and Merlin* agrees here with *M* is probably no more than a coincidence.

9. 12-13. *saye ye are diseased, and soo hye yow to bedde*. No such precaution is suggested in *F*. *M* seems to have realized that if the duchess had had the opportunity of speaking to Uther, Merlin's stratagem would have failed.
9. 14-15. *for the castel of Tyntygaill is but ten myles hens*. Not in *F*. For a similar example of localization, cf. 1121. 6-7.
9. 20-2. *thorowe his owne yssue the duke hymself was slayne, &c.* In *F* the duke's death is not related until after Uther's departure.
9. 22-3. *more than thre houres after his deth*. Not in *F*. Cf. 45. 31-46. 3.
9. 31-10. 4. *Thenne alle the barons by one assent, &c.* In *F* this is preceded by elaborate negotiations between Ulfyn and the duke's family. Ulfyn tries to make out a case for Uther's marriage on the ground that it would be the best form of amends for the murder of the duke. Addressing a gathering of noblemen representing both sides, he says: 'Signeur, vous savés bien que li dus est mors par le roi, ne il n'avoit pas faite chose dont il deust morir. N'est che voirs que je di? Et sa feme est remese chargie d'enfant. Si savés bien que li rois li a sa terre gastee, et est la mieudre dame dou monde et la plus bieie et la plus sage. . . D'autre part, vous savés que li rois est sans feme. Si di en mon dit que li rois ne li puet restorer son damage ne amender, se il ne le prent. Si m'est avis que il le deveroit bien faire, et pour lui amender que pour nos amours avoir et por tot chiaus dou regne' (Huth MS., f. 64r; cf. *The Vulgate Version*, &c., p. 72). *M* dismisses all this with a brief summary, but adds to Ulfyn's plea the remark that the king is a 'lusty knyghte', and gives this as a reason for the king's decision to marry Igraine: 'as a lusty knyghte he assentid therto'.
10. 5-7. *kyng Lott of Lowthean and of Orkenay thenne wedded Margawse . . . and kyng Nentres of the land of Garlot wedded Elayne*. In the French *Suite* the name of King Nentres' wife is Morgans (Huth MS.: 'l'autre fille bastarde qui ot non Morgans'), while King Loth's wife is anonymous. In the *Estoire de Merlin* (see *Vulgate Version*, &c., vol. ii, p. 73) both are anonymous. *M*'s Garlot corresponds to *Camb.*'s 'Garot' ('Sorghaut' in the corresponding place in Huth MS., but *Garelot* later on, cf. 26. 12). *Elayne* is probably *M*'s own invention.
10. 8-10. *the thyrd syster, Morgan le Fey (C: Morgan lessey), was put to scole in a nonnery, and ther she lerned so moche that she was a grete clerke of nygro-mancye*. In *F* Morgan takes a full course in the seven arts: 'et elle aprist tant et si bien que aprist les set ars, et si sot miervilles d'un art que on apiele astronomie, et elle en ouvra moult tost et tous jours, et moult sot de fisike, et par cele fisike fu elle apielee Morgue la fee' (Huth MS., f. 65r, col. 1; cf. *The Vulgate Version*, p. 73).
10. 28-34. *for it was I myself, &c.* In *F*, on Merlin's advice, Uther tells Igraine a lie: 'Et je voel bien que vous sachiés que cis enfes qui de vous naistra n'est pas ne miens ne vestres raisonnablement' (Huth MS., f. 65r, col. 2). It stands to reason that had Uther told Igraine the truth, as he does in *M*, she would not have agreed to part with the child.
10. 39-40. Whereas in *M* Ector is lord of fair lyselode in many parties in Englonde and Walys, *F* describes him as a man of modest means ('si n'est pas trop riches hom'), but le plus preudomme de ceste terre. For similar cases of localization see 17. 3, 61. 6-7, 126. 17-18, and 127. 30.

- II. 10-11. *two ladyes*. *F* (Huth MS.): 'une feme en qui ele (= la roïne) se fioit'. Cf. *The Vulgate Version*, &c., p. 76: 'une soie feme'.
- II. 11. *in a cloth of gold*. *VM*: 'es plus riches dras et es millors qu'ele avoit' (*The Vulgate Version*, &c., loc. cit.). So in *Camb.*: Huth MS. (f. 66^v, col. 2) omits *et es millors*. Cf. 99. 2.
- II. 17-18. *grete maladye*. *F* (Huth MS., f. 67^r, col. 2): 'une grant maladie (so in *Camb.*, but *VM* has *enfermeté*) de goute et des mains et des piés'.
- II. 21-4. 'Sir,' said Merlyn, &c. This remark is a summary of a long speech in the course of which Merlin foretells the king's death in terms reminiscent of the sermons in the French *Queste del Saint Graal*: *Ore convient dont ki veult estre sages que de chou que Dieus li a donné en ceste mortel vie qu'il en achat[ast] la vie pardurable. Et tu qui tant as eut de tous biens en cest siecle, quels biens as tu fais pour Nostre Signour?* (Huth MS., f. 68^r, col. 2).
- II. 27-8. *at Saynt Albons ther mette with the kyng a grete hoost of the North* is an expansion of *F*'s 'il (= *ses anemis*) vinrent contre lui' (*The Vulgate Version*, &c., p. 78: 'li autre s'en vindrent a l'encontre'). It is tempting, but perhaps not altogether safe, to see in this attempt at localization a reminiscence of the first battle of St. Albans (23 February 1453), when another sick king was carried forth at the head of his troops to meet 'a great host of the North'. Cf. 16. 35-7.
- II. 32. *unto London*. 'Logres', 'Loundres'. In Wace's *Brut* and in Chrétien's romances the name of Logres was applied to the whole of the eastern part of England. In Robert de Borron's *Merlin* and in the *Suite* it was mistaken for the name of a town, and in the Cambridge MS. of the *Suite* identified with London.
- II. 1-7. 'Syre, shall your sone Arthur be kyng', &c. In *F* the king dies the same day, not 'the next day', and Merlin's last words to him are: 'Et je te di que tes fuis Artus sera chiés de ton regne apriés toi par la vertu Jesucrist. Et sera accomplissables de la Table Reonde que tu as fondée' (MS. cit., f. 69^r, col. 1). In *M* this is put in the form of a question, in answer to which Uther proclaims Arthur King of England 'in herynge of them alle'. *M* ignores the fact that at the time nobody except Merlin and Uther knew who Arthur was.
- II. 13 ff. *Merlyn wente to the Archebisshop of Caunterbury*, &c. In *F* the Archbishop of Canterbury is not mentioned. Later on, when the anvil appears in front of the church, the inscription on the hilt of the sword is read by the Archbishop of Logres. Cf. also 18. 24.
- II. 36. *is ryghtwys kyngs borne of all Englund*. *F*: 'rois de la terre par l'eleccion Jesucrist'. Cf. 7. 2.
- II. 28-9. *the lady and al were out to see the joustyng*. *F* (*The Vulgate Version*, &c., p. 83): 'ele s'en estoit allee veoir la mellee avoec les autres dames.' The Huth *Merlin* (f. 71^v, col. 1) omits this, but *Camb.* has 'ele estoit allee veer la mellee avec les genz' (f. 200^r, col. 2).
- II. 5-6. *made sir Kay to swere upon a book*. Not in *F*.
- II. 9-31. *How gate ye this swerd . . . I wyll wel*. This dialogue is an expansion of the following: 'Lors l'apela a lui et li dist: « Venés cha, biaux fils, et tenés l'espee, si la remetés ou lieu la vous la presistes. » Et il la prinst, si la mist en l'englume, et ele i tint ausi ferm comme devant. Et Antor

commanda a Keus, son fil, qu'il la prenge; et cil s'abaisa, si ne la pot avoir. Lors ala Antor el moustier et les apela ambesdeus, si prinst Artus entre ses bras, si li dist: « Biaux sire », &c. (*The Vulgate Version*, &c., p. 83; cf. Huth MS., f. 72^r, col. 1; *Camb.* 200^v).

16. 3-4. *And suche knyghtes were put aboute Arthur as syr Bawdewyn of Bretayn, syre Kaynes, syre Ulfyus, syre Barsias.* In *F* the knights 'put aboute Arthur' are not named, but Ké's name occurs in another connexion in the same passage and there are earlier references to Ulfín and Brasias. Bawdewyn of Bretayn alone has no counterpart anywhere in *F*. He belongs to *M*'s own version of the *Tale of Arthur and Lucius* (cf. 16. 33-4; 195. 3-10, 17-19, 20-4).

16. 10; 22. *comyns.* Not in *F*. Cf. p. 414, l. 1 and p. 1439, ll. 4-5.

16. 21-4. *And so anon was the coronacyon made, &c.* In *F* the coronation is described in much more detail (MS. cit., ff. 74^r, col. 2-75^r, col. 1), and it is interesting to note that whereas in *M* Arthur is 'sworne unto his lordes and comyns for to be a true kyng to stand with true justyce fro thenis forth the dayes of this lyf', in *F* his first duty is to the church. He swears 'd'aidier Sainte Eglyse et essauchier, et tenir loiauté en terre et pais'.

16. 25-30. *And many complayntes were made, &c.* Not in *F*. That the first duty of a newly crowned king is to right the wrongs done by his predecessors is a notion as foreign to the French Arthurian tradition as it is typical of *M*'s more realistic conception of kingship.

16. 33-4. *Sir Baudewyn of Bretayne was made constable.* Not in *F*. On the origin of this character see 195. 3-10, &c. In the *Tale of Arthur and Lucius* *M* says that when Arthur left the country to fight the Roman Emperor he appointed 'Baudwen of Bretayne, an auncient and an honorable knyght', as 'chieftain' of the realm, 'for to counceyle and comforte'. The similarity between that incident and the situation here described no doubt accounts for the repetition.

16. 35-7. *Brastias was maade wardeyn to wayte upon the Northe fro Trent forwardes, for it was that tyme the most party the kynges enemyes.* Not in *F*. Throughout the *Tale of King Arthur* Malory treats the country 'northe fro Trent forwardes' as enemy territory (cf. 11. 27-8, 24. 31-4, 25. 11-12, 32. 20-2, and 33. 7) as if to suggest an analogy between his story and some of the outstanding events of the Wars of the Roses.

17. 1-2. *knyghtes of the Round Table.* *M* might not have written this if he had first read the rest of his French source. Both the *Suite du Merlin* and the *Estoire de Merlin* state eventually that King Leodegan, the father of Guinevere, received the Round Table as a present from Uther and gave it to Guinevere as part of her dowry when she married Arthur (cf. 98. 7-8). Hence at the time of Arthur's accession it still belonged to Leodegan. But with the memory of the *Tale of Arthur and Lucius* fresh in his mind *M* inevitably thought of King Arthur's knights as 'knights of the Round Table'.

17. 3. *remeved into Walys.* Not in *F*. Cf. 127. 23.

17. 22-3. *a berdles boye that was come of lowe blood.* *Camb.*: 'teus garçons' (= 'knave', 'scullion') et de si bas gent'. It is doubtful whether *M* would have referred in this context to Arthur's age if he had known the old French meaning of *garçon*.

17. 30-3. *he took hym to a strong towre, &c.* In *F* Arthur leaves the *maistre forterece* for fear of being betrayed by his guests.
17. 37. *For what cause is that boye Arthur made your kyng?* In *F* the barons argue that the archbishop has crowned Arthur without their *congié* and without *l'assent del commun pueple de la terre*. They do not know yet that Arthur is the legitimate heir to the throne.
18. 5-9. *And who saith nay he shal be kyng and overcome alle his enemyes, &c.* Not in *F*. Cf. 7. 2.
18. 10. *Some of the kynges had merweyl of Merlyns wordes, &c.* In *F* all the kings are against Arthur but the *menus peuples*, the *clercs* and some of the poorer knights take his side.
18. 11-13. *and som of hem lough hym to scorne, as kyng Lot, and mo other called hym a wytyche.* *F*: 'distrent que ce n'estoit se couverture non.'
18. 15-16. *to come sauf and to goo sauf.* *F*: 'par droites trives'.
18. 16. *Merlyn went unto Arthure, &c.* In *F* the message is conveyed by Brechians (*M*'s *Brastias*).
18. 17-20. *Fere not . . . wille or nylle.* Not in *F*. Cf. 54. 23-6.
18. 21-2. *had under his gowne a jesseraunte of double maylle.* *VM*: 's'estoit moult bien armés d'un court hauberjon par desous sa cote'. *Camb.*: 'd'un court hauberjon desus sa cote'.
18. 23. *Archebisshop of Caunterbury.* *VM*: 'arcevesques de Brice'. *Camb.*: 'du Brice'.
18. 24. On *Baudewyn of Bretayne* see 16. 3-4 and 195. 5-6.
18. 26-9. *there was no mekenes . . . with wrath.* These few lines are a summary of a long and interesting dialogue. The archbishop, refusing to sit down, says to the gathering of kings that they should think of Christendom *qu'ele ne soit empirie par vous ne a honte livré, car se seroit grans domages. Et chascuns de vous n'est c'uns homs et ausi tost mora li plus riches comme li plus poves. . .* The kings interrupt him; they want first to hear Merlin, and they tell the archbishop he can save his sermon till later: *car vous recouverrés bien a vostre sermon*. Merlin then gives his own account of Arthur's birth; he even produces a document, signed by the late King Uther, to the effect that Arthur is his legitimate son. *Li menus peuples* are much impressed by this and burst into tears, but the kings protest: *ja a bastart, se Dieu plaist, ne lairont terre tenir*. They rightly claim that at the time when Arthur was begotten Uther was not yet married to Igraine—an argument which neither Merlin nor the archbishop seems to be able to answer. But the archbishop refuses to undo what he has done: *puis qu'il s'estoit entremis de l'election, il ne le lairoit mie atant ester qu'il ne li aidast a maintenir la terre*.
19. 20. *he drewe his swerd Excalibur.* A curious error. According to *M*'s own account and the traditional French version, Excalibur is the magic sword which Arthur and Merlin found when they came to a lake and saw 'an arme clothed in whyght samyte that helde a fayre swerde in that honde' (p. 52). This was long after Arthur's combat with King Lot.
19. 21. *gaf light lyke thirty torchys.* *VM*: 'jeta ausi grant clarté comme se doi chierge i eussent esté alumées'. *Camb.*: 'si rendi si grant clareté qu'il estoit avis a tuz ceus qui le voient que ceo fussent xxx cierge alumé'.
20. 3-26. *'I shall say you,' said Merlyn, &c.* This account of Merlin's

stratagem is one of *M*'s most successful attempts to 'reduce' his original. Concerned as he is with Arthur's strategy in war he omits all that is not strictly relevant to it. In *F* Merlin gives Arthur no practical advice as to how to win the war. After a long oration about Arthur's ancestors he says that although King Lot is supposed to have five sons, one of them is really Arthur's: *li rois Loth a cinq fils de sa feme, dont tu engendras l'un a Londres, quant tu estoies escuier*. This clearly refers to Mordred, although one wonders at what stage in his career Arthur could have served as a squire in London. Merlin then suggests that Ban and Bors should be invited to the next feast, but the strategic importance of an alliance with Ban and Bors is not revealed until later (cf. 22. 18).

22. 8. *W*: 'nat so ascaped'; *C*: 'not haue escaped so.' The common prototype of these two readings may well be *nat so a ascaped* or *nat a ascaped so*.

22. 18 ff. *and also he lette cry both turnementis and justis thorowoute all his realme*. Now that he is at war with powerful enemies Arthur is by no means certain to win. He has just enlisted the help of two useful allies, Ban and Bors. Why, then, should he give up his preparations for the campaign and arrange a tournament instead? *F* alone explains this: the tournament, in addition to being an excuse for inviting the two kings to Arthur's court, is a means of securing their goodwill. In *M* it serves no such purpose, for as soon as the kings arrive they are told what is expected of them.

23. 2. *there was seven hondred knyghtes*. Cf. p. 21, line 20.

23. 3. *W*: *Kynge Arthure*. *C*: *Arthur*. The omission of the title is so frequent in *C* that I have only occasionally recorded it in the critical apparatus.

24. 2-4. *went into a gardyne . . . And than they wente unto counceyle*. In *F* the prize is given in the hall after supper. The kings then adjourn *en unes loges qui estoient dalés la sale, par devers le jardin, selonc la riviere*, and have a long talk; they do not, however, begin discussing their preparations until the next day.

24. 7. *they had [ben] in her counceyle*. The obvious omission of *ben* in *W* is a clear, though unusual, case of *homoeoteleuton* due to the superficial resemblance between *had* and *ben*.

24. 12. *a tokyn of kynge Ban, that was a rynge*. In *F*, before leaving their country, the two kings entrust it to the care of Leonce and Pharien, and King Ban leaves his ring with them *a enseignes*. Strangely enough, later on he wears it at Arthur's court and gives it to Merlin (*li baille li rois Bans l'anel et il le prent et les commande a Dieu*). The same inconsistency occurs in the Cambridge MS. of *Arthour and Merlin*.

24. 30. *s(c)hipped* is clearly the common prototype of *C*'s *so shypped* and *W*'s *so hipped*.

24. 31-4. *he ledde the oste northwarde the pryvéyst wey that coude be thought, unto the foreste of Bedgrayne*. Cf. *F*: *li rois fist l'ost conduire al plus coïement qu'il pot en la lande de la forest de Bedingran, car c'estoit un des plus destornés lieux c'on seust*. A point to be noted is that although *he* seems to refer to Merlin, it is Arthur who leads the army to Bedgrayne. Merlin joins him in a camp (see p. 25, ll. 1-4) after a successful landing which *F* describes here in detail. In *M* he lands at Dover (l. 32), in *F* 'en la Grant Bretagne'. On the localization of Arthur's campaign see 16. 35-7 and 25. 11-12.

25. 11-12. *On this syde Trente watir.* Not in *F*. Cf. 16. 35-7 and 24. 31-4.
25. 22-4. *and thus they began to gadir hir people, and <now> they swore, nother for welle nothyr wo, they sholde not lyve, &c.* How occurs both in *C* and in *W*, but the reasons for emending it are obvious. It is true that *now* does not make a 'normal' reading, for *M* very seldom, if ever, uses it with the past tense. Even so the sentence as emended above does not, on close scrutiny, offer any real difficulty. I take it to mean: 'and then, as they began gathering their people, they swore that', &c. *F* confirms this: 'si jurent et afient tout ensamble que ja mais ne seront lié devant ce qu'il seront vengié del roy Artu. . . . Si fu li parlemens tels que chascuns fiancha qui manderoit amis et parens tout comme il en poroient avoir, et puis s'en iroient sour le roy Artu et li toldroient sa terre et li essilleroient tout le pais ains qu'il nel chasassent hors' (MS. Add. 10293, f. 108^r, col. 1).
25. 23-4. *W*: *they sholde nat lyve tyll.* *C*: *they shold not leue other tyl.* *C*'s reading may seem preferable at first blush, but *W* has the support of *F*: *que ja mais ne seront lié devant ce qu'il, &c.*
25. 26. *Candebenet* is the form attested by both *C* and *W*, but the fact that in a later passage *C* has *Cambenet* and *F* *Cambenit* suggests that the *de* is spurious and that it belongs to the common source of *C* and *W*.
25. 28-9. *Brandegoris of Strangore.* *Camb.*: 'Biengores de la Terre d'Estrogoire'. In *VM* this title belongs to Carados. See 26. 14.
26. 9. *kyng Cradilmans.* *VM*: 'Tradelmans de Norgales'. The name does not occur in *Camb*.
26. 12. *kyng Nentres.* *F*: 'Nantres de Garelot' (Huth MS.), 'Neutres de Garloth' (*Camb.*). Cf. 10. 5-7.
26. 14. *kyng Carados.* *F*: 'Karados Briebras de la Terre d'Estraigore'. Cf. 25. 28-9.
26. 15-17. *on horsebacke was fully fyffty thousand, and on foote ten thousand of good menne bodyes.* 50,000 is the correct total of the 'men on horseback', but the '10,000 men on foot' is puzzling; so far *M* has only mentioned the three thousand men of King Clarivaus, and there is no reference to infantrymen in *F*.
26. 31-2. *The Kyng of the Hondred Knyghtis that tyme mette a wondir dreme.* *M* substitutes the King with the Hundred Knights for King Lot.
26. 32-4. *there blew a grete wynde, &c.* In *F*, in addition to the *grete wynde* which destroys towns and castles, and the *watir* sweeping everything away, there is thunder and lightning, 'si grant que tout li mondes trambloit de paor'.
27. 4. The *scowte-wacche* is not in *F*. The war-cry is: 'Traï, trahi, seignor chevalier! Ore as armes, car onques mais si grans mestier n'en fu, car veés chi les anemis ou il vient.'
27. 7-8. *sette upon them so fersely that he made them overthrowe his pavilions on his hedis.* In *F* Arthur's success is due to Merlin's supernatural powers: '[Merlin] lor envioia un si fort vent et un si grant estorbillon que toutes lor tentes chairent a terre deseure lor testes.'
27. 11-12. *they had before hem a stronge passage* anticipates the next battle. Cf. 11. 21-2 and 31.

27. 20. *C*: 'haue fought'; *W*: 'and fought.' *W*'s reading can best be accounted for as a corruption of 'a (= have) fought'.
28. 1. See 25. 26.
28. 12. [*by*] *kyng*. The omission of *by* is a *saut du même au même* due to the similarity between the initial letters of the two words.
28. 33. *Clarinaus de la Foreyste Saveage* is one of *M*'s most misleading additions. Sommer has identified this character with 'Clarivaus of Northumberland' (op. cit., vol. iii, p. 158), occasionally spelt 'Clarivaunce' (cf. p. 25, l. 30, and p. 28, l. 1) in *M* and *Clarious* in *F*. In reality the two are quite distinct. Clarivaus of Northumberland is fighting on King Lot's side, whereas Clarinaus de la Foreyste Saveage is one of King Lot's unsuccessful opponents. They are both associated with Estance (*var.* Estans) of Cambenet, but the latter while fighting side by side with Clarivaus of Northumberland (cf. ll. 1-2) is an enemy of Clarinaus de la Foreyste Saveage (cf. ll. 34-5).
29. 4-7. *com in kyng Arthure with an egir countenans; Arthure as a lyon ran unto kyng Cradilment.* *F*: 'fiert entre els iriés comme lyons'. *M* uses *iriés* for Arthur's first appearance in the field (*com in . . . with an egir countenauns*), and *comme lyons* for the next.
29. 23-30. *Than sir Kay . . . defoyled.* In *F* Ector (*Auctor, Autor, Antor*) gives his father 'un cheval tout estraié' ('a stray horse') and Morganor's horse to Brastias. His encounter with Lardans (ll. 27-30) is probably *M*'s invention.
30. 8-9. *W*: *Sir Lucas saw kyng Angwoysschaunce that nyght had slayne Maris de la Roche.* This does not prevent Maris de la Roche from reappearing in *M* as well as in *F*, where he continues to fight: 'Mauruc se voit delivré, si monte tost et delivrement.' The reason for this is not far to seek. *M*'s original reading must have been: 'that *nyghe* had slayne', &c. One of his early copyists (*X*) must have mistaken *e* for *i* and made *nyghe* (= 'almost') into *nyght*; this reading has survived in *W*. Caxton, on the other hand, finding it clumsy, changed *nyght* to what he thought was the correct adverb (*late*). In this form (*that late had slain*) the sentence has been reproduced in all subsequent editions. See *Introduction*, p. lxxxix.
30. 11-14. *Also Lucas founde there on fooite Bloyas de la Flaundres, &c.* 'Bloyas de la Flaundres' is a compound of two distinct characters: *Belias* and *Flaundres*. In *F* it is Marys (*Maret*), not Lucas, who finds these two knights.
31. 19. *Than brake the bushement of kyng Banne and Bors.* *F*: 'd'autres part vint li rois Bans et li roi Bohors et Lionces de Paerne et Graciens'. *M*'s use of the alliterative phrase may well be a reminiscence of the *Tale of King Arthur* where it frequently occurs in situations similar to this.
31. 20. *Lionse and Phariaunce.* *F*: 'Lionces de Paerne.'
31. 29. *as blak as inde.* The simile used here to give the impression of a large force of armed men rushing forward was suggested to *M* by the phrase *P'enseigne iert ynde* in the corresponding place in *F*: 'Atant vint li rois Bohors sa lance palmoiant, et l'enseigne iert ynde, a menues bandes d'orfrois [delié] de belic, si menuement c'om pot faire a langhes, dont li baligot li batoient dusqu'a sour le col del cheval' (*The Vulgate Version*, &c., vol. ii, p. 119; *Camb.*, f. 222^r, col. 2).

32. 5-6. *one of the moste worshipfullyst men, and the best knyghtes of the worlde be inclyned unto his felyship.* *F* (*Camb.*): 'un des princes du monde qui plus a envice guerpist place desques mort, et d'autre part il est si bons chevaliers que tut cil du monde sont enclin a li et sont livre (= 'lievres') e pigoun (= 'pigeons') envers li'. The words *one of*, still found in *C*, crept into the text between *and* and *the* by contamination, and were eventually reduced to *of*, as in *W*, by a *saut du même au même*. In a subsequent copy *men* was deleted, probably in an attempt to restore sense. The result was *W*'s reading (*of the moste worshipfullyst and of the best knyghtes of the worlde be inclyned, &c.*), which makes as little sense as *C*'s.
32. 19. *Bleobris* (*C*: Bleoberys) is apparently distinct from Bleoberys de Ganys. The variants of his name in *F* are *Bleoris*, *Blaaris*, *Blaans*, and, in the Cambridge MS., *Blearnis*.
32. 20-2. Bors's remark: *Now shall we se how the northirne Bretons can bere theire armys* is a literal translation from *F*, except for the adjective 'northirne': 'li rois dist qu'il veut savoir comment li Breton seivent armes porter a cheval'. Cf. 16. 35-7, 24. 31-4, and 33. 7.
32. 31. *as ferse as a lyon.* Not in *F*, but the phrase is an apt summary of *F*'s detailed account of the incident. Cf. 33. 34 and III. 22.
32. 32. *bondis of grene and thereuppon golde.* *F*: 'a couronnes d'or et d'aisur, et a bendes en travers de vert comme herbe de pré'.
32. 32-33. 2. '*A ha, seyde kyng Lott, we muste be discomfite.*' The whole of this speech, with its praise of Ban and Bors and its anticipation of the coming defeat, was probably added by *M*. It was perhaps suggested by *F*'s earlier remark that when the rebels saw King Ban's army they knew that *par tans lor covendra place guerpir ou morir se longuement i demeurent*.
33. 7. *bothe the northirne batayles.* Not in *F*. Cf. 16. 35-7 and 32. 20-2.
33. 9-10. *hit was pité to se and to beholde the multitude of peple that fledde.* *F* laments the fate of the victims, not of the fugitives: 'La ot trop grant dolor et grant mortalité d'une part et d'autre.'
33. 16. *Ban [dyd] he.* It is equally possible to assume the omission of *had* *don*, due either to the recurrence of *n* in *Ban* and *don* or to that of *h* in *had* and *he*.
33. 23-4. *hut thorow the trappoure of stele and the horse ewyn in two pecis that the swerde felle to the erth.* *F*: *ataint le cheval sour la couverture de fer dont il estoit couvers, si le colpe tout outre, et le cheval ausi jusqu'en terre si trebuche tout en un mont*. The notion of cutting the horse neatly into two equal halves is *M*'s own, and in order to make it seem plausible he adds that the *swerde felle to the erth*, although it is obvious from the rest of this scene that Ban never parted with his sword until the battle was over. Cf. 129. 11-12.
33. 34. *as a wood lyon.* Not in *F*. Cf. 32. 31 and III. 22.
34. 3-5. *all was blode and brayne that stake on his swerde and on hys shyld.* This description, reminiscent though it is of the crudest battle-scenes in early epic, is an almost literal translation from the French romance (*Camb.*, f. 223, col. 2): 'fu si soilliez de sanc e de cervelle que jamais par nul home ne fust reconus par nule de ses armes'.
34. 11-18. '*Fayre brothir, have ye thys horse, for ye have grete myster thereof*', &c. This dialogue has no counterpart in *F* except for Arthur's remark to

Ban: *tendz li miens amis, si montés, car en mal jour sont entré li nostre anemi, car ja lor verrés guerpir.* *M* puts these words in Ban's mouth instead of in Arthur's, who replies rather enigmatically that he is not sure to be able to join King Ban in the final onslaught on their enemies.

34. 22-4. *made hir knyghtes alyght to wythdraw hem, &c.* Whereas in *M* the three kings order their men to *wythdraw hem to a lytyll wood and so over a litill ryver* instead of pursuing the enemy, in *F* they are anxious to go on fighting (*se voldrent ferir après els*).

34. 31-35. 9. '*A, sir Arthure*' . . . *of their wylfulnes.* Not in *F*.

35. 10-38. 38. The order of episodes differs substantially from *F*. *M*'s arrangement is on the whole preferable: (a) the meeting of the rebel kings (35. 10-35); (b) the battle (36. 1-26); (c) Merlin's advice to Arthur to withdraw (36. 27-37. 28); (d) Merlin's visit to his master Bloyse; (e) his appearance before Arthur in 'blacke shepis skynnes and a grete payre of bootis'; and finally (f) the story of Lyonor (see 38. 31-8). *F* places the first episode last, and completely omits the second (see 36. 1-26).

36. 1-26. *Whan kyng Arthure and kyng Ban and Bors . . . over a litill ryver.* The compiler of the Cambridge MS. has anticipated this episode from a later passage in the *Estoire de Merlin* referring to the rescue of Leodegan (cf. MS. Harl. 6340, f. 95^r, col. 1-2). The list of names in *M* is practically identical with that found in the Cambridge MS., but Guiuas le Bloi becomes in *M* *Gwynas de Bloy*, Drians *Bryaunte*, and Anciaumes *Anneicians*. The words 'that was kyng Bors godson' refer in the French to the next knight on the list: the prototype of *M*'s *Anneicians*, *Anciaumes du chastel de Benoie Seneschaus*, is immediately followed by *Blares, li filiol au roi Boorz*. *M*'s *Ladinas de la Rouse* corresponds to *Ladinas li Rous*, *Emerause* to *Emares*, *Caulas* to *Taullas*, *Gracien le Castillon* to *Graciens li Chastelains de Trebe*, *Bloyse de la Case* to *Li Blois de la Case*, and *Colgrevaunce de Goore* to *Calogrenanz de Goire*. The names *Bellaus Morians of the Castel Maydyns* are split in *M* between two distinct characters; in *F* they belong to one: 'Behanz l'Amoreus du Chastel as Puceles'. In one respect *M*'s list agrees with that given in the *Estoire de Merlin* against *Camb.*: it contains the name of *Brastias* which *Camb.* leaves out. Another departure from the original list in *Camb.* is the character called *Ladinas li Rous*—a combination of *Ladynas* de Benoyc (*var.* Benoyt) and *Aucalec li Rous* (*var.* Aucales le Roux).

36. 27-37. 28. *With that com Merlion . . . as hit was gevyen to them.* This dialogue has no counterpart in *F* beyond Merlin's remark to Arthur: 'que veus tu faire? Dont n'as tu tant fait que tu as vencus tes anemis? Va-t-ent en ta terre, si amaine tes amis et les serf et honeure a ton pooir, car il me convient aler el bois faire ma destinee entour Blaise mon maistre qui moult est mes amis.' The rest of the scene (Merlin's conversation with Arthur, Bors, and Ban, and his advice to give a proper reward to their allies) is in all probability *M*'s own.

38. 10-13. *he was all befurred in blacke shepis skynne, and a grete payre of bootis, and a boowe and arowis, in a russet gowne.* This passage shows curious differences between *M* and *F* in the description of the villain's costume. *F* has: 'Et ot vestu cote et surcot de burel et caperon, si fu chains d'une coroe neuee de mouton.'

38. 12. *brought wylde gyese in hys honde*. F: 'Si i avoit anetes salvages en un ruisel qui se baignoient, si comme lor nature lor aporte. Et li vilains entoise son arc, si en fiert l'une el col, si qu'il li ront; puis encauche un autre bovion, si ochist un marlart; puis les prent et les pent par les cols a sa corioie.'
38. 31-8. *Than in the meanewhyle there com a damesell . . . a good knyght of the Table Rounde*. This is a brief summary of an episode related in full in the Cambridge MS. (f. 225^v, col. 2). *M's Sanam* bears the same name in the French text; *Lyonors* is called *Lienors*, and *Borre Boorz*.
39. 1-41. 14. *Than ther com worde . . . as hit tellith in the booke of adventures*. There is no parallel to these pages in the Huth MS., but some of the material which *M* used is found in the *Estoire de Merlin* and in the Cambridge MS. of the *Suite du Merlin*. The episodes related in the first four paragraphs of p. 39 and in ll. 12-21 on p. 40 belong to four widely separated sections of the *Estoire de Merlin* (*VM*, pp. 141, 206-8, 155-7, and 124-5). The author of *M's* source must have selected them from the *Estoire* in the endeavour to conclude as quickly as possible the chronicle of Arthur's wars and turn to less martial and strictly 'Arthurian' episodes which were to form the bulk of his work. But of the four sections so selected the author of the Cambridge version deleted the first and the second (*M's* p. 39, ll. 1-5 and 6-10) and inverted the third (p. 39, ll. 11-19) and the fourth (p. 40, ll. 12-21): on f. 226 (recto col. 1) he related the Saracen invasion and the siege of Vanbieres (*M's* Wandesborow), and on f. 229 (verso col. 1) Arthur's visit to Camiliard and his first meeting with Guinevere. There were, then, two important stages in the development of this part of the *Suite* before it reached the Huth MS.: the first represented by *M*, the second by the Cambridge MS. In the first stage the chronicle material inserted between Arthur's accession and the story of Mordred's birth was fairly substantial, and the passages borrowed from *VM* numbered at least four; in the second, the narrative as a whole was not shortened, but the number of passages so borrowed was reduced to two. In the Huth MS. these disappeared altogether as well as the entire section which began after the story of Arthur's accession and ended at a point corresponding to *M's* p. 41, l. 14.
39. 20-1. *And there had Arthure the firste syght of queene Gwenyvere*. The story of how Arthur fell in love with Guinevere is one of the best examples of early French narrative art, although one could probably count on the fingers of one hand the people who have read it since it appeared in Sommer's *Vulgate Version* (vol. ii, pp. 155 ff.). Had *M* found it in his 'French Book' he would not have dismissed it with a single sentence. But the source he used apparently contained but a shortened and unattractive version of it, similar no doubt to what remains of it in the Cambridge MS. The relevant passage in that MS. reads as follows (f. 229^r, col. 1):
- . . . ele estoit la plus tres bele c'om peust el monde trover, car qui sa beauté voudroit raconter trop i averoit grant anui, e sembleroit tut fable. E avoit non Guenevre; e pur la grant beauté que li rois oi dire que en lui estoit la veist voluntiers li rois Artus s'il peust, mais ele estoit malade . . . dont il fut moult dolenz e coruciez.
40. 32. *the cyte of Wynnesan*. 'Windesan' in *Camb.*, 'Huitdesant' in *VM*.
41. 16-17. *Arthure rode unto the cite of Carlyon. And thydir com unto hym*

kyng Lottis wyff of Orkeney in maner of message. F (Huth Merlin, f. 75^r, col. 1): 'après le couronnement le roi Artu vint a une grant court que li rois semonst a Carduel en Gales la feme le roi Loth d'Orkanie serour le roi i fu, mais quoi que elle fust sa suer n'en savoit elle riens'. M having mistaken the genitive *le roi Artu* for the nominative made it the subject of *vint*; the result was *Arthure rode unto the cité of Carlyon*. He then began a new sentence, making *la feme le roi Loth* the subject, and *i fu* the verb (these last words have been suppressed by the editors of the *Huth Merlin*), and wrote: *And thydur com unto hym kyng Lottis wyff of Orkeney*. The words *in maner of message* probably stand either for the French *mais* (or *mes*) which he misinterpreted as *mes* meaning 'messenger', or for *mais quoi* which he misread as *message*.

41. 23. [he] begate. A *saut du même au même* due to the likeness between *h* and *b*.

41. 24-5. *she was syster on the modirs syde Igrayne unto Arthure.* F: 'conchiut (conut?) li freres carneument sa serour'.

42. 5. 'Thys harte woll I chace' seyde kyng Arthure. There is no direct speech in F: 'li rois qui bien estoit montés commencha a sivr le chierf'.

42. 9. *hys horse lost his breshe and felle downe dede.* F: 'li chevaus ne le pot plus soustenir, ains chai mors desous lui'.

42. 17. *the noyse was in the bestes bealy.* F (Huth MS., f. 76^r, col. 1): 'tant estoit estraingne de cors et de faiture, et non mie tant defors comme dedens son cors'. According to the editors of the Huth MS. some phrase referring to 'the noyse' is missing in F between *et* and *non*.

42. 22; 24. *he felle on slepe* is not in F, but the words *knyght full of thought and slepy* stand for F's 'chevaliers qui la penses'.

42. 27-8. 'What wolde ye with that beeste?' seyde Arthur. 'Sir, I have folowed that beste longe and kyld myne horse.' Arthur and Pellinor appear to be speaking at cross-purposes because M has omitted Pellinor's answer: 'ceste beste doit morir par un houme de mon parenté mais il convient que che soit li mieudres chevaliers qui doive issir dou regne et de nostre lignage. . . . Et pour chou que je voloie counoistre se j'estoie li meudres de nostre lignage, pour chou l'ai jou si longement sive' (Huth MS., f. 76^v, col. 1).

43. 4-6. (*Whos name was Pellynor, &c.*). The parenthesis is not in F. Cf. my *Malory*, pp. 36-8.

43. 9. 'A, fool!' seyde the kyng unto Arthure. In F Pellinor uses more polite language: 'Comment! fait cil, dans mauvais chevaliers', &c.

43. 12. *he sterte unto the kyngis horse.* F: 'lors traist la ou il voit l'escuier et le jete jus dou cheval et monte sus'.

43. 18. *the kyng* is Pellinor, not Arthur. In F he is still anonymous.

43. 23. *a chylde of fourtene.* F: 'un enfant de quatre ans'.

43. 24-5. *asked hym whye he was so pensyff.* In F Merlin already knows the reason and says: 'moult m'esmerveil que voue pensés issi au chevalier, que ne me samble pas que nus hom qui riens vaille doive penser a chose dont il puet bien trouver conseil'.

43. 26-44. 9. 'I may well be pensyff,' seyde the kyng, &c. In F the dialogue is much longer. Merlin tells Arthur that he has committed a *trés grant desloiauté* (*tu as geu carnelment a ta serour germainne*) and as Arthur refuses to believe him he proceeds to tell Arthur who his parents were. Arthur

thinks he must be a fiend (*il cuide bien que che soit anemis*), but his answer is much the same as in *M*: 'tu n'es mie de l'aage que tu peusses onques avoir veu [m]on pere, se che fu Uters Pandragons'. Cf. Huth MS., ff. 77^v, col. 1-78^v, col. 1.

44. 11-12. *the kyng was passynge glad* is not in *F*, but *he semed to be ryght wyse* is a literal translation of *F*'s *si ot samblant de sage homme*.
44. 15-16. *many thynges that mesemythe he sholde nat knowe*. *F*: 'teuls paroles que je ne cuidasse pas que nus hom morteus seust fors mi seulement'.
44. 18-23. *the chylde tolde you trouthe, &c.* These few lines summarize a long speech in which Merlin explains the meaning of Arthur's dream and predicts the destruction of his kingdom by a knight 'qui est engenrés, mais il n'est encore pas nés'.
44. 32. *Ye shall dey a worshipfull dethe*. With this brief remark *M* dismisses a very long passage (approximately two leaves) in which Merlin tells Arthur about the Questing Beast, the coming of Galahad, and Arthur's own parentage. After this, however, *F* interrupts the speech so as to avoid repetition: 'Ne mes sires Robiers de Boron ne veult mie raconter chou qu'il a autre fois dit, car il ne veult mie croistre son livre de tais paroles ains tint la droite voie' (Huth MS., f. 80^v, col. 2).
44. 35-6. *anone the kyng askyd Ector and Ulphuns, &c.* In *F* this is preceded by a long dialogue in the course of which Merlin urges Arthur to invite Igraine: 'Et autressi ferés savoir a la roine Ygerne, et li mandés que elle amaint avoec soi Morgain sa fille. Et lors quant elle sera venue et li haut baron seront assamblé en vostre sale, je ferai itant a l'aïue de Dieu que je li ferai connoistre que vous estes ses fieus' (Huth MS., f. 81^r, col. 2).
45. 6, &c. *So in all haste the quene was sent for*. In *F* all the arrangements for the recognition scene are made in advance: the queen and Ector are sent for by Arthur, and Ulphuns (Urfin) comes at Merlin's request. Merlin takes Ulphuns and Ector aside and reminds them how Uther gave him his first-born child; they then realize that Arthur is Uther's son. It is difficult to see from *M*'s abridged version how they discovered this.
45. 16-27. *this quene Igrayne ys the causer of youre grete damage, &c.* In *F* Ulphuns accuses the queen of having destroyed her child: 'elle qui plus baoit au destruisement de cest regne que au preu, ne vaut pas li malles i remansist, ains l'envoia ne sai ou morir u faire autre fin, a tele eure qu'il ne fus puis a mon ensient nus qui verité seust de cele creature' (Huth MS., f. 82^v, col. 2). The accusation is part of Merlin's stratagem: challenged by Ulphuns, Igraine puts the blame on Merlin, whereupon Merlin declares that he gave the child to Ector (Auctor) who is thus forced to point to Arthur and say *veschi chou que vous me baillastes*. In this way Arthur's claim to the throne is established beyond all doubt. Since in *M* Arthur's parentage is known before Ulphuns has the opportunity of addressing the queen, he can only blame her for not making it known *opynly, in excusing of hir worship*.
45. 28-30. *I am a woman and I may nat fyght, &c.* Not in *F*.
45. 31-46. 3. *Merlion knowith well, and ye, sir Ulphuns, how kyng Uther com to me into the castell of Tyntagyl, &c.* This is a very brief summary of what the queen says in the *Huth Merlin*, with the addition of such details as

my lorde that was dede thre owres, and aftir the thirteenth day Kyng Uther wedded me, which M culled from various other passages in F.

46. 15. *eyght dayes. F: 'quinze jours tous pléniers'.*

46. 20. *Myles is anonymous in F.*

46. 23-4. *and every man seyde hys advyce.* The only man who does so in *F* is Merlin: '« Voirs est que chis chevaliers a commenchié ces aventures chevaliers encontre autre, et puis qu'il a commenchié en tel maniere, il convient que chou qu'il a mesfait soit amendé par un chevalier. » « Dont convient il, fait li rois, que uns chevaliers de ceste cort i voit? » « Voirs est », fait Merlins.'

46. 27-8. *to gyff hym the Order of Knyghthode. F: 'que vous me faichiés chevalier.'* Cf. 50. 8.

46. 30. *for to take so hyghe and orde[r] uppon you.* In *F* Arthur says that Gryfflet (Gifflet) is too young to undertake such a difficult adventure (*si grant chose comme ceste est vraiment encontre un chevalier esleu*); the 'high order' in the sense of knighthood is *M*'s own phrase.

47. 3-5. *for he ys one of the beste knyghtes of the worlde, &c.* In *F* Merlin adds 'que che est li chevaliers a qui vous parlastes avant ier et cil qui avoit si longuement maintenue la cache de la miervilleuse beste' (Huth MS., f. 86v, col. 1). Cf. 42. 23-43. 6.

47. 14-15. *ryght so ye shall com agayne unto me withoute makynge ony more debate.* In *F* Merlin tells Arthur that if Gryfflet (Gifflet) survives the combat he will be *li chevaliers dou monde qui plus longuement vous tenra compaignie*, and the last man to see Arthur alive (Huth MS., f. 86v, cols. 1-2).

47. 19-48. 16. In *F* this episode is related *after* the visit of the Roman messengers (48. 17-29).

47. 22. *well sadeled and brydyled. F: 'estoit atachiés uns chevaus grans et fors, plus noir que meure'.*

47. 27. *Why smote ye downe my shyld.* An interesting example of how *M* simplified the elaborate phraseology of his source. In *F* the knight says: 'Ha, sire chevaliers! vous n'avés mie fait que courtois qui mon escu avés abatu. A moi vous deussies prendre, se je vous eusse mesfait, et non pas a l'escu ki riens ne vous demandoit' (Huth MS., f. 88r, col. 1).

47. 29-33. *for ye are but yonge and but late made knyght, &c.* In *F* the knight puts the question to Gryfflet (*combien a que vous fustes chevaliers?*), who says that he has only recently been made a knight. The rest of the dialogue, though much condensed in *M*, is substantially the same in both texts.

48. 11-12. *He had a myghty herte. F: 'il estoit trop hardis'.*

48. 17-29. *Ryght so com into the courte twelve knyghtes, &c.* This passage, belonging as it does to the opening chapter of the story of Arthur's campaign against the Emperor Lucius (see pp. 185 ff.), is just as much out of place here as it is in *F*.

48. 21-2. *ye ar messyngers: therefore ye may sey what ye woll, othir ellis ye sholde dye therefore.* In *F* this occurs at the end of Arthur's speech: 'Et sachiés que se vous ne fuissies messages [*sic*] je vous feisse honnir.'

48. 24-6. *but on a fayre fylde I shall yelde hym my trwage, that shall be with a sherpe spere othir ellis with a sherpe swerde.* The grim humour of this remark is characteristic of *M*'s Arthur, and a comparison with *F* will show

that it is entirely original: 'je suis chuis qui riens ne li renderoie, ne riens ne terroie de lui. Ains di bien que s'il estoit demain entrés en ma terre pour occoison de gerroier, il ne verroit ja mais a Roume, se Dieu ne me nuisoit trop durement.' The refusal and the threat are here expressed separately and in purely negative terms ('riens ne renderoie,' 'riens ne terroie', 'il ne verroit ja mais a Roume'), while in *M* they are combined, and Arthur's offer to pay his tribute 'with a sherpe spere' becomes worthy of an epic hero. It is an obvious reminiscence of the corresponding scene in the *Tale of Arthur and Lucius*.

48. 32-4. *all that longith to my person be withoute the cité . . . he mette with his man and his horse*. In *F* the chamberlain comes into Arthur's room and finds him ready: '« Sire », fait il, « tout ce que vous me commandastes est appareillié. » « Che me plaist moult », fait li rois. Si prent ses armes maintenant, et quant il est tous armés si fait son cheval mener fors de la chité.' *M* seems to imply that Arthur's armour was to be brought to him when he was out of the city.
49. 14. *as they wente thus talkynge*. With these words *M* dismisses a dialogue which in *F* fills three columns. Merlin warns Arthur of the risk he is running in challenging a knight whose sword is 'la meillour que chevaliers qui soit en che pais ait en sa baillie', but Arthur is determined to fight. Asked why he was pursued by the 'churls', Merlin explains that he met them as they were cutting down two oak-trees and told them they would soon come to grief: 'd'ui de vous seront pendu a ces kaisnes meismes, et li tiers sera ochis d'une de vos cuingnies'; but the churls wanted to punish him for his unkind words and nearly killed him. Arthur is amused, 'et dist que ceste aventure que Merlins set ne set il mie de par Dieu, mais de par le mal esprit. « Or ne parlés plus », fait Merlins, « de mon savoir. Je cuic qu'il vous vaurra encore mieus que toute vostre poesté »' (Huth MS., f. 90^r, col. 2).
50. 8. *for the hyghe Order of Knyghthode*. Cf. 46. 27-8, 30.
50. 31. *lyke too rammis*. Not in *F*. Cf. p. 526, l. 15 and p. 1439, l. 26.
50. 32-3. By emending *W*'s *both hir mette to both hir swerdys smote* one would account for *W*'s omission of *swerdys* ('saut du même au même') and improve the sense. It is possible that *M*'s reading was *they mette togyders that bothe hir swerdys smote evyn togyders* and that in a later copy *mette* was changed to *smote* by contamination.
51. 7. *by the myddyll*. *F* (Huth MS., f. 92^v, col. 1): 'l'embrace par mi les flans'.
51. 17-18. 'Why, what ys he?' . . . 'hit ys kynge Arthure.' *M* achieves here a certain dramatic effect by means of a very simple alteration. In *F* the knight anticipates Merlin's answer ('« Comment », fait li chevaliers, « es che dont li rois Artus? » « Oil, certes », fait Merlins'), whereas *M* leaves it to Merlin to disclose Arthur's identity.
51. 27. *I had levir than the stynte of my londe a yere*. *F*: 'Si vausisse mieus, se Dieu me consaut, avoir pierdu le millieur chastiel que j'aie.'
51. 32-52. 8. *Also there lyvith nat . . . all thys realme*. Not in *F*. This passage is typical of *M*'s tendency to anticipate events. *And he* (= Pellinore) *shall telle you the name of youre owne son* is, however, in contradiction with *M*'s own account (p. 79, ll. 15-19) of how Merlin told Arthur that 'Mordred

hys owne sonne sholde be agaynste hym'. The reference to Lamorak, who is only known through the Prose *Tristan* and *M*'s version of it, would seem to suggest a later hand.

52. 15-16. '*I have no swerde.*' '*No force*', &c. In *F* this dialogue occurs before the king's visit to the hermitage.

52. 27-9. *There ys a grete roche, and therein ys as fayre a paleyce as ony on erthe, and rychely besayne.* This is borrowed from a later passage in *F* (f. 95^r, col. 1): at the end of a long dialogue between Arthur and Merlin which follows the episode of the sword Arthur asks '*comment che puet estre que la damoisele aloit par deseure l'eaue a pié sec*', and Merlin replies: '*en mi lieu de cel lac a une roche ou il a maisons bieles et riches et palais grans et miervilleus, mais il sont tout entour clos d'encantement que nus qui par dehors soit nel puet veoir s'il n'est de laiens. Et la ou vous veistes que la damoisele se mist n'avoit il point d'iaue, ains est uns pons de fust que chascuns ne puet pas aperchevoir.*' From this passage *M* borrowed his description of the rock and the palace and carefully eliminated the supernatural.

52. 32-53. 17. On *M*'s treatment of this episode, see my *Malory*, pp. 51-2.

53. 18-54. 4. *And kynge Arthure saw . . . as ye avise me.* This part of the dialogue between Arthur and Merlin occurs in *F* after the remarks about the sword and the scabbard. *Egglame* is *M*'s rendering of *Heglan*.

54. 10-11. *whyles ye have the scawberde uppon you, ye shall lose no blood.* *F* explains this by saying: '*«il est d'un cuir qui a tel viertu que ja hom qui sour lui le porte ne perdera sanc ne ne rechevra ja plaie mortel»*' (Huth MS., f. 94^v, col. 1).

54. 13-20. *So they rode . . . lightly paried.* *F* (Huth MS., f. 95^r, col. 2): '*Ensi vont parlant tant que il aprochierent la chité. Et lors contrerent li rois et Merlins le chevalier del paveillon. Il ne li disent riens, ne autressi ne fist a eus, ains passent outre. Si s'en entra li rois en la chité.*' *M*'s account, with its reference to Merlin's craft and the continuation of the dialogue between Merlin and Arthur, is probably based on a more detailed French version than this.

54. 14-15. *Merlion had done suche a crauffte unto kynge Pellinore saw nat kynge Arthure.* In order to avoid this use of *unto* (= 'until'; 'with the result that') *C* changed it to *that*: '*Merlyn had done suche a crafte that pellinore sawe not Arthure.*'

54. 23-6. *they mervayled that he would jopardé his person so alone. But all men of worship seyde hit was myrry to be under such a chyffayne that wolde putte hys person in adventure as other poure knyghtis ded.* Not in *F*. The passage would seem to reflect *M*'s own view of how a chieftain should behave.

55. 1-2. *there lacked one place of the mantell, &c.* In *F* Rions makes his demand in more courteous terms: '*pour chou qu'il te prise plus que nul qu'il ait conquis, te mande il*', &c. (Huth MS., f. 95^v, col. 1).

55. 5-16. '*Well, seyde Arthure, ihou haste seyde thy message*', &c. In *F* Arthur replies to Rion's message in a humorous tone. He is amused rather than infuriated by Rion's strange request: '*il ne me samble mie que je soie chis a qui li rois Rions t'envoia, car je n'euch onques barbe, trop sui encore jovenes*'. He uses no such epithets as *orgulus*, *lewdiste*, *shamefullyste*, and,

while firmly refusing to be intimidated by Rions, does not threaten to put him *on bothe his knees*.

55. 8. *my bearde ys full yonge yet to make off a purphile*. *F*: 'je n'euch onques barbe, trop sui encore jovenes' (see previous note). It may well have been *M*'s intention to make Arthur appear a little older than he is in *F*.

55. 9-10. [*none homage*] *ne none*. A clear case of *saut du même au même* in *W*.

56. 2-4. *a good man founde hym . . . and than brought hym to the court*. In *F* Mordred is found by a fisherman who sees by his clothes that 'chis enfes est de haut lignage' and takes him to Nabur le Derrés, lord of a neighbouring castle and father of Sagremor, 'un petit fil de l'eage de cinc semaines'. The two infants are brought up together. How long Mordred was thus 'fostird' *F* does not say, but it adds that Nabur found in Mordred's cradle a note ('un escrit') giving the child's name; 'mais il ne trouva plus en l'escrit de sa naissance ne de son lignage' (Huth MS., f. 97^r, cols. 1-2).

56. 4-5. *as hit reherisith afurward and towarde the ende of the MORTE ARTHURE*. Not in *F*. It is not certain whether this refers to the French *Mort Artu* or to *M*'s adaptation of it entitled *The Most Piteous Tale of the Morte Arthur Saunz Gwerdon* (pp. 1155-1260 of the present edition). In the latter case the reference should be attributed not to *M* himself but to one of his early copyists who had arranged his works in the order in which they have come down to us. There can be no doubt that at the time when *M* completed the first part of his *Tale of King Arthur* he had not yet begun his *Most Piteous Tale*. See *Introduction*, p. xxxix.

II

BALIN LE SAUVAGE OR THE KNIGHT WITH THE TWO SWORDS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

F = (1) Cambridge MS. (*Camb.*), ff. 246^v, col. 2-280^r, col. 2.

(2) Huth MS. (Br. Mus. Add. 38117), ff. 99^v, col. 1-150^v, col. 2 (old foliation).

EDITIONS OF *F* (2): (a) *Merlin* . . . , p.p. G. Paris et J. Ulrich (S.A.T.F.), vol. i, p. 212-vol. ii, p. 60.

(b) *Le Roman de Balin*, ed. by M. D. Legge with an Introduction by Eugène Vinaver.

Critical works.

1. L. A. Hibbard, *Malory's Book of Balin*, in *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, Paris and New York, 1927, pp. 175-95.
2. Gaston Paris, [Introduction to] *Merlin*, &c. (see above), vol. i, pp. xlvii-xlviii.
3. V. D. Scudder, *Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory*, London and New York, 1921, pp. 195-200.

4. H. O. Sommer, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 70-97.
5. E. Vettermann, *Die Balen-Dichtungen und ihre Quellen* ('Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie', lx, Halle, 1918), pp. 52-84.
6. E. Vinaver, *Malory*, pp. 33-5, 52-3.

61. 1-5. *Affir the deth of Uther regned Arthure hys son, &c.* This paragraph has no counterpart in *F*. Its object is to give the story the appearance of a self-contained work. To *M* the Romance of Balin is not a mere continuation of the chronicle of Arthur's reign, but an independent narrative which any reader unacquainted with the rest of the *Tale of Arthur* should be able to understand. It is for the benefit of such a reader that *M* sums up in one sentence the long story of Arthur's accession to the throne and of his *grete warre* . . . *for to gete all Inglonde into hys honde*.

61. 6-7. *kyng Arthure was at London.* *F* (*Le Roman de Balain*, ed. Legge, p. 3): 'seoit li rois a son disner'. On *M*'s use of localization, cf. 127. 23.

61. 10. *slew the kyngys trew lyege people.* *F* (loc. cit.): 'ochiant vos hommes la ou il les puet trouver'.

61. 11-16. '*If thys be trew*', &c. In *F* the dialogue runs as follows (op. cit., pp. 3-4):

Arthur: U laissas tu le roi Rion? Garde que tu me dies voir.

The Knight: Sire, je le laissai a un vostre chastiel que on apiele Tarabel, ou il avoit le chastiel assis a si grant plenté de gent que [c'est] une fine merveille.

Arthur: Ore assiece que je le ferai lever a sa honte, se Dieus plaist, assés prochainement.

61. 19-20. *the kyng wolde lette make a counceile generall and a grete justis.* In *F* the knights assemble with the sole object of preparing for war. The circumstances are indeed hardly appropriate for *grete justis*.

61. 23-4. '*a damoisel*' *the which was sente frome the grete Lady Lyle of Avilion*. Neither the Huth nor the Cambridge MS. has preserved the reading upon which this line is based, namely 'une damoisele riche et de grant biauté plainne, et estoit a la dame apielee la Dame de l'Isle Avalon'. The Huth MS. (cf. *Le Roman de Balain*, p. 4) has *et est la dame apielee* and the Cambridge MS. *et est apellee la dame*. The corruption is the more obvious because the damsel's speech begins with the words: 'A toi m'envoie, rois, ma dame de l'Isle d'Avalon'. That *M* makes *l'Isle* into a proper name is due not to an error, as E. Vettermann thought (op. cit., p. 30), but to his constant tendency to attach names to anonymous characters. A statement such as the following is typical of the German critic's inability to understand this simple process: '[Malorys] Irrtum ist leicht verständlich, da in der französischen Quelle der damals noch selten angewendete Apostroph nach dem elidierten Artikel fehlt. . . . Durch Weglassung der Genitivpartikel ist die nach altem Märchenbrauch bis dahin namenlose Dame zum Vornamen Lylle gelangt.'

61. 29-30. '*Damesel, for what cause ar ye gurte with that swerde? Hit besemyth you nought.*' In *F* the damsel speaks first, and Arthur has no opportunity of remarking that it does not become her to carry a sword.

62. 4-5; 31-2. *without* . . . *trechory and without* *treson*. The apparent

tautology is due to a mistranslation of the French *sans trecherie* (= 'deceit') ... *et sans traison*: 'che n'est mie chose qui soit a feme otrree ne a chevalier, si n'est li mieudres chevaliers de cest pais et li plus loiaus, sans trecherie et sans boisdie et sans traison' (op. cit., pp. 4-5).

62. 23-6. *But beware ye be nat defoyled*, &c. *M* here elaborates the damsel's earlier remark (see previous note), regardless of the fact that he has already used it a few lines above (ll. 3-5). To complete *F*'s definition of a good and virtuous knight he adds the words of *jantill strene of fadir syde and of modir syde*.

62. 36-7. *there was a poore knyght with kynge Arthure that had bene presonere with hym*. In *F* Balin is imprisoned by the King of Northumberland.

63. 2-3. *and the name of thys knyght was called Balyne*. 'Balyne' (Balain) is not named in *F* until much later (Huth MS., f. 104v, col. 1). At this point he is described as 'uns povres chevaliers qui estoit nés de Norhomerlande. Chis avoit esté desirétés de par le roi de Norhomerlande par un parent le roi qu'il avoit ochis, et l'avoit mis em prison plus de demi an.' Cf.

62. 36-7.

63. 4. *he was a good man named of hys body*. *F*: 'Mais s'il estoit povres d'avoir il estoit riche de cuer et de hardement et de proueche, qu'en tout le roiaume de Logres n'avoit pas a chelui tant millour chevalier' (op. cit., p. 6; Huth MS., f. 100r, col. 1).

63. 26-9. '*A fayre damesell, seyde Balyne, "worthynes and good tatchis and also good dedis is nat only in araymente"*, &c. *F* (op. cit., p. 7): 'Damoisieles, ne m'aiies en despit pour ma povreté: je fui ja plus riches. Encore n'a il nul chaisens a qui je veasse mon escu.' The idea that *virtue and manhode ys hyed wythin the bodye*, as *W* states in a marginal note, and that *worship and hardynesse ys nat in araymente* is as characteristic of *M* as it is remote from the attitude to knighthood implicit in the great orders of chivalry established in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their distinguishing feature was the substitution of courtly apparel for the moral and practical aims of knightly behaviour. In the words of Prutz (*Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, p. 451), 'was früher für sie Mittel zum Zwecke war, war im Laufe der Zeit selbst Zweck geworden'. A good example of this is Ashmole's comment on the procedure at the Great Annual Feast of the Order of the Garter. The Knights of the Garter had to attend the feast in their best dresses, with their attendants, but it was stipulated that in case of sickness, 'if the absent Knight was so sick as to keep to his bed', his 'whole Habit of the Order' was to be placed on his stall. This and other similar devices were intended, as Ashmole puts it, to prevent 'the dignity of Knighthood receiving diminution' (Ashmole, *History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 2nd ed., 1715). *M*'s practical and, in a certain sense, heroic conception of the nature and purpose of knightly service offers an interesting contrast to this view.

63. 33. *drewe hit oute easily*. In *F* the principal task of the hero is not to draw the sword but to untie its 'hangings' (*les renges*; on the meaning of this term see *Le Roman de Balain*, p. 117). Arthur fails to do this, but when Balin is allowed to try he takes 'les renges de l'espee et met les mains as neus, et les desnoue erraument, et tire l'espee a lui'. The *motif* goes back to Chrétien's description of the sword of Montesclaire (*Conte del Graal*,

- ll. 6084 ff.); a similar description of the Grail sword occurs in the *Estoire del Graal* and the *Queste del Saint Graal*, and its re-appearance in the Romance of Balin is one of the numerous links between the Balin story and the Grail legend: it helps to connect the 'dolorous stroke' with some of the Grail mysteries. If *M* avoids suggesting any such connexion it is because he wants the reader to be reminded not of the *estranges renges* of the Grail sword but of the magic weapon which Arthur once drew out of an anvil. Cf. 85. 4-21.
65. 13-14. *the Lady of the Laake*. *F* (*Le Roman de Balain*, p. 10): 'une damoisele'. This character is quite distinct from the Lady of the Lake otherwise called Viviane (*F*: 'Vivienne', 'Ninieue', 'Nineve'; *M*: 'Nyneve', 'Nyvene') who brought up the infant Lancelot and afterwards caused the death of Merlin. The 'damoisele' who appears at Arthur's court and asks for Balin's head is never referred to in *F* as 'la damoisele dou lac': she is an anonymous messenger from the Lady of the Isle of Avalon who wishes to destroy Balin because he has killed her mother (cf. 65. 33).
65. 18. *but I have forgotyn the name of my swerde*. This surprising remark is a mere misreading of *F* where Arthur says that at the time when he received the sword he *forgot to ask* its name ('je vous obhai a demander', &c.).
65. 19-20. *that ys as muche to sey as Kutte Stele*. No such explanation is given in the Huth MS., but it probably occurred in *M*'s immediate source. The *Estoire de Merlin* comments in similar terms on the name of the sword which Arthur drew from the anvil: 'Et les lettres qui estoient escrites en l'espee disoient qu'ele avoit a non Escalibor, et c'est un non hebrieu qui dist en franchois trenche fer et achier.' Just as the name Excalibur was misapplied in the *Suite du Merlin* as in *M* to the sword which Arthur received from the Lady of the Lake, so the explanation of it was in all likelihood the same as that given by *M* and the *Estoire de Merlin*.
65. 25-6. *I take no force though I have both theire hedys*. In *F* the Lady of the Lake claims one victim only: 'si vaurroie volentiers estre vengie ou de l'un u de l'autre'.
65. 33. *which by hir meany had slayne hys modir*. Huth MS.: 'vous estes cele qui arsites de venin mon frere'. *Camb.*: 'Ha, damoisele, vus ai jeo longement quise plus a de iii anz que jeo ne vous finai de quere, qui estes cele qui ma mere arcist de venin.'
66. 2-4. *'Evyll be [y]e founde: you wolde have myne hede and therefore ye shall loose youre'*. This is a close and ingenious rendering of *F*: «Cestui mestier vous renge: ou lieu que vous demandastes ma teste au roi, li donrai jou la vostre.» The words *au roi* and *li donrai* are clearly superfluous; they are brought in to complete the construction which is required by the verb *demande*, but they add nothing to the sense: in fact *li donrai* distorts it, since there is no question of offering the damsel's head to Arthur. *M* suppresses all reference to the king and so gives proper emphasis to the operative words—*have myne hede* and *loose youre*.
66. 9. *undir my sauffconduyghte*. *F*: 'en mon conduit'. *Conduit* was used in Old French in the extended sense of 'protection', more appropriate in this context than *M*'s *sauffconduyghte* ('guarantee of protection').
66. 12-15. *for this same lady . . . was causer that my modir was brente thorow hir falshode and trechory*. Cf. 65. 33.

66. 28. *my moste foo is dede*. Huth MS.: 'ensi m'en sui vengies de cele qui mon frere ochist'. Cf. 65. 33.
66. 31-67. 3. '*Alas!* seyde the squyre . . . my good frende, &c. Not in *F*, except for Balin's remark *I woll hyghe me in all haste that I may to mete with king Ryons* which is modelled on the French *s'adrece cele part ou il cuidoit que li rois Rions fust* (Huth MS., f. 102^v, col. 2). The words *ye are gretly to blame* betray *M*'s hand. No squire in a thirteenth-century French work could have addressed his master in such terms.
67. 7-8. *the Lady of the Lake*. See 65. 13-14.
67. 9-27. *So at that tyme . . . she shall nat sey nay*. This passage corresponds to a lacuna in the Huth MS. (f. 103), which can now be filled with the aid of the Cambridge MS. (ff. 249^v-50^r). The French text explains how the protagonist of the story became known as 'the knight with the two swords' because in addition to his own he carried with him the sword he had taken from the lady-messenger. His sudden departure from the court is regarded as a grave insult, and Arthur asks his advisers what action he should take. At this point *M* resumes the narrative, but omits to mention that the Irish knight who offers to challenge Balin on Arthur's behalf was one of those who failed in the adventure of the sword. This was the reason why he had 'grete despite at Balyne'. There is no counterpart in the French to the half-humorous remark *she shall nat sey nay*.
67. 24-5. *thys damesell that here stondith, &c.* *M* omits to mention that the damsel has returned to court (cf. p. 64).
68. 6-7. *hardy and full of prouesse*. *F*: 'li plus loiaus et sans toute trecherie'.
68. 7. *and with that swerde he sholde sle hys brothir*. This prophecy is not fulfilled in *F*. Cf. 89. 32.
68. 9-18. *God wolde ye had nat come here . . . I know hym nat lvyngye hys macche*. In *F* Merlin addresses Arthur, not the damsel, although the damsel is present. She does not depart until she has realized that 'li rois s'acorde a Merlin'.
68. 25-6. *And the shelde that ys tofore you shall nat helpe you*. *F*: 'tornés cestui escu, u je vous ferrai par derriere, si arois gringnour honte'. Unless *M*'s immediate source had omitted the words *u je vous ferrai par derriere* he must have overlooked them, with the curious result that instead of challenging Balin to a fair duel the Irish knight casts an unwarranted reflection on his opponent's shield.
69. 9-16. '*Well!* seyde Balyne . . . *'abyde in the fylde.*' In *F* Balin refrains from mentioning the *damage* he has sustained, and the reason why he is reluctant to accept the challenge is that having once offended Arthur he fears he might add to the offence by killing one of Arthur's knights: 'si meterei en tel maniere mesfait sur mesfait'.
69. 25. *he saw hym lye as a dede corse*. *F* uses a less descriptive phrase: 'lors s'aperchiut il bien qu'il est mors'.
69. 29-30. *Al! Balyne, two bodyes thou haste sla(in in) one herte, and two hertes in one body*. I assume that in one of the early copies of *M* *in* dropped out after *slain* and that eventually *slain* was changed to *slayne*, thus producing the reading of *W*: *two bodyes thou haste slayne one herte*. To restore sense *C* inserted *and* between *slayne* and *one* (*two bodyes thou hast slayne and one*

herte and two hertes in one body), but achieved no more than an appearance of sense: to all intents and purposes *C* and *W* are equally unsatisfactory. The emendation is confirmed by the corresponding sentence in *F* which offers an exact parallel to the words *thou haste slain in one*:

M: two bodyes *thou haste slain in one herte*

F: deus cuers *avés* *ochis en un* et deus cors en un

While reproducing part of this sentence word for word *M* has changed its meaning: *F* says that by killing one heart Balin has killed two, and that by killing one body he has killed two. *M*'s formula is more subtle: the injury done to the lady's heart must cause her to die with her lover, just as his death meant that both their hearts must die.

70. 3-5. *she helde hit so faste he myght nat take hit oute of hir honde but yf he sholde have hurte hir. And suddynly she sette the pomell to the grounde.* This is *M*'s own version of the scene. In *F* the lady kills herself with the sword before Balin has time to take it out of her hands.

70. 17-23. *Than Balan seyde, &c.* In *F* the speaker is Balin (*Balaain*). *M* seems to have confused the two brothers, probably because, contrary to his practice, he has changed a dialogue into a monologue. Another inconsistency is that Balan begins by saying *I litill wende to have mette with you at thys suddayne adventure* and concludes with the words *here I supposed to fynde you*. How this contradiction has arisen will be seen from the following parallel passages:

F (*Le Roman de Balain*, p. 21): Ha! frere, je ne vous cuidai ja mais veoir. Par quel aventure estes vous delivré de la dolereuse prison ou vous estiés?

M: Brother, I litill wende to have mette with you at thys suddayne adventure, but I am ryght glad of youre delyverance of youre dolerous prement

By transferring *par . . . aventure* ('at thys suddayne adventure') from the second sentence to the first *M* has made Balan say to Balin that he never thought they would meet so suddenly, whereas it is obvious from *M*'s own context as well as from *F*'s that Balan had 'com rydyng' in the hope of finding Balin: 'et pour chou venoie ja si grant oirre que je vous i cuidoie trouver'.

70. 20. *in the Castell of Four Stonys.* *F*: 'au chastiel de quatre perrieres'. *M* has mistaken *perrieres* (= 'catapults') for *pierres*. Certain manuscripts of the French Prose *Lancelot* (e.g. Harl. 6341) mention in a different context *la forest des quatre pierres* (cf. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version*, iv. 316), but it is most unlikely that *M* had any recollection of this.

70. 32-71. 7. *I am ryght hevy . . . well we beth mette.* Not in *F*. The most significant addition is Balin's praise of Arthur: 'he ys the moste worshypfullist kynge that regnith now in erthe; and hys love I woll gete othir ellis I woll putte my lyff in adventure.'

71. 15-16. *in my defendaunte* (= 'in self-defence') is modelled on *F*'s *sour moi defendant*.

71. 18-20. *And for hir sake I shall owghe all women the bettir wyll and serwyse all the dayes of my lyff.* Not in *F*.

71. 23. *the moste valyauntis men* (*C*: *valyaunts*). In view of the agreement

between *C* and *W* I have refrained from deleting the plural ending. It is likely, however, that both readings go back to a faulty copy in which the contraction representing a final *e* had been mistaken for *es*.

71. 26. *the I fere nat gretely*. The dwarf, so far from threatening Balin, warns him of possible reprisals ('the kynne of thys knyght wolle chase you', &c.). There is therefore no reason why Balin should say as he does in *W* that he is not afraid of *the dwarf*. In *F* he says instead: 'il m'en poise, non mie pour dountance que j'aie de ses parens, mais pour l'amour le roi Artus' (op. cit., p. 23).

72. 9-10. *that at hys owne rekeyste was slayne by the hondis of Balyne*. Not in *F*.

72. 10. '*this lady Columbe and peramour to hym*'. Huth MS.: 'Lione s'amie.' Camb.: 'Columbe s'amie.' Demanda: 'Calamesa su amiga' (ch. 201).

72. 13-19. '*Here shall be, seyde Merlion, &c.*' In *F* these words are not spoken by Merlin, but written by him on the tombstone: 'et commencha a escrire au chief de la tombe lettres d'or qui disoient: « En ceste place assamblerront a bataille li dui plus loial amant que a lour tans soient », &c. (op. cit., p. 24).

72. 15. *W*: 'two men'. *C*: 'two knyghtes'. I have adopted *C*'s reading because it agrees with a later passage in *M* (p. 568, ll. 18-19) which seems to have been copied from this. The following comparison will show that the two could not have been modelled independently on *F*:

<i>F</i> :	<i>W</i> (<i>Balin</i>):	<i>M</i> (<i>Tristram</i>), 568. 18-19:
assamblerront a bataille li dui plus loial amant que a lour tans soient	the grettist bateyle betwyxte two men that ever was or ever shall be, and the trewyst lovers	sholde fyght two of the beste knyghtes that ever were in kynge Arthurs dayes and two of the beste lovers

72. 25-6. *with his soveraigne lady*. *F*: 'avoec s'amie'. Whereas in *M* the allusion to Isode is obvious, in *F* it is clearly not intended to be understood by Mark.

72. 28. '*A, Balyne, seyde Merlion*'. *F*: 'Lors dist a Balaain: « Sire chevaliers. »' Since the conversation takes place in front of King Mark, who a little later on (p. 73, l. 15) asks Balin his name, *F*'s version is distinctly preferable. *C* has virtually the same reading as *F* (*Thenne said merlyn to balyne*), but he may have arrived at it independently.

73. 1-3. *because of the dethe of that lady thou shalt stryke a stroke moste dolorous that ever man stroke*. In *F* the death of the lady has no connexion with the Dolorous Stroke. It is a punishment for the violation of *commandement que nus ne doit trespasser*, and although the nature of the *commandement* is not described Balin is obviously punished for having entered the Grail chamber and touched the sacred lance. *M* deliberately rules out this explanation, not because he thinks it in itself unsuitable, but because it deprives the Balin story of its independence as a piece of narrative. His technique as a story-teller demands that each story should be as far as possible self-contained, and that the Balin story proper should alone be allowed to motivate its denouement.

73. 3-4. *excepte the stroke of oure Lorde.* To show how this phrase originated it is enough to put the French and the English texts side by side:

Le Roman de Balain, p. 25:

et mehaingneras le plus pseudomme
viers Nostre Signeur qui orendroit
soit el monde.

[*Camb.*: car tu enmahaigneras le
plus pseudome qui orendroit soit
en vie]

M:

a stroke most dolerous that ever man
stroke, excepte the stroke of oure
Lorde Jesu Cryste. For thou shalt
hurte the trewyste knyght and the
man of moste worship that now
lyvith.

M made two successive attempts to render the same sentence. At first he misread it and took the words *viers Nostre Signeur* to mean 'except oure Lorde'; then he translated the sentence again, leaving out *viers Nostre Signeur*.

73. 7. *twelve yere.* *F*: 22 years.

73. 13. *Therewith Merlion vanysshed away suddeynly.* *F* (*Le Roman de Balain*, p. 26): 's'en ala d'autre part si soutilment que li rois Mars ne li autre qui la estoient ne sorent que il fu devenus'. At this point *F* inserts an account of Merlin's meeting with Blaise. Merlin assures Blaise that he will soon supply him with all the material he needs for his books: 'Ore m'aquiterai jou de chou que je vous ai pramis en Norhomberlande, car j'ai assés pensé comment vous peussies mener vo livre a fin.'

73. 15-18. '*But first, seyde the kyng, 'telle me youre name.'* Cf. 72. 28.

73. 34-5. '*A, seyde Balyn, 'ye ar Merlion. We woll be ruled by youre counceyle.'* In *F* the two brothers, failing to recognize Merlin, refuse to believe what he says until he has given them a pledge of his good faith.

74. 11-12. *with a thre score horsis of hys beste knyghtes, and twenty of them rode tofore the lorde.* In *F* Rion has with him forty knights. To herald his arrival only one squire is sent to the Lady de Vaunce (*F*: 'la femme le duc de Vaus').

74. 19-33. *And anone they mette with hym, &c.* *M* dismisses in a few lines what in his original must have occupied at least two columns. The Huth MS. (ff. 109^v, col. 2-110^r, col. 2) gives a detailed account of the battle. King Rions is taken unawares; of his forty knights the two brothers soon kill twenty-eight and capture the remaining twelve as well as the king himself: 'Et cil estoient tel atorné et des plaies et des blecheures que on lour avoit fait que il n'i ot chelui qui eust pooir de soi relever' (*Le Roman de Balain*, p. 34).

75. 31-2. '*And therefore make you redy*', &c. In *F*, on Merlin's advice, Arthur tries to appease King Lot so as to avoid hostilities, but King Lot blames Arthur for the alleged drowning of his son Mordret, and says in reply: 'li mousterrai au plus tost que je porrai que je ne li doi pas aider mais nuire a men pooir de tant comme je li porrai'. Arthur then awaits the battle *a moult très grand douance*. All this is omitted in *M*. According to E. Vettermann (op. cit., p. 80), the object of the omission is to make Arthur appear more confident. A more likely explanation is that *M* was anxious to avoid a lengthy digression.

75. 33. *ten batayles.* *F* gives the same number, but adds that Arthur's army

consisted of 'bien mil chevaliers sans les serjans a piet et a cheval' (Huth MS., f. 114^r, col. 1).

75. 34. *F* inserts here an account of the two brothers' visit to a hermit who predicts a great battle between Arthur and 'li honme le roi Rion' (Huth MS., ff. 114^r, col. 2-114^v, col. 2).
76. 2-3. *tylle Nero and his peple were destroyed*. In *F* there is a long description of the battle. Arthur uses his sword 'Escalibor' with great success, and many of his knights distinguish themselves in the field.
76. 5. *Hervis de Revel*. *F*: 'Hernil de Rivel'. Cf. 87. 14 and 130. 36-132. 2.
76. 12-13. '*And kynge Arthure seyde hymself*', &c. In *F* the remark is addressed to Gifflet (*M*'s Gryfflet): 'Et ceste parole dist il a Gifflet, qui puis fu en maint lieu retraite.'
76. 16. '*So in the meanewhyle com one to kynge Lotte*', &c. In *F* the messenger is no less a person than Merlin: 'Et Merlins s'en fu alés au roi Loth, et trouva qu'il apparilloit ses hommes tant comme il pooit.'
77. 17-19. *for because that kynge Arthure lay by hys wyff and gate on her sir Mordred therefore kynge Lott helde ever agaynste Arthure*. In *F* King Lot's main grievance against Arthur is the drowning of the children born on May Day, a crime which the French author makes no attempt to conceal. Even Merlin, Arthur's proved friend and adviser, calls it *felonnie*: 'vous savés bien', he says, 'quel felonnie vous fesistes des enfans que vous mandastes par vostre terre que on vous aportast'. *M* does not altogether suppress the episode: he relates it at the end of his *Merlin* (pp. 55-6), but tries to minimize Arthur's guilt by saying that 'many putte the wyght on Merlion more than on Arthure'. When he comes to describe the campaign of the eleven kings he deliberately refrains from reminding the reader of Arthur's inhuman crime. The war waged by King Lot, instead of being, as in *F*, a retaliation for murder, thus becomes a punishment for adultery—an offence which *F* would certainly have found insufficient to justify a war.
77. 22. '*Pellynore*'. *F*: 'li chevaliers a qui vous veistes siure la diverse beste'.
78. 4. *in the chirch of Seynte Stevins in Camelot*. According to *F*, King Lot was not buried with the other kings in St. Stephen's (*Eglise Saint Estevene*), but in a separate tomb, and another church was built 'pour honour de lui en cel lieu meismes. . . Et fu cele eglise apielee l'iglise de saint Jehan' (Huth MS., f. 119^r, col. 1).
78. 7. On *kynge Lottis wyff Morgause* see 10. 5-7 and Vettermann, op. cit., pp. 111-13.
78. 8. *hir four sonnes, Gawayne*, &c. In *F* (*ibid.*) the boy Gauvain, the eldest son of Lot, says, 'Ha! sire, tant m'a endamagiet dolcreusement li rois Pellinor qui vous a occhis, et tant a nostre lignage abaissiet et apovri par la vostre mort! Et li roiaumes de Logres meismes certes en sera plus apovris qu'il ne fust a set millours rois qui i soient. Ja Dieus ne place, sire, que je face chevalerie qui soit loee dusques que j'en aie prise tele venjance que on en doit prendre, c'est ochirre roi pour roi'.
78. 11-12. '*But of all the twelve Kyngis*', &c. In *F* thirteen kings are killed in the battle, including King Lot. *M* evidently counted him in with the twelve others.
78. 22-7. *And there he tolde kynge*, &c. In both versions of *F* Merlin makes

his prophecies at a feast given by Arthur to celebrate his victory. As in *M*, he foretells two events, his own death and the Dolorous Stroke: but, contrary to *M*'s version, he says that both will take place on the same day: '*En chelui jour qu'il (= cist chierge) estainderont averront deus merveilles en ceste terre, car je serai livrés a mort par engin de feme, et si fera li chevaliers as deus espees le Dolereus Caup encontre le desfence Nostre Signour*' (Huth MS., f. 119^v, col. 2). Yet Merlin survives the Dolorous Stroke, and *F* tells us in some detail how he rescued Balin from the ruins of the castle (f. 138^r, col. 1) and later commemorated Balin's deeds by an inscription on his grave (f. 149^r, col. 2). The same inconsistency is found in the *Demanda* where Merlin appears on at least two occasions (chs. 284 and 298) subsequent to the Dolorous Stroke, after having said that *y en aquel tiempo que ellas murieran, auernan dos marauillas en esta tierra*. No doubt *aquel tiempo* is a vaguer term than *en chelui jour*, but the contradiction is none the less striking. The fact that *M* has avoided it has been taken by E. Vettermann to mean that his immediate source was in this respect more authentic than either the extant *Suite du Merlin* (Huth MS.) or the Spanish *Demanda*: 'Folglich bietet Malory allein durch die Auseinanderhaltung der betreffenden beiden Prophezeiungen die richtige Lesart, die auf die ungekürzte Redaktion A als Quelle schliessen lässt. Die temporelle Vereinigung der beiden Verkündigungen muss in einer späteren Fassung erfolgt sein und ist offenbar von einem der folgenden Bearbeiter vorgenommen worden, um Raum zu sparen' (op. cit., pp. 104-5). The available evidence does not seem to me to point necessarily to this conclusion. *M* may well have used a version identical with that of the Huth MS., and, without meaning to do so, corrected the mistake which it contained. He could arrive at this result simply by inverting the passage italicized in the French text quoted below and the one which immediately precedes it:

F:

En chelui jour qu'il estainderont
averront deus merveilles en ceste
terre, car je serai livré a mort par
engin de feme,
et si fera li chevaliers as deus espees
le dolereus caup encontre le des-
fence Nostre Signour,
*pour coi les aventures dou Saint
Graal averront especiaument ou
roiaume de Logres.*

M:

whan he was dede thes tapers sholde
brenne no lenger, '*aftr the adventures
of the Sankgreall that shall com
amonge you and be encheved.*'
Also he tolde Arthure how Balyn, the
worshipfull knyght, shall gyff the
dolerouse stroke.

79. 6-14. (*So aftr . . . slayne kyng Arthure.*) This parenthesis takes the place of a long digression in the Huth MS. (ff. 120^r-3^v) which may be summarized as follows: Morgan le Fay, hearing of Merlin's ability at witchcraft, decides to learn his *scienche d'ingromanchie et l'art*. She asks him to teach her his art and promises to give him anything he may ask in return. The promise is soon broken: when Merlin, who loves Morgan le Fay *moult durement*, has taught her as much as she wants to know she sends him away, for she loves another man, *un moult biel homme et preu de son cors*. In the

meantime Arthur has asked Morgan to keep his sword for him; the scabbard is even more precious than the sword itself, for whoever carries it is invincible. In order to let her lover have the magic scabbard Morgan promptly orders a replica of it, but she confuses the two and gives him the false one. He is grievously wounded in battle, presumes that Morgan has betrayed him, and to punish her for her treachery discloses all her machinations to Arthur. She then turns the tables on him and accuses him of having stolen the king's scabbard. Arthur believes her and kills the innocent knight: *le fiert si grant coup qu'il li fait le chief voler plus d'une lanche del bu*. *M* has identified this knight with Accolon. Had he reproduced the story in full he would not have been able to do so, for Accolon still had an important part to play. Only a very drastic reduction of the narrative and the omission of the denouement have permitted *M* to apply here with impunity his method of eliminating anonymous characters.

79. 11-12. *Excaliber* 'lyke it . . . her lover'. The omission of the words in half-brackets is difficult to account for unless *love* is emended to *lover*.

79. 15-18. *aftr thys Merlion tolde unto kynge Arthure*, &c. In *F* Merlin, speaking to Sagremor, not to Arthur, also predicts the battle of Salisbury, but not until the very end of his speech. His earlier prophecy concerns Gawain and Bagdemagus. 'Un de ces deus', he says, 'ochira l'autre.' *M* takes this to refer to Arthur and Mordred and so conflates the two prophecies.

79. 15-19. For a similar example of anticipation, see 51. 32-52. 8.

79. 18. *Bagdemagus was his cosyne germayne*, &c. In *F* Bagdemagus, a young man of seventeen ready to be dubbed a knight, is described as 'biaus et preus et gracieus' and a great friend of Gawain, who is only eleven, as well as of his younger brother Gahariet (Gareth). Sagremor pays him a glowing tribute: 'je ne sai ore nul damoiseil qui tant fache a prisier comme il fait'.

79. 20-1. *Arthure was somewhat syke*. *F*: 'li rois se sentoît un poi pesant' (*Le Roman de Balain*, p. 41).

80. 17-18. *othir ellis, by the fayth of my body, I woll dye therefore*. *C*'s omission of *by the fayth of my body* accounts for the following remark in E. Vettermann's account of *M*'s treatment of the Balin legend (op. cit., p. 75): 'In der Episode mit Herlews le Berbeus fehlt, dass Balen dicsem schwören muss, das ihm aufgegebene Abenteuer zu vollenden, falls er selbst daran verhindert wird. Dann erst kehrt er mit um zu Arthur. Dieser Schwur ist der Hauptgrund, der den Helden in das Gralschloss und damit zu dem verhängnisvollen Schlag führt. Die Rachepflicht für den in seinem Geleit Ermordeten kommt erst an zweiter Stelle, ist aber bei Malory infolge der obigen Auslassung als einziges Motiv hingestellt.' This criticism is true of *C*'s version but not of *M*'s: in *M* 'die Rachepflicht', or the duty to avenge the death of a knight killed in one's presence, matters less than Balin's oath.

80. 25. *a knyght called Garlon*. On the origin of this episode and of Garlon's name, see Vettermann's study (op. cit., pp. 255-66) which successfully disposes of all the earlier theories on the subject, such as Nitze's attempt to identify Garlon with the Gurgalon of *Perlesvaus*¹ and A. C. L. Brown's

¹ *The Fisher King in the Grail Romances*, PMLA, vol. xxi, p. 365: 'The Sword . . . has to be recovered from King Gurgalon whose cannibalistic traits clearly identify him with the Welsh Gwrgi Garwlwyd, . . . the Garlan of the Huth MS., the

equation: *Garlon* = *Gwornach gawr*. The name, according to Vettermann, is a disguised borrowing from the *Queste del Saint Graal* (ed. Pauphilet, pp. 204-5) where the murderer of the Grail king's father is called Varlans (var. Urlan),¹ while the story itself is an equally well-disguised imitation of an episode in the pseudo-Wauchier continuation of the *Conte del Graal* (ll. 19637 ff.) where Kex (Kay) plays much the same part as Garlan does in the *Huth Merlin* and in *M*.

81. 5. '*sir Harleus le Berbeus*'. *F*: '*chevaliers mesconneus*'. Cf. Vettermann, op. cit., p. 109: 'Der ganze Auftritt und besonders die Prophezeiung Merlins zeigt dass hier kein Eigennamen stehen konnte.' See *Index*.

81. 6-7. *So Balyne and the damesell rode into the foreyste and there mette with a knyght that had bene an hontynge*. In *F* the lady bitterly reproaches Balin with the death of her knight and leaves him before he enters the forest. *F* also relates an encounter with another knight who challenges Balin for his refusal to disclose the purpose of his quest.

81. 19-20. *And as they com by an ermytage, &c.* At this point in *F* the two knights are warned by Merlin to give up their quest, but Balin refuses to do so.

81. 20-1. *Peryne de Mounte Belyarde* is anonymous in *F*. It seems somewhat far-fetched to suppose with E. Vettermann (op. cit., p. 109, note 1) that the name was suggested to *M* by *F*'s *une tour fort et haut qui seoit a une marescherie*. See *Index*.

81. 27-9. *And on the morne they founde letters of golde, &c.* In *F* the author of the inscription is Merlin, who warns Balin that the prophecy contained therein will be fulfilled. Cf. 72. 13-19.

82. 7-9. *And they all seyde nay, they wolde nat fyght with hym, for they dud nothyng but the olde custom of thys castell*. The reason why the people of the castle refuse to fight is, according to *F*, that, having seen Balin's miraculous jump from the tower into a ditch, they are afraid of him. They let the damsel go *pour la doutance qu'il ont de celui as deus espees*.

82. 16-18. *she shall blede as much as she may blede, &c.* In *F* Balin speaks to the damsel, not to the people of the castle, and forbids her to give her blood: '*je vous desfenc que che ne fachiés mie; car bien saichiés que vous n'en porriés eschapper sans mort se vous le faisiés*'. He also explains why he cannot allow her to die: '*se vous moriés ore par tel maniere, qui me conduiroit en ceste queste que je ai emprise, que je ne puis mener a chief sans vostre assenement*' (op. cit., p. 66).

82. 21-2. *as hit tellith aftir in the Sankgreall*. In *F* there is a reference to the story of Perceval's sister 'qui acompli l'aventure dou chastiel', but there is no mention of the book of the 'Sankgreall': '*Mais ore en laisse li contes a parler, car bien en savrai (Camb.: savera) deviser la verité quant lieus en sera (Camb.: la verité toute quant li leus serra)*'.

82. 28. '*What ys thys noyse?*' *seyde Balyne*. In *F* politeness forbids Balin to *Garlon* of Malory and the same name as *Gorlagon* equating with the Welsh for werewolf. Cf. also G. L. Kittredge's article on *Arthur and Gorlagon in Studies in Philology and Literature*, Boston, 1903, vol. viii. Kittredge suggests the equation *Gorlagon* < Breton **Uur-uallon*, Welsh **Gur-guallan*.

¹ The *Livre del Saint Graal* (ed. Hucher, vol. iii, p. 293) gives the variant *Vallans*.

ask such questions during a meal: 'et dura cele plainte tant comme il sirent au mengier. Si en demandast (i.e. Balin) moult volentiers nouvelles que che peust estre, *mais il n'osoit son oste metre en paroles tant comme il fuissent au mengier seant*.' Balin has to wait until the meal is over ('après manger, quant les tables furent levees'), and even then he speaks much less abruptly:

'« Biaux hostes, se je ne vous cuidoie courechier, je vous demanderoie une chose que je moult desire a savoir. »

'« Dites, » fait li preudom, « et je le vous dirai, se chou est chose que je sache. »

'« Je vous demande », fait il, « que vous me dites que chou est qui se plaint en une des chambres de chaisens »' (op. cit., pp. 70-1).

82. 29-30. *I was but late at a justynge and there I justed with a knyght that ys brothir unto kynge Pellam, &c.* This speech may be summarized as follows: 'Once at a tournament I defeated king Pellam's brother. He has since taken his revenge and wounded my son. But he is invisible, and I do not know his name.' One is tempted to wonder how the host knew that the knight he had defeated was Pellam's brother, since his name was unknown and he could not be seen; and how he discovered that his son was wounded by *the same* knight if the assailant was invisible. Both these difficulties arise from the fact that *M* anticipates the end of the story. In *F* the host says to Balin that his son was wounded one day 'si soudainement . . . que il ne vit pas chelui qui le fist'. This happened in the daytime and there were no trees 'qui la veue peust tollir de celui qui che fist'. The host thinks, therefore, that 'che fu auques comme enchantement'. But Balin finds the clue: he remembers his own encounter with an invisible knight whose name is Garlan, king Pellehan's brother. The host then exclaims, 'Par mon chief, je vous croi bien de chiou que vous me dites.' For he remembers having defeated Garlan at a tournament. 'Et quant il, qui estoit trop plus riches hom que je n'estoie, vit que il ne se porroit vengier de moi, il me dist que il me courcheroit del millour ami que je averoie ains que li ans fust passés: si m'a bien convenant tenu, che m'est avis, car il a mon fil navré a mort, l'oume el monde que je plus amoie.' The mystery is now solved, and Balin, with the help of his host, sets out to find the invisible knight. *M*'s technique is simple: he wants at all costs to avoid suspense, and so transfers the solution of the mystery from the end of the dialogue to the beginning. There are cases where such a method can relieve the story of an overdose of puzzles. In the present instance it has the opposite effect.

83. 20. *and stabled their horsis.* Not in *F*. What *M* saw while he was writing this was the sentence 'La feste estoit par tel maniere *establie* que nus *chevaliers* ne puet en la court entrer se il n'amaïne avoec li sa serour ou s'amie', and it is not unlikely that the remark was suggested to him by the two italicized words. Had he read *F* more carefully he would have realized that as Balin was not allowed to enter the court he could not have stabled his horse.

83. 25-7. *hit ys the custom of my contrey a knyght allweyes to kepe hys wepyn with hym.* In *F* Balin says that the custom of his country was such that 'nus chevaliers *ne mangoi* en estrange liu et meesmement en si haut lieu comme en court de roi qu'il n'eust s'espee chainte'.

84. 1. *the knyght with the blacke face*. *F*: 'cel rous chevalier a cele sore chavellure.'

84. 12-13. *ete thy mete and do that thou com fore*. In *F* Garlon appeals to Balin's good manners: 'mengiés aussi comme li autre, que li seneschaus le vous mande. Et dehait ait qui vous aprist a seoir a table de pseudoume quant vous n'i faites que penser' (op. cit., p. 76).

84. 18-23. *Now geff me the troncheon, &c.* In *F* Balin uses his own sword to kill Garlan, and it is not until Garlan is dead that he asks the lady to give him 'le tronchon de quoi li chevaliers fu ferus devant les pavillons' and thrusts it through Garlan's body: 'et en fiert Garlan qui a terre gisoit mors, si durement qu'il li tresperce les deus costés.' *M* makes Balin kill Garlan with the truncheon and thus achieves a greater sense of poetic justice: Garlan is killed with the weapon with which he has killed an innocent man.

85. 1. *a grymme wepyn*. *F* explains that this was 'une grant perche de fust qui estoit en mi la sale'.

85. 3-4. *and therewith hys swerde braste in sundir. And whan Balyne was wepynles, &c.* Neither *F* nor *M* explains why, having broken one of his swords, Balin did not use the other. If it was not then in his possession it is not clear how and where he found it later on. E. Vettermann rightly remarks (op. cit., p. 65) that 'ebensowenig klärt uns das Huth MS. darüber auf, warum sich der Held in der Todesgefahr nicht mit dem Zauberschwert gegen den Gralkönig verteidigt, bezw. wo er dieses gelassen hat und wie er später wieder in seinen Besitz gelangt'. On another occasion *F* says that *de cele espee ne se combati il onques devant le jour que il fu mis ou camp contre Balaan son frere* (Huth MS., f. 115^v, col. 1), but again fails to give any reason.

85. 4-21. *And whan Balyne was wepynles . . . thre dayes*. These lines correspond to a lacuna of two folios in the Huth MS. (cf. *Le Roman de Balain*, pp. 78-9), and the only known French version of the scene is that of the Cambridge MS. (ff. 270^v, col. 1-271^v, col. 2). It begins as follows:

Quant cis as deus espees voit cest aventour, il n'est pas petite esbahis; si saute erraument en un chambre, car il i quid trover armement acun. Mais quant il est venus il n'i troeve ne ce ne quoi, et lors est il plus esbaïs que devant, car il voit que lui rois le sueut touz voiez, le fust levé. Et il saut encor en un autre chambre, qui estoit encore plus long, mais il n'i troeve nient plus qu'en l'autre, fors tant qu'il voit bien que lez chambres sont [lez] plus belez du monde et lez (f. 270^v, col. 2) plus riches que onques mais vaist. Et il regarde, si voit l'uis overte de la tierce chambre qui estoit encore plus loing, si s'adresche cele part por entrer dedenz, car il i quid totez voiez trover aucune armure dont il se peust defendre vers celui qui de prez l'enchace. Et quant il veut entré dedenz il out une vois qui li crie: « Mar i entrez, car tu n'es mie dignes d'entrer en si haut lieu! » Il entent bien la voice, mais pur ceo ne laisse il pas sa voie, ainz se fiert en la chamber et troeve que ele est si bele et si riche qu'il ne quidast mie qu'en toute le monde eust sa paraille de biauté. La chamber estoit quarré et grans a merveille, et soeffierant ainsi come se toutez lez espices du monde i fussent aporteez. En un lieu de la chamber avoit un tabel d'argent, moult grante [et] haute par raison, et seoit sor trois pilerez

d'argent; et desus la tabel, droit en milieu, avoit un orenel d'argent et d'or, et dedenz cele orenel estoit une lance, drescie la point desoz et le haut desuz. Et qui regardast a moult la lanche, il merveillaist coment ele tenist droite, car ele n'estoit apoié ne d'un part ne d'autre.

This covers the whole of *M*'s description of the Grail chamber except the remark *and a bedde arayed with cloth of golde, the rygist that myght be, and one lyyng therein*. But although there is no mention of the bed either in the Cambridge MS. or in the Spanish *Demanda* it is difficult to believe that *M* invented it. The well-known passage in the *Queste del Saint Graal* (ed. Pauphilet, p. 82) must have been reproduced in the original version of the *Suite du Merlin* and preserved in the manuscript of the *Suite* which *M* used.

There are some significant omissions in *M*'s account of this scene. He refrains from describing the miraculous qualities of the lance which stood perpendicularly, 'point downward . . . unsupported', but says that it was 'strangely wrought'. He omits the voice which says to Balin: 'In an unlucky hour will you enter there, for you are not worthy to enter such a holy place,' and in the next paragraph a similar warning which Balin hears as he is about to seize the sacred lance: 'Ne la touchie, pechiez!' (cf. *Demanda*, p. 109: '¡No la tomes, peccador!'). In the French as in the Spanish versions the Dolorous Stroke is treated as divine retribution for the violation of a sanctuary. To *M* it has no such significance, even though he reproduces on the same page the traditional account of the origin of the Grail lance (cf. 85. 27-86. 6).

In the paragraph beginning *So whan Balyn saw the spere* the chief departures from *F* are the omission of the remark 'et fiert le roic Pelleham qui ja estoit deriere lui si durement qu'il li trenche ambdeuz lez quissez' (*Camb. MS.*, f. 270^v, col. 2), which recalls the theme of the 'maimed king'; the mention of the roof of the castle (*the castle brake roffe and wallis*), where *F* only speaks of walls; and the reference to Pellam (*ryght so lay kynge Pellam and Balyne*). After the Dolorous Stroke Pellam becomes the 'maimed king', and awaits the advent of Galahad who alone can heal his wounds. The extant *Suite du Merlin* does not mention him again, and *M*'s subsequent remark about how he 'lay so many yerys sorc wounded' suggests that here, as in the previous paragraph, his source had more to say about the whole episode of the Dolorous Stroke than either the Huth or the Cambridge MS.

85. 15-16. *kynge Pellam [felle] downe*. The omission of *felle* in *W* is probably a homœoteleuton (*Pellā: felle*).

85. 18-21. *and for the mooste party of that castell was dede thorow the dolorous stroke. Ryght so lay kynge Pellam and Balyne three dayes*. *C* reads instead: 'And soo the moost parte of the castel that was falle doune thorough that dolorous stroke laye vpon Pellam and balyn thre dayes.' *W* shows what *M* really wrote and acquits him of the charge of absurdity. Most of the people in the castle were killed by the Dolorous Stroke, while Pellam and Balin were only injured and lay wounded for three days. *C*, having mistaken 'the mooste party of that castell' (= 'most of the people in that castle') for the walls of the castle, changed *was dede* to *was falle doune* and at the same time made

'the castle' the subject of 'lay'. It is quite likely that this last error was the result of two successive misreadings, e.g.

*M: . . . castell was dede thorow the dolorouse stroke. Ryght so lay kyng
Pellam*

*X: . . . castell that was dede thorow the dolorouse stroke. Ryght so lay kyng
Pellam*

*C: . . . castel that was falle doune thorough that dolorous stroke laye vpon
Pellam*

The spurious *that* inserted between *castell* and *was* may well have induced *C* to 'correct' his text by making the two sentences into one with 'castle' as the subject of the main clause.

85. 27-86. 6. *And kyng Pellam lay so many yerys . . . dole, tray and tene.* There is no trace of this passage either in the Huth or in the Cambridge MS., but some of it may well have occurred in *M*'s immediate source (cf. *Merlin*, ed. G. Paris et J. Ulrich, vol. ii, p. 28, note). The connexion between the Grail and the lance of Longinus is a commonplace of Arthurian literature; it is referred to in Manessier's continuation of the *Conte del Graal*, in the *Didot-Perceval*, in the *Modena Perceval*, and in the *Elucidation*, or the seventh part, of the Grail story, to say nothing of the Gospel of Nicodemus interpolated in *Le Livre d'Artu*. In the remark *hymself lay in that ryche bedde*, 'hymself' obviously refers to Pellam.

86. 11. '*A, Balyne! Thou hast done*', &c. In *F* the people address Balin as *chevaliers*: 'Ha! chevaliers, tu nous a mis a povreté et a essil, dont nous n'isterons ja mais a nos espoirs' (*Le Roman de Balain*, p. 82).

86. 17. *or he mette with many adventure*. 'Adventure' is probably a contraction of 'many an adventure', not a corruption of 'any adventure'.

86. 21. *made grete mournynge*. *F* (op. cit., p. 84): 'pensoit si durement que nus ne puet estre plus pensis.'

86. 25-6. *thou doste me grete gryeff, for I was in mery thoughtes*. *F*: 'Vous m'avés mort, qui mon penser m'avés tolut! Je ne cuic que g'i soie ja mais si doucement comme jou i estoie orendroit.' There is a striking difference of meaning between *M*'s 'mery thoughtes' and *F*'s 'doux penser' which no one without some understanding of the courtly conception of the 'joie d'aimer' could appreciate. A striking example of what courtly writers meant by 'joie' occurs earlier on in the same chapter of the French *Balain* (p. 84): 'A chief de pieche giete li chevaliers un grant souspir, et apriés le souspir dist: « Tant me demeure ma joie! »'

86. 30. *I may curse you that ever ye gaff me that swerde*. The contrast with the knight's speech in *F* is striking: 'vous me cargastes ma mort quant vous ceste espee me carchastes! Car j'en morrai orendroit, a chou que je ne porroie plus endurer ceste grant dolour u je sui pour vous et nuit et jor' (op. cit., p. 86).

87. 7. *my name ys Balyne le Saveage*. *F* (op. cit., p. 87): 'Jou ai non en baptesme Balaain, mais maintenant m'ont apielé nouvellement le Chevalier a Deus Espees.'

87. 11-12. '*What ys your name . . . Garnysh of the Mownte*.' Not in *F*.

87. 12-13. *a poore mannes sonne*. *F* (op. cit., p. 88): 'uns chevaliers nés de cest pais et estrais de vavasours et de basse gent'.

87. 14. *Harmel*. A misreading of *Harniel*, otherwise referred to in *M*'s text as *Hervis* (76. 5) or *Hervyse* (131. 1).
87. 15. *hys doughter ys she that I love, and she me, as I demed* is a summary of a long monologue in *F* (op. cit., pp. 88-9). The pensive knight tells Balin how he earned the love of the daughter of the duke of Harniel—'la plus bieie damoisele que on sace en nulle terre'—how he once spent two days with her in her apartment disguised as a lady-in-waiting, and how she then promised to meet him 'a cel jour d'ui a eure de midi devant ceste tour'. She has broken her word and there is no comfort for him: 'Et che est la chose qui si met mon cuer en grant angoisse et en destroite pensee que je n'avrai ja mais joie devant que je sace l'ochoison de sa demouree.'
87. 20. *wel wallyd and dyched*. *F*: 'une fortereche qui estoit close de fossés parfons sans eve et de peus de haie'. To reach the inside of the castle Balin has to cross the moat by a narrow plank: 'met son escu a son col et lanche son glaive ou gardin. Puis se met desus le fust en chevauchant, car autrement n'i peust il en nule maniere' (op. cit., p. 91).
87. 22-3. *Soo he wente in and serched fro chamber to chambir and fond her bedde, but she was not there*. *M* has compressed into these two lines one of the finest descriptive passages in *F*: 'Lors s'en va cil as deus especes par mi le jardin, qui moult estoit biaux et grans. Et la lune luisoit bieie et clere, qui li moustroit apertement la voie. Si a tant alé en tel maniere qu'il vint a l'uis de la chambre que cil li avoit dit, et lors fu il moult liés, car il cuidoit bien que li huis fust ouviers, por chou que la froidure des herbes se ferist dedens la chambre. Maintenant se met dedens et vait au plus bielement qu'il pot pour les armes qui ne sounaissent. Et on veoit laiens moult cler, car il i avoit deus chierges alumés qui rendoient moult grant clarté. Et il regarde sus et jus par la chambre qui estoit large, tant qu'il voit lés une arke un lit moult riche et moult biel. Il s'en vait cele part droit, car il i cuide vraiment trover la damoisele dormant. Et quant il est au lit venus, il n'i trueve ne li ne autre. Et il regarde a mont et a val et tant qu'il trueve as piés dou lit la roube de la damoisele et la roube d'un houte' (op. cit., pp. 91-2).
87. 23-5. *Thenne Balen loked into a fayr litil gardyn, and under a laurel tre he saw her lye upon a quylt of grene samyte*. *F* (op. cit., p. 92): 'et entre el jardin, et vait tant cha et la par laiens qu'il trueve dessous un pumier la damoisele gisant sour une kieuete pointe (= "quilt") de samit moult vermeil.'
87. 34-88. 7. *he smote of bothe their hedes. And thenne he maade sorowe oute of mesure, &c.* In *F* the knight complains of his *grant duel*, then in a fit of despair kills the two lovers; this gives him a momentary relief: 'il en est un poi plus aise qu'il n'estoit devant.' But he soon realizes that he has murdered his beloved: 'Il s'en repent trop durement et dist: «Ha! las, que ai jou fait, qui ai mon cuer et ma dame mis a mort», &c. *F*'s narrative pattern is, then, an act of vengeance preceded and followed by a complaint. *M* begins with the act of vengeance (87. 34), and in order to separate the two complaints adds a short speech by Balin (88. 1-4). What his version loses in dramatic elaboration it gains in directness: Garnysh kills the two lovers in a moment of wild despair before he has time to exclaim 'Ha! las, que est chou que je voi?' and blame Balin for having caused his 'grant duel'. It is only when he

sees the two lovers lying dead before him that he says, 'O, Balyn! Moche sorow hast thou brought unto me,' and his next and last cry of anguish brings home to him—more forcibly than does the refined oratory of his French prototype—all the horror of his deed: 'now have I slayne that I moost loved in al my lyf!' That he should then take his life seems more inevitable in *M* than it does in *F*.

88. 12. *within thre dayes he cam by a crosse.* *F* describes Balin's journey in detail. Balin leaves the scene of the death of the three lovers thinking that he is *li plus mescheans chevaliers qui soit*, but as he rides in the early morning he hears the birds sing; they fly from tree to tree *lor joie et lour deport menant*. Balin meets a squire and tells him to go *viers la fortereche dont il venoit* and tell the people of the castle the truth about the mishap. He then rides through the country, *une eure avant et autre arriere, ensi comme aventure le portoit*, until one day he sees before him a castle bounded on one side by the sea and on the other by a river ('une ewe douce, forte et rade'). Within half a league of the castle he finds a large cemetery where stands *une crois toute nueve* (op. cit., pp. 95-8).

88. 16-17. *'therfor torne ageyne and it will availle thee.'* *F*: 'il n'i a mais riens del retorner'. Whereas *F* leaves Balin no escape and no choice, *M* suggests that he could have saved himself by turning back and that at that moment his fate was still in his hands.

88. 20-1. *'That blast' said Balyn 'is blowen for me for I am the pryse and yet am I not dede.'* *M* seems to have misunderstood a subtle *jeu de mots* in *F*: 'Qu'es che? Me tiennent il a pris, qui cornent de prise?' Swinburne in his *Tale of Balen* has carried the misunderstanding even farther by making Balin say, 'The price am I who am yet not dead.'

88. 21-37. *he sawe an honderd ladyes, &c.* *M* has shortened beyond recognition *F*'s description of Balin's reception at the castle. Over a hundred dancing and singing maidens welcome him; they are followed by knights richly dressed and a very courteous seneschal who explains to Balin the custom with which he will have to comply. Balin replies politely but firmly that he thinks the custom is an evil one: 'quant un chevaliers errans vient de lointaines terres lassés et travilliés de grans jornees, quidiés vous qu'il soit si aaisiés de combatre maintenant com sera li chevaliers de la tour qui ne fera fors que reposer? Certes, se li errans estoit li mieudres chevaliers dou monde, quant il se combat en tel point, si ne m'esmerveilleroie jou mie s'il estoit outrés. Iceste chose ne di je mie, che sachiés vous, pour moi . . . mais je le di pour la coustume, qui est la plus malvaise et la plus villainne que je veisse piech'a mais en lieu ou je venisse' (op. cit., p. 100).

88. 27. *'ye must have adoo and juste with a knyght hereby.'* *M*'s spelling of the word 'joust' has caused Swinburne in his *Tale of Balen* to paraphrase the sentence as follows: 'you now must have ado and *just* with one hereby.'

88. 28-9. *ther may no man passe this way but he must juste or he passe.* *F*'s explanation of the custom is as follows: a knight had imprisoned his lady in a castle on an island to prevent her deceiving him, but she soon found a way to force him to share her exile. Reduced as he was to complete idleness, he had to seek an outlet for his energy in challenging to single combat any knight that happened to pass by, and in making all the inmates of the castle

swear that they would act in similar fashion after his death. One cannot reasonably blame *M* for omitting this trivial digression. But the German critics are relentless: 'Hier ist er (= Malory) offenbar', writes E. Vettermann, 'nicht ganz in die fremde Darstellung eingedrungen' (op. cit., p. 76). Or again: 'Die Bemerkung der Schlossherrin, dass kein Ritter vorbei durfe, ohne zu turnieren, vermag die ausgefallene Erklärung nicht zu ersetzen' (ibid., p. 77).

88. 36-7. '*though my hors be wery my hert is not wery. I wold be fayne ther my deth shold be.*' *F*: 'je ne sui ne si lassés ne si travilliés, ains me plaist bien autant li combates comme feroit li repousers'.

88. 38-9. '*Syr, said a knyght to Balyn, methynketh your sheld is not good,*' &c. In *F* it is the seneschal who remarks, 'Sire, vostre escus ne me samble mie moult boins' (op. cit., p. 101).

89. 9-12. '*Me repenteth, said Balyn, that ever I cam within this country,*' &c. In *F* (loc. cit.) Balin experiences fear rather than regret; for the first time in his life he dreads a combat. The 'damsel' who in *M* merely tells him that 'he has put himself in great danger' by leaving his own shield behind ('for by your sheld ye shold have ben knowen') explains to him in *F* that he cannot escape his *mescheance*: 'chou est tout de la mesqueance que vous avés vostre escu cangié! . . . Mais ceste mesqueance vous envoie Dieus pour le fait que vous fesistes chiers le roi Pellehan en lieu de venganche, si n'est mie la venganche si grans comme li fais le requesist. Che vous mande Merlins par moi.' Balin only understands part of what the damsel is saying ('partie de chou que celle li dist'), but enough to make him fear the worst: 'orendroit li fait compaignie paours, qui onques mais ne pot en son cuer entrer'.

89. 19-20. *hym thought it shold be his broder Balen by cause of his two swerdys.* Balin had only one sword left, but a glance at *F* will show how *M* was misled into thinking that he had his two swords with him: 'Et quant il (= Balan) voit chelui a Deus Espees, il tourne la teste de son cheval et se joint sour son escu trop biel et trop avenaument (= "covers himself with his shield in a handsome and becoming manner"). Et quant cil a Deus Espees le voit, il li souvient maintenant de son frere, qui plus biel et plus cointement s'apparilloit au joster que nus autres ne seust faire' (= 'when the Knight with the Two Swords saw him he was reminded of his brother, for no one else could so handsomely and bravely prepare for the fight'). *Chelui a Deus Espees* is here used as a proper name and as such does not imply that Balin was carrying two swords. *M* must have thought that it did, and when he came to the second of the two sentences just quoted he took it to mean 'when he (= Balan) saw him (= Balin) carrying two swords, he was reminded of his brother'. The mistake would have been less regrettable if it had not prevented *M* from reproducing the next sentence in *F*—poetically the most significant in the whole of the *Romance of Balain*: 'Ensi li dist ses cuers vraies nouvelles de son frere' (op. cit., p. 103). Cf. also 85. 3-4 and 90. 20-1.

89. 21. *they aventryd theyr speres* is probably *C*'s misreading of *theyr afeutryd theyr speres*.

89. 31. *tamyd his helme.* *F* (op. cit., p. 104): 'si trenche del pan del hauber cinc cens des mailles'.

89. 32. *with that unhappy swerd.* Not in *F*.
90. 10-91. 9. 'My name is', said he, 'Balan, broder unto the good knyght Balyn . . . and so alle the ladyes and gentykwymen wepte for pyté.' *M* spares his readers a long passage explaining the origin of the custom of the castle (*Le Roman de Balain*, pp. 108-9; cf. 88. 28-9), but his most notable contribution to this scene is the shortening of the dialogue: words and actions acquire greater weight and directness, and while some of the lyrical quality of *F* is lost, there is in *M*'s closing passage a genuine sense of tragic simplicity.
90. 20-1. *For I aspyed wel your two swerdys.* Not in *F*. Cf. 85. 3-4 and 89. 19-20.
90. 32-3. *cam the lady of the toure with four knyghtes and six ladyes and six yomen unto them.* In *F* the lady comes alone, leaving behind her retinue of 'sis serjans et sis damoiseiles . . . et set chevaliers' (op. cit., p. 108).
91. 18-21. *Also Merlyn lete make there a bedde . . . thorow his noblesse.* Here is *F*'s description of the miraculous bed (op. cit., p. 112): 'nus n'i pot puis dormir qu'il n'i perdist le sens et la memoire en tel maniere qu'il ne li souvenist ja de chose qu'il eust devant fait tant comme il demourast en l'ille'. The spell was eventually broken by Lancelot's magic ring, 'si coume la grant hystore de Lancelot la devise'.
91. 30-1. *other ellis Galahad hys sonne.* Not in *F*.
91. 33. *all thys he lette wryte in the pomell of the swerde.* In *F* the inscription is much shorter, *De ceste espee morra Gavains*, but there is a sequel to it: 'Ces lettres . . . trouva puis Gahariés li freres Gavain, et quant il les vit et reconnut, il torna tout a fable et cuida que che fust menchongne; mais puis en ochist Lancelos Gavain apriés la mort Gahariet, si comme la vraie ystoire le devise vers la fin de nostre livre' (Huth MS., f. 150^r, col. 1).
91. 36-8. *there shall never man passe that brygge . . . but yf he were a passynge good man withoute trechery or vylany.* In *F* the bridge only serves to distinguish brave knights (*les hardis chevaliers*), and the notion that it can also be used as a moral test seems to be *M*'s own.
92. 14-21. *Sone aftir thys . . . such two knyghtes.* Not in *F*. This paragraph has had far-reaching effects on the theories concerning the evolution of the so-called 'Pseudo-Robert Cycle'. Ed. Wechssler¹ thought that the original form of this cycle (*Fassung A*) was lost, but that some traces of it, such as the concluding scene of the Balin story, could be found in *M*.² This view was accepted by most later critics, including Brugger and Vettermann (op. cit., pp. 102 ff.), and the hypothetical 'Fassung A' has since loomed large in Arthurian criticism. One of Wechssler's main arguments was that since in the *Suite du Merlin* events taking place outside the court are reported to Arthur, and since of all the extant versions of the *Suite M* alone says that Balin's adventures were so reported, his must be the authentic version, the original 'Pseudo-Robert' or the 'Fassung A'. The argument is, however,

¹ *Ueber die verschiedenen Redaktionen des Robert von Borron zugeschriebenen Graal-Lancelot-Cyklus*, Halle, 1895, pp. 24-32.

² The other surviving traces of the original Pseudo-Robert Cycle are, according to Wechssler, the Spanish *Baladro del sabio Merlin* and the concluding section of *M*'s *Tale of Arthur*. On the former, see W. J. Entwistle, *The Arthurian Legend in the Literature of the Spanish Peninsula*, London, 1925, pp. 160-4.

based on a series of errors which may be classified as follows: (a) *error of fact*: it is not the case that in the *Suite du Merlin* incidents which occur far away from the court are invariably reported to Arthur (e.g. Merlin's adventure in the forest of En-Val and the numerous adventures of Gauvain and Morholt); (b) *error of judgement*: there is no room for such a report in *F*, for Merlin's arrival at the court after the burial of Balin and Balan has to be used as the opening of the next episode; indeed, the first thing Arthur says to Merlin when he sees him is 'Merlins, que ferai jou? Mi baron me voelent chascun jour blasmer . . . de chou que je ne prent feme'; (c) *error of method*: before any conclusion can be drawn from *M* as to the content of his source it is essential to establish that *M* himself cannot be credited with the episode in question; in the present instance the reverse is the case, for it is *M*'s habit to wind up a story by having it briefly recapitulated by an eye-witness. The nearest example will be found on pp. 119-20. In both cases recapitulation has a clear purpose: it helps to round off the tale and so make it more self-contained; it is, in other words, part of *M*'s own narrative technique. To attribute it to *F* is to leave out of account the English author's treatment of his sources.

92. 22-5. *Thus endith the tale of Balyn and Balan, &c.* There is no such conclusion in *F*. In *W* and presumably in *M* it serves much the same purpose as the opening paragraph of this section (cf. 61. 1-5); it helps to make the Romance of Balin into a self-contained work. *C*'s reading shows the opposite tendency: he deletes the word *explicit*, shortens the concluding remarks, and hastens to add *Sequitur iii liber*.

III

TORRE AND PELLINOR

BIBLIOGRAPHY

F = (1) Cambridge MS., ff. 280^r, col. 2-300^v, col. 2.

(2) Huth MS. (Br. Mus. Add. 38117), ff. 150^v, col. 1-183^r, col. 2 (old foliation).

EDITION: *Merlin* . . . , p.p. G. Paris et J. Ulrich (S.A.T.F.), Paris, 1886, vol. ii, pp. 60-139.

Critical works:

1. [Introduction to] *Merlin*, &c. (see above), vol. i, pp. xlviii-xlix.
2. V. D. Scudder, op. cit., pp. 200-6.
3. H. O. Sommer, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 97-116.

97. 1-7. *In the begynnyng of Arthure, &c.* The whole of this passage was added by *M* in order to give the story of Torre and Pellinor an independent interest. *F* suggests no division at this point: no sooner has Merlin returned to court ('assés trouva qui joie li fist, car tout amoient moult sa venue') than Arthur asks him whether he ought to yield to the barons who urge him to take a wife (Huth MS., f. 150^v, cols. 1-2). Cf. 92. 14-21.

97. 2-3. *for the moste party of the barowns knew nat he was Uther Pendragon son, &c.* = 'because most of the barons did not know that he was Uther Pendragon's son, many kings and lords waged war upon him'.

97. 12-13. *a man of youre bounté and nobles sholde not be withoute a wyff.* Not in *F*. Cf. pp. 1403-4.

97. 25-6. *thereas mannes herie is sette he wolle be loth to returne.* Not in *F*.

97. 28-30. *Marlyon warned the kyng covertly that Gwenyver was nat holsom for hym to take to wyff. For he warned hym that Launcelot scholde love hir, and sche hym agayne.* This is an attempt to clarify and expand Merlin's obscure ('covert') remarks in *F* which even Arthur fails to understand ('li rois n'entendi pas cele parole que Merlins li dist adont, car trop estoit obscure'): '« Certes, » fait Merlins, « de la biauté a la damoisele dites vous voir, car chou est la plus bieule que je sache orendroit ou monde. Et se vous ne l'amissiés encore, vous fessiés je prendre une autre, que je vous loaisse mieus; car si très grant biautés comme elle a puet bien nuire auchune fois. Et nonpourquant un jour sera encore que sa biautés vous aidera tant que vous en recheverés terre a tel point que vous la cuiderés del tout avoir perdue »' (MS. cit., f. 151^r, col. 1). As *M* has rightly guessed, the 'harm that Guinevere's beauty might do' is the misfortune that Lancelot's love for her will bring upon Arthur. Merlin's last remark ('un jour sera encore que sa biautés vous aidera', &c.) means that because of Lancelot's love for Guinevere, Galehaut, a friend of Lancelot, will become Arthur's vassal and will restore to him some of his lost possessions.

98. 2-3. *so worthy a kyng of prouesse and noblesse.* Not in *F*.

98. 7-8. *I shall gyff hym the Table Rounde which Uther hys fadir gaff me.* In *F* the king's promise is substantially the same, but the reference to Uther occurs in a different connexion: 'che que je mieus aime li envoieurai jou, chou est ma Table Reonde' (MS. cit., f. 151^r, col. 1). The importance of this story lies in the fact that it makes the Round Table and its knights only half dependent upon Arthur. In the Prose *Lancelot* a damsel will remind Arthur that he received the Round Table as a gift from his father-in-law: 'si vous donna mesires li roys le plus noble don qui onques mais fust donnés a roy: ch'est la table reonde qui tant est honoree de tant de prodommes' (cf. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, vol. iv, pp. 13-14). 'Cette Table Ronde,' writes M. Ferdinand Lot (*Étude sur le Lancelot en prose*, p. 91), 'la gloire du royaume de Logres, appartient à peine à Arthur. C'est Guenièvre qui la lui a apportée de Carmelide « garnie de chevaliers », comme un jeu d'échecs.' The author's purpose in changing one of Arthur's hereditary possessions into Guinevere's dowry is clearly to strengthen Lancelot's allegiance to Guinevere.

98. 11-13. *kyng Lodgreaunce delyverd . . . the Table Rounde with the hondred knyghtes.* In *F* King Lodgreaunce first summons the knights of the Round Table and explains to them why he has decided to send them to Arthur: 'pour chou que je . . . voel que vostre hounours croisse et ament, dés ore en avant vous envoieurai jou a tel hounme qui bien vous porra maintenir'.

98. 19-21. *Thys fayre lady ys passyngly wellcome to me, for I have loved hir longe, and therefore there ys nothyng so leeff to me.* In *F* Arthur expresses no such feelings. His one desire is to possess the Round Table and its knights:

'car il ne desiroit riens del siecle autant com che qu'il les eust en sa compaignie' (MS. cit., f. 152^r, col. 2).

98. 30. *twenty and eyght knyghtes*. This should be forty-eight, as in *F*, so as to bring the total up to 148 and leave two seats vacant, the Siege Perilous and the seat which is to be occupied by Pellinor. Cf. Arthur's remark on p. 101 (ll. 30-1): 'What ys the cause that there ys two placis voyde in the segis?'

98. 30-1. *but no mo wolde he fynde. Than the Bysshop of Caunturbiry, &c.* Here *M* omits a long and detailed description of the institution of the Round Table. Merlin explains to the knights the duties and privileges of their new position: 'Dés ore mais convient il que vous vous entramés et vous tenés chiers comme freres, car pour l'amour et pour la douchour de cele table ou vous serés assis vous naistera es cuers une si grant joie et une si grant amistiés que vous en lairés vos femes et vos enfans pour estre l'un avoec l'autre, et pour user ensamble vos joveneches.' He also foretells the coming of Galahad and the quest of the Holy Grail: 'Et nonpourquant ja vostre table ne sera a mon tans dou tout parfaite ne assoumee devant que a cest lieu se venra asseoir li Boins Chevaliers, li mieudres des boins, chis qui metera a fin les perilleuses aventures del roiaime de Logres la u tout li autre faurront.'

98. 32. *with grete royalté and devocion*. Instead of this *F* says that 'li autre clergiés firent orisons et priere a Nostre Signour que il dés ore en avant les tenist en boine pais et en boine concorde, aussi coume frere germain pueent estre et doivent' (MS. cit., f. 153^r, col. 2).

98. 33. *sette the eyght and twenty knyghtes in her segis*. Cf. 98. 30.

98. 35-6. *to do hym omage; he wold the better be in wyllle to maynteyne you*. *M* seems to attach little importance to the notion of companionship fundamental to the original idea of the Round Table. Arthur receives his knights' 'homage' in *F* as *primus inter pares*: 'Il convient que vous faciés houmage au roi Artus qui est vostre compains de ceste [table]' (MS. cit., f. 153^r, col. 2). In describing the ceremony the French author writes (*ibid.*, f. 153^v, col. 2): 'Et li compaignon de la table reonde vinrent maintenant devant le roi et li firent hommage. Et il les rechut comme ses houmes de par sa terre et coume ses hommes de par la table reonde. Et il en estoit compains ensi comme li autre.' *M* obviously thinks of Arthur's household in terms of a fifteenth-century court.

99. 2. *of golde*. Not in *F*. Cf. 11. 11.

99. 5. *yonge Gawayne*. *F*: 'Gavains qui estoit biaux damoisiaus'.

99. 13-14. *a fayre yonge man of eyghtene yere of ayge, rydynge uppon a lene mare*. *F*: 'jovene enfant de l'aage de quinze ans, sour une povre jument' (MS. cit., f. 154^r, col. 1).

99. 15-18. There is no direct speech in *F*, nor anything corresponding to the lines 'Wolt thou onythyng with hym?', 'Ye, therefore I cam hydir.'

99. 20. *floure of all kyngis* is a summary of a long panegyric of Arthur's wisdom and generosity.

99. 25-6. *so hit appayre nat my realme nor myne astate*. *F*: 'pour coi je soie poissans de donner'.

99. 30-2. 'What ys thy name', &c. In *F* Aryes is not asked his name until later (f. 155^r, col. 2). At this point he merely describes his *estre*: he is not,

as in *M*, a 'cowherd', but *uns laborans de terre*: 'et main ma charieue, et en labourant et en cultivant ma terre aquier jou le vivre et le soustenement de mes enfans' (f. 154^v, col. 2).

100. 1-4. '*but thys chyld woll nat laboure for nothyng that my wyff and I may do, but allwey he woll be shotyng, or castyng dartes, and glad for to se batayles and to beholde knyghtes.*' In *F* Aryes only says that his son is unwilling to live '*a sa maniere*', '*ains dist qu'il ne sera se chevaliers non*' (cf. *M*'s next sentence: 'day and nyght he desyrith of me to be made knyght'.) The remarks added by *M* reflect a late medieval Englishman's idea of the occupations of a young nobleman, with the result that 'shotyng' becomes one of the attributes of knighthood.

100. 9-16. *saw he was passyngly well vysaged . . . he was muche more than ony of them.* There is no description of Torre's appearance in *F* and nothing to suggest that his 'shape and countenance' were unlike those of the common people.

100. 29-101. 27. *Now, Merlion . . . plesed hym muche.* The mystery of Torre's parentage remains unsolved in *F* until much later. At this point Merlin only says that Torre's father is 'un rois sacrés, et avoec cele gentillece est il uns des boins chevaliers qui piecha portast armes en cest pais'. Torre then asks him to say no more: '« Qui que il soit, fait li nouviaus chevaliers, je vauisise bien, s'il vous pleust, que vous vous en tenissies de parler a ceste fois »' (MS. cit., f. 155^v, col. 2). *M* had to turn over some twenty leaves of his French book to find Pellinor described as Torre's father (ibid., f. 173^r, col. 1), and to trace the rest of the story he had to turn another seven. He left out a large part of it,¹ but added that Torre's mother was a *fayre houswyff*, that she answered Merlin's questions *full womanly*, and that she had met Pellinor when she went to *mylke hir kyne*. In *F* she says that Pellinor seduced her against her will (*u je vauisise ou non*); in *M* she admits that he 'had her maydynhode . . . half by force'. Her last remark—*he toke away fro me my grayhounde that I had that tyme with me, and seyde he wolde kepe the grayhounde for my love*—is part of Merlin's speech in *F*, and is hardly intelligible outside its context. 'Vous la trovastes', Merlin says to Pellinor, 'dalés un buisson, et avoit avoec li un levrier et un mastin, et vous en aviés fait aler tous vos houmes por un hermite a cui vous aviés parlé (et) de confession, a trois archies d'un chastiel que on apieloit Amint. Et quant vous le veistes si biel enfant comme elle estoit, vous descendistes et li baillastes vostre cheval a tenir tant comme vous fustes desarmés, et geustes deus fois a li la meismes, la ou elle faisoit trop grant duel. Et quant vous en eustes fait vos volentés, vous li desistes: « Je cuic que tu me remains grosse, » et presistes vos armes. Et quant vous fustes armés et montés, vous l'en vauisistes porter avoec vous, mais elle ne vaut, ains s'en torna fuiant si coume elle pooit et vous maudissoit moult durement. Quant vous veistes qu'elle ne venroit pas avoec vous, si presist[es] son levrier qui tous estoit blanc, et l'emportastes, et

¹ Cf. *Merlin*, ed. G. Paris et J. Ulrich, ii. 132-3. Here is one of his most interesting omissions: Torre's mother says to Merlin, 'Or vois ja bien que vous n'estes mie dou tout de la maniere as autres dyables. Che savons nous que li autres dyables vaurroit tous jours que li pechi[é] de chascun fuissent repost et celé, si que il n'en issist ja de la bouce au pecheour, . . . et vous voulés que je descuevre le mien.'

desistes que vous le garderîes pour l'amour de li.' Aryes's and Torre's remarks which follow Torre's mother's confession in *M* (ll. 12-16) are not in *F*, and there is a curious contrast between Merlin's speech in *M* and the corresponding words in *F*. In *M* he says to Torre: *Youre fadir ys a good knyght and a kynge, and he may ryght well avaunce you and youre modir both*. In *F*, speaking to Pellinor, he suggests that his son will be a credit to him: 'vous le devés bien amer et chier tenir, car bien saichiés qu'il vous retraira bien de chevalerie, car se il vit longement, en cest ostel n'averait gaires millour chevalier de lui' (ibid., f. 181^v, col. 1).

101. 37-102. 1. *and in that one hande nexte the two segis*. This makes no sense and can only be explained as the result of purely mechanical writing. *F* has: *le mainne droit au siege*. *M* must have mistaken *mainne* for *main* and 'translated' the sentence as follows:

le mainne	— one hande
droit	— nexte
au(s)	— the
siege(s)	— two seges.

For similar cases cf. 102. 24, 118. 36-119. 2, 132. 13-16, and 152. 3-4.

102. 12-15. *therefore, brothir, hit ys bestie to suffir tyll another tyme, &c.* In *F* the trend of the conversation between Gawain and Gaheris is the same as in *M*, but in conclusion, instead of deciding to postpone their plans in order not to 'trouble thys hyghe feste', they agree to attack King Lot as soon as the opportunity presents itself.

102. 17-18. *the chirche of Seynte Stephyns, &c.* So in *F*, but the wedding feast takes place 'el chief de la chité, par deviers la grant forest, prés d'un bois a deus archies, et tout entour a la reonde estoit li enclos de gardins et [d'arbres] miervilleus aussi haus et aussi espés comme che fust une forés'.

102. 24. *a whyght brachet nexte hym*. *F*: 'un braket apriés'. The next sentence in *F* is: 'Li chiers (= the hart) estoit tout blans, mais tout li autre chien estoient noir.' *M* must have mistaken *chiers* for *chiens*, and interpreted *tout li autre chien* as 'all the other dogs' instead of 'all the others, that is to say, the dogs'. For other examples of this type of misreading, cf. 101. 37-102. 1, 118. 36-119. 3, 132. 13-16, and 152. 3-4.

102. 29-30. *overthrew a knyght that sate at the syde-bourde*. In *F* the knight jumps to his feet before he is struck: 'lors saut avant uns chevaliers qui laiens mengoit' (MS. cit., f. 157^v, col. 2).

103. 4. *'I may nat do therewith', seyde the kynge*. Not in *F*. Instead of this *F* gives a long dialogue in the course of which Merlin urges the lady to be patient, for, he says, from now onwards no knight will ever start on an adventure until he has finished his meal. Arthur promises to observe this custom. Merlin then tells Gauvain to be ready to follow the hart, and charges Torre with the quest of the knight who has carried away the 'brachet'.

103. 7-8. *So whan she was gone the kynge was gladd, for she made such a noyse*. Not in *F*.

103. 29-30. *saw two knyghtes fyght on horseback*. *F*: 'tant avoit ja duré la mellee qu'il avoient ansdeus lour chevaus occhis' (MS. cit., f. 159^r, col. 2).

103. 34. *W*: of oe man and of oe woman. The *oe* is a corruption of either *o* (= one) or *one*. For the sake of clearness I have adopted the latter reading.
104. 3-5. *we undirstood hit was an adventure made for the hyghe feste of Arthure*. *F*: 'Quant nous veismes ceste chose, nous desimes entre nous que chou estoit des aventures qui estoient coumenchiés a avenir en la grant Bretagne.'
104. 12-17. *other ellis I woll have ado with you . . . loth to have ado with you*. In *F* Gauvain does not threaten to 'have ado' with the two brothers, but requests them to cease fighting. They agree at once, 'gietent . . . a terre lour espees et lour escus et ostent lour hyaumes de lour testes et commencent ambedui a plorer et dient li uns a l'autre: « Par foi, biau frere, a poi que je ne vous ai ochis et vous moi: li anemis a esté entre nous. » Si s'entrefianchent erramment.' In *F* they are not told to go unto *kyng* *Arthure* and *yelde you unto hys grace*, but that if they wish to know his (*Gauvain's*) name they should go to Arthur's court and inquire about the knight who had the first adventure.
104. 22-6. In *F* the knights are not asked to disclose their identities, but the names *M* assigns to them—*Sorluse* of the *Foreyste* and *Bryan* of the *Foreyste*—occur in a later passage in *F*.
104. 29. *by the cry of the howndis*. Not in *F*. Unlike *F*, *M* describes *Gawain's* quest as though *Gawain* were hard on the heels of the hart: the hart swims across the river just before *Gawain* reaches the bank, and as he prepares to 'follow after' the knight who guards the passage tells him not to come over 'afür thys harte'. Cf. *Huth MS.*, f. 161^r, col. 1 and 105. 14-15.
105. 7-8. 'What ys youre name?' seyde sir *Gawayne*. 'Sir, my name ys *Alardyne of the Oute Iles*.' In *F* the name is revealed much later.
105. 10-11. *hit wente to the brayne*. *F*: 'li hyaumes ne li escus ne le garandist qu'il nel pourfende jusques es dens' (*Huth MS.*, f. 160^v, col. 2).
105. 14-15. *lete slyppe at the herte thre couple of greyhoundes*. In *F* it is only at this point that *Gauvain* and *Gaheris* overtake the greyhounds chasing the hart. Cf. 104. 29.
105. 15-16. *in the chyef place of the castel*. *F*: 'en mi la sale'.
105. 26. *he* refers to *Gawain*.
105. 26-7. *howndys*? 'For they dyd but their kynde, and' I wolde. The *ys* in *howndys* was probably contracted in *W's* original, and the words in half-brackets dropped out in *W* through a homœoteleuton.
105. 27-8. *I wolde that ye had wrokyn youre angir uppon me rather than uppon a dome beste*. Not in *F*.
106. 15-16. *and felle over hym*. *M* does not make it clear that the lady purposely thrust herself forward to protect her lover: *elle pense que mieus veult elle morir que elle ne reskeue son amort* (son ami de mort?), *si se lanche erramment devant le caup et se laisse cheoir sour son ami* (*MS. cit.*, f. 162^v, col. 1).
106. 18-20. *Also ye sholde gyff mercy unto them that aske mercy, for a knyght withoute mercy ys withoute worship*. Not in *F*. Cf. 107. 8-9.
106. 23-5; 31-2. *I take no forse of thy mercy now, for thou haste slayne with vylony my love; I take no force whether I lyve othir dey*. In *F* the knight has no such feelings. At first he refuses to go to Arthur's court because he is too weak to ride ('je n'ai mestier de chevauchier, car trop sui lassés et travilliés

et trop ai perdu del sanc'), but when he sees 'que autrement ne puet estre' he agrees to do as Gawain has told him and departs 'trop dolans et trop courechies'.

106. 27-8. *thou shalt go unto kynge Arthure*. *F*: 'il convient que tu me fianches a aler a la court le roi Artus (*sic*), et illuec te meteras en la prison ma dame la roine Geneuvre de par chelui qui ot l'aventure de chierf en don' (MS. cit., f. 162^v, col. 2).

106. 33-4. *he made hym to bere the one grehownde before hym on hys horse and the other behynde hym*. The object of this is to show *l'ochaison de la bataille* and so justify Gawain's behaviour.

106. 35-7. 'What ys youre name . . . Blamoure of the Maryse.' Not in *F*.

107. 1. *Gawayne wente unto the castell*. *M* seems to forget that Gawain and Gaheris are already in the castle (cf. p. 105, l. 15). Cf. *F*: « Nous demourons hui mais, » fait Gavains, « et demain, quant il ajornera, nous nous partirons de chaiens et en irons a court » (MS. cit., f. 163^r, col. 1).

107. 4-5. *Ye may thynke ye have many foes in thys contrey*. In *F* Gaheris's suspicions are aroused by the sounding of the horn inside the castle: 'il escoutent et oient laiens en la maistre fortereche un cor sonner si hautement que on le puet bien oir de toutes pars de demi liue loing. « Ja mar me querr(o)ies, biau frere, » fait Gahariés, « se vous n'estes venus a la mellee, ou pour le chierf que vous avés occhis ou por la damoisele. »'

107. 7. In *F* the people of the castle do not address Gawain as *new made knyght*. Nor would it be natural for them to do so, since they are unaware of his identity and have no means of finding out how long he has been a knight.

107. 8-9. *a knyght withoute mercy ys dishonoured*. Not in *F*. Cf. 106. 18-20.

107. 18-19. *there com four fayre ladyes*. *F*: 'une damoisele vint avant'. Sommer thought that the change from one to four was due to *M*'s desire for 'symmetry' (op. cit., vol. iii, p. 106). But it is most probably a misreading of *une* as *iiii*.

107. 28-30. *what chere*. 'Nat good.' 'Why so?' Not in *F*.

108. 4-12. 'I shall so speke for you that ye shall have <leve> to go unto kynge Arthure.' . . . So they gaff hym leve. . . . And than they delyverde hym undir thys promyse.' In *F* the damsel who speaks to Gawain is the lady of the castle; his release depends on her goodwill, and it is she who gives orders to bring him his armour: 'elle commande maintenant a chiaus de laiens qu'il li aporent ses armes'. In *M* *chiaus de laiens* are in a position of authority, and the damsel therefore has to plead with them for Gawain's release.

108. 5. *have <leve>* is the obvious common source of *C*'s *have conduyte* to and *W*'s truncated reading *have to*.

108. 15-16. *Merlion dud make kynge Arthure that sir Gawayne was sworne* (= 'contrived with King Arthur that Sir Gawain was sworn'). This is a reference to a custom introduced by Arthur on Merlin's advice: in order to distinguish good knights from bad ones and honour each according to his merits, Merlin asked Arthur to make every knight swear before leaving the court 'qu'il dira voir au revenir de toutes les choses qui li seront avenues et qu'il avra trouvé en sa queste, ou soit s'ounour ou soit sa honte' (Huth MS., f. 166^r, col. 2). This passage may account for *M*'s habit of making his characters 'swear on a book'.

108. 21: *there was sette a queste of ladyes uppon sir Gawayne*. 'Queste' here means 'judgement', 'trial'. In *F* the ladies act as a jury: they retire to consider their verdict ('vont a conseil') and when they come back one of them announces their decision: 'l'une d'elles parole oiant tous chiaus de laiens'.

108. 22-8. *they juged hym ... for another*. This is a summary of the judgement as given in *F*, with one important addition: *F* does not stipulate that Gawain *sholde never be ayenste lady ne jantillwoman but if he fyght for a lady and hys adversary fyghtith for another*. Otherwise the rules of conduct laid down for Gawain are the same in both texts. *M*'s crisp formula, *ever that he sholde be curteyse*, corresponds to a much longer sentence in *F* ('ja mais tant que vous viverés ne meterés main en damoisele pour chose que elle vous die ne fache, se vous ne veés peril de mort'), and *to fyght for hir quarels* replaces a more elaborate definition of a knight's duties: 'Et encore volons nous que se la damoisele vous requiert aide ne secours, que vous li aidies, ne ja ne soit de si estrange lieu ne si mesconnue se che n'est encontre vostre hounour.' The remark that Gawain must show *mercy to hym that askith mercy* is based on a passage which immediately follows Gawain's oath. Merlin says to him: 'pour la vilounie que vous fesistes del chevalier dont vous esties au dessus ne n'en volés avoir mierchi quant il la requeroit couvient il que vous jurés sour sains que jamais de chevalier ne verrés au dessus dont vous n'aiies merchi se il la vous requiert, ja tant ne vous avra mesfait'. Gawain kneels before him 'et jure ceste chose a tenir a tout son vivant' (MS. cit., f. 167r, col. 2).

108. 28-9. *And thus endith the adventure of sir Gawayne, &c.* Not in *F*.

109. 2-3. *grete spery[s] stood oute, and two shildes hangyng on treys*. *F*: 'a chascun des pavillons droit a l'entree avoit un escu tout frés et une lanche'.

109. 11-14. *'But, sir, I have a felow.'* . . . *'He shall be wellcom,' seyde sir Torre*. Not in *F*. Cf. Sommer, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 108-9.

109. 21. *the stroke slew hym nat* is a good example of the art of terse narrative. Cf. *F*: 'che ne fist il pas en tel lieu qu'il ne peuust bien garir'.

109. 28-9. *'Ye shall sey, by the knyght that wente in the queste of the knyght with the brachette'*. In *F* Torre names himself: '« Rendés vous a mon signeur le roi Artus (*sic*) de par Tor, le fil a Arés. »'

109. 29-35. *'Now, what be your two namys? . . . God spede you and me.'* In *F* Phelot of Langeduke and Petipace of Wynchilsee remain anonymous.

110. 11-13. *they were ware of two pavilions evyn by a pryory* 'with two sheldes', and that one shyld was enewed with whyght and that othir shyld was rede. In *F* Torre finds many pavilions; each has a shield hanging outside, and all the shields are red except one which is 'aussi blans comme nois, et chis blans estoit li plus riches'.

110. 15-18. *He saw three damesels lye in hyt on a paylette slepyng; and so he wente unto the tother pavylyon and founde a lady lyyng in hit slepyng*. In *F* the lady and one of her damsels (only one is mentioned) sleep in the same pavilion. When Torre enters it 'il trueve en un moult riche lit une damoisele dormant toute seule sans compaignie' (MS. cit., f. 169r, col. 2). *M* seems to have taken *toute seule sans compaignie* (= 'alone in her bed') to mean 'alone in the pavilion'.

111. 5-6. *toke suche lodgyng as was there*. 'Lodgyng' should be taken to

mean 'food and lodging'; cf. *F*: 'Li nains pense des chevaus ensi comme il puet, si lour donne de l'erbe, que autre vitaille ne trovast il illuec entour. Cele nuit menga li chevaliers pain et eve, tel viande comme li preudom avoit, et se gut sour l'erbe verde et dormi moult bien, car assés estoit plus las que il ne soloit' (MS. cit., f. 170^r, col. 2).

III. 6 (i). *as* = 'also'. *F*: 'aussi'.

III. 6 (ii). *otis and brede*. Not in *F*. Cf. my *Malory*, pp. 50-1.

III. 22. *as egrily as lyons*. *F*: 'si ressaillirent sus au plus tost qu'il porent, et metent le main as espees et s'appareillent d'assailir l'uns l'autre'. Cf. 32. 31 and 33. 34.

III. 24-5. *they tamed their helmys that the hote bloode ran oute*. *F*: 'entament après les caus des espees si que il en font le sanc saillir de toutes pars'.

III. 31-6. *Than sir Torre bade hym yelde hym . . . the brachette, thee, other bothe*. This short exchange of repartees is a summary of a long dialogue which fills nearly two columns in *F*. The substance of it is accurately reproduced, but when Abelleus says *onles that thou geff me the brachette* it should be understood that the dog is still in his possession and that he is merely asking Torre to let him keep it.

III. 33. *Abelleus*. The knight's name is not mentioned in the corresponding place in *F*: it occurs in an earlier scene, where the dwarf tells Torre about the mysterious knight: 'il a non Abelin, uns des boins chevaliers de ceste terre. Mais tant 1 a qu'il est uns des plus orgilleus hom[es] que je onques veisse. Et sachiés que il emporte le braket moult grant joie faisant' (Huth MS., f. 169^r, col. 1).

III. 2-3. *cryed with lowde voice unto sir Torre*. 'What woll ye with me?', *seyde sir Torre*. Not in *F*.

III. 5-7. 'I beseche the', *seyde the damesell*, 'for kynge Arthurs love,' &c. *F*: '« par la foi que tu dois a toute chevalerie »'. She also adds that this is the first request she has ever addressed to a knight: '« tu és li premiers chevaliers que je requesisse onques mais »' (MS. cit., f. 171^v, col. 1).

III. 8-9. *aske a gyffte and I woll gyff hit you*. In *F* Torre's reply is less abrupt: 'Autel di ge, damoisele,' fait il, 'sachiés que vous estes la premiere damoisele qui onques mais me requesist. Et pour chou ne vous escondiroie je en nulle guise, se li dons est teus que je le puisse avoir ne pour painne ne pour travail.'

III. 11. *thys false knyght Abelleus*. Cf. III. 33.

III. 18-26. 'and I kneled halfe an owre before hym in the myre . . . a grete destroyer of men, and namely of good knyghtes.' This is an expansion of the following: 'onques ne m'en vaut escouter la u ge li crioie mierchi tout en plorant. Ore en faites chou que vous avés en convent, s'il vous plaist' (MS. cit., ff. 171^v, col. 2-172^r, col. 1).

III. 27. *Abellyus*. Cf. III. 33.

III. 4-III. 5. In these pages *M* seems to have added a number of details. *F* does not say that the lady had a *passynge fayre olde knyght unto hir husbnde* (III. 4-5), that Torre left Camelot *on the third day by noone* (III. 16-17), or that he had received his armour and his horse from King Arthur (III. 19-23). Pellinor does not thank the *laborer* ('un vilain qui menoit busche') for his offer of help (III. 27), and in his monologue there are no such remarks

as *That ys nat trew* (115. 11) and *fyght ye no more* (115. 17-18): the knights themselves decide to end the battle so as to join forces against Pellinor. Nor does any one of them exclaim after the first successful stroke: *Now art thou afoote as well as we ar* (115. 25). To make the scene more vivid *M* inserts the challenge: '*Knyght, kepe the well, for thou shalt have a buffette for the sleynge of my horse*' (115. 28-9), '*What, woll ye not fyght for hir?*', and the knight's reply: '*I woll nat fyght with such a knyght of proues as ye be*' (116. 3-5).

113. 8-12. *besought hym to telle hys name . . . kynge Arthurs courte*. Not in *F*. The lady in *F* does not ask Torre to tell her his name, but invites him to stay with her again '*se aventure l'amenoit ja mais cele part*'. Cf. ll. 13-15.

113. 28. '*Nay, nay,*' *seyde Merlion*, &c. In *F* Merlin takes this opportunity of disclosing to Arthur the secret of Torre's parentage. *M* has made use of this scene in an earlier passage. Cf. 100. 29-101. 26.

113. 32-4. *Arthure gaff an erledom of londis that felle unto hym. And here endith the queste of sir Torre, kynge Pellynors sonne*. Not in *F*.

114. 1-2. *as he rode in a foreyste*, &c. In *F* a *varlés* shows Pellinor the way and says that he saw a knight and a lady riding in the direction of Braait. This probably suggested to *M* the phrase *in a valey* which does not occur in *F*.

115. 8-9. *Outelake of Wentelonde* (anonymous in *F*) is not to be confused with a character of the same name who plays a prominent part in the story of Arthur and Accolon (Section V). In neither case, however, does the name occur in *F*. Cf. 138. 28.

115. 14-15. *to brynge her agayne and you bothe*. '*And you bothe*' is not in *F*, nor is it consistent with the fact that when Pellinor started on his quest he was not even aware of the existence of the two knights.

116. 16-18. *passyng good wyne, and had myry reste that nyght. And on the morne he harde masse, and dynded*. Not in *F*.

116. 21-117. 8. *Now what shall I calle you*, &c. There is no trace of this long dialogue in *F*. Apart from the exchange of introductions which helps to reduce the number of anonymous characters, the dialogue contains a reference to *Bryan of the Ilis*, a mysterious personage *lothe to do ony wronge or to fyght with ony man but if he be sore sought on*. This does not tally with the character of *Bryan de les Yles*, a pugnacious enemy of Arthur's court, who appears in the *Tristram* (pp. 469 and 476) and is mentioned on two occasions in the *Romance of Gareth*. It is quite likely, therefore, that from *M*'s point of view *Brian of the Ilis* was distinct from *Bryan de les Yles*.

117. 15-16. '*Allas!*' *seyde the lady*, '*myn arme ys oute of lythe, wherethorow I muste nedys reste me*'. In *F* the lady says to Pellinor, '*Ha! sire chevaliers, morte sui!*', and is so distraught that she '*changes colour more than seven times in a short while*' ('*si la voit muer coulour en son devant plus de set fois en un peu d'eure*'). But she soon recovers and tells Pellinor that she was at first afraid that she had broken *le brach ou l'espaule*.

117. 30. *that othir com from the Northe*. *F*: '*li uns vient de Camaloth et li autres i aloit*'. References to the points of the compass, frequent in *M*, are characteristically absent from the French romances. Cf. 163. 24-6.

118. 1-2. *there ys the floure of chevalry*. The phrase summarizes the following lines in *F*: '*li rois Artus est si poissans d'amis et de chevaliers et a si avoec soi*

les cuers de ses hommes et est si larges de donner et si despendans et si gracieus que se tout li roi de l'isle de mer venoient seur lui a ost, il ne les douteroit pas une keneule.'

118. 10. *receyved grete gyfftiis for to do hit.* Not in *F*.

118. 11-12. *Beware . . . of Merlion, &c.* In *F* the knight who comes from Camelot warns his friend that he runs the risk of being found out, but does not refer to Merlin's *devylles craftie*.

118. 18-19. *etyn with lyons othir with wylde bestis.* *F*: 'mengie de bestes sauvages'.

118. 24-6. *my herte rwyth sore of the deth of hir that lyeth yondir, for she was a passyng fayre lady, and a yonge.* In *F* Pellinor explains his grief by saying that he feels guilty of the lady's death and cannot help mourning it: 'je ne m'en puis tenir que je dolans n'en soie pour chou que je m'en sench coupables.' Cf. 119. 7-8.

118. 33. *'And take ye hys harneyse for youre payne.'* Not in *F*. There is, to my knowledge, no example in the French Arthurian romances of a 'man of religion' receiving remuneration for his services.

118. 36-119. 2. *therewith they departed and com thereas the lady lay with a fayre yalow here. That greved kynge Pellynore passyng sore whan he loked on hit, for much hys herte caste unto that vysage.* *F*: 'maintenant se remist en chemin entre lui et la damoisele et chevauchierent le petite ambleure tout souef.' *M* seems to have misread this sentence as follows: *maintenant se remist en chemin, et entre la u est la damoisele, et cheveus chi erent tout jones.* The first sentence in *M* is a word-for-word translation of this; the second is a reprise of Pellinor's earlier complaint (p. 118, ll. 25-6). *C*'s reading ('the hede of the lady lay', &c.) is less close to *F* and therefore less authentic: it is probably an attempt to make it plain that what Pellinor saw was not a hitherto unknown person with 'yellow hair' but the head of the lady whose tragic death Pellinor had just witnessed.

119. 7-8. *'A, kynge Pellynor, seyde quene Gwennyver, 'ye were gretly to blame that ye saved nat thys ladyes lyff.'* In *F* Pellinor is the first to recognize his guilt: 'il me samble . . . que che soit avenü par defaute de moi.' Arthur agrees with him: 'Vous en faites trop a blasmer, car je croi vraiment que se vous fuissiez retornés a chelui point que elle vous apieloit si doucement . . . elle nen fust encore pas morte.' Guinevere takes no part in the conversation, and it is not clear why *M* has given her one of Arthur's remarks.

119. 9-13. *'Madame, seyde kynge Pellynore, &c.* This speech is *M*'s own invention, and it seems certain that if Pellinor had spoken in *F* he would have chosen different grounds for his defence. Of the two excuses he alleges here the first is clearly incompatible with the code of chivalric behaviour: a knight, he says, would be *gretely to blame* if he did not think of his own safety, a notion worthy of a Dinadan (cf. my *Malory*, pp. 66-7). His other excuse is a literal repetition of what he said in *M* when he first saw the dead body of the lady (p. 118, ll. 20-2): *I was ferse in my queste that I wolde nat abyde.* *M* has copied this from the previous page, substituting *furyous* for *ferse* and adding an expression of regret (*and that repentis me and shall do dayes of my lyff*).

119. 14-31. *'...ye ought sore to repente hit, seyde Merlion, 'for that lady was*

yourre owne doughtir, begotyn of the lady of the Rule, &c. This is an example of *M*'s practice of solving a mystery at the earliest possible opportunity. In *F* Merlin deliberately refrains from telling Pellinor the whole truth. He begins by saying that his answer would be too obscure to be understood: 'Je le vous dirai, mais che sera si obscurement que vous ne l'entenderés pas a ceste fois.' He then reminds Pellinor that two years ago, when he was wearing his crown at a court assembly, a fool said to him: 'Rois, oste cele couronne de ton chief, car elle ne te siet pas bien. Et se tu ne l'ostes, li fieus del roi ochis le t'ostera, et ensi [la] perdras. Et se tu la pers, che [ne] sera grant mierveille, car par ta mauvaisté et par ta negligence en lairas tu ta char devourer a lions, chelui an mesmes que tu seras mis en autrui subjection.' Pellinor remembers the prophecy, but fails to see its bearing on his last adventure. Merlin then reminds him of another prophecy: on the day of his coronation Pellinor heard a voice from heaven saying: 'Rois Pellinor, tout aussi coume faudras a ta char, te faurra ta char, et che sera pour coi tu morras plus tost.' Pellinor implores Merlin to explain the meaning of these words, but Merlin again refuses and tries to comfort him by saying that knowledge of one's destiny cannot alter its course, for 'nus ne puet destorner que la volentés Nostre Signeur n'aviegne' (MS. cit., f. 180^r, col. 1). *M* had little use for such mysterious utterances. He was anxious to relieve his own as well as his reader's mind by giving a clear explanation of the events he had related. To find a clue he had to turn over some four pages of his French book (ff. 178^va-182^va of the Huth MS.) which contained, in addition to the dialogue between Merlin and Pellinor, an account of how Torre's mother, having been summoned to the court and cross-examined by Merlin, disclosed the secret of Torre's parentage; this *M* had already recorded earlier on (cf. 100. 29-101. 26), and there was nothing to prevent him leaving it out and picking up his narrative at the point he was looking for, namely, in the middle of Merlin's dialogue with Arthur (f. 182^r), when at long last Merlin expounds the meaning of Pellinor's adventure: '« Ore sachiés, » fait Merlins, « que cele damoisele estoit sa fille et venoit a court pour parler a lui. Et chis chevaliers ki estoit avoec li, estoit ses cousins germains, et estoit meus de son pais pour li conduire en ceste court. »' *M* reproduces this with few alterations, omitting the fact that the knight was the lady's cousin, but giving him a name—*Myles of the Laundis*. He then recapitulates the story of the knight's death, adding the name of the murderer, *Lorayne le Saveage*, a false knight and a cowherde, and that of Pellinor's daughter (*Alyne*) who for grete sorow and dole slew herself. The next remark in Merlin's speech (*Ye shall se yourre beste frende fayle you whan ye be in the grettist distresse that ever ye were othir shall be*) is a summary of his prophecy about the death of Pellinor: in *F* he says that Pellinor will be wounded in battle by *li fieus del roi ochis* (i.e. Gawain); that he will appeal for help to Torre, his son, who, failing to recognize him, will refuse to help him; and that Gawain will then return and cut off Pellinor's head. This is what Merlin means when he says in *M*: *that penaunce God hath ordayned you for that dede, that he that ye sholde truste moste of ony man on lyve, he shall leve you there ye shall be slayne*. But Pellinor's reply to this—*God may well fordo desteny*—is curiously unlike the view expressed in *F* that what has once been decreed by fate can never be 'foredone'.

119. 32-120. 12. *Thus whan the queste was done of the whyght herte. . . . Explicit the weddyng of kyng Arthur.* This conclusion is *M*'s own. Its main interest lies not in the common device of recapitulating the main events of the story but in the definition of the duties of Arthur's knights: *never to do outeraige nothir morthir, and allwayes to fle treson, and to gyff mercy unto hym that askith mercy . . . and allwayes to do ladyes, damesels, and jantilwomen and wydowes strengthe hem in hir ryghtes, and never to enforce them uppon payne of dethe. Also that no man take no batayles in a wrongefull quarrell for no love ne for no worldis goodis.* This is perhaps the most complete and authentic record of *M*'s conception of chivalry. Elsewhere he expresses it incidentally or indirectly, whereas here for the first and perhaps the last time he states it compendiously, in didactic form, much in the same way as did the author of the *Order of Chivalry* of which Caxton published an English translation shortly before he produced the *Morte Darthur*. 'Manhood, curtesy, and gentleness' are, according to Caxton's Preface to the *Order of Chivalry*, the three principles upon which the whole institution of knight-hood should rest. *M* specifies that the knights should never do *outeraige nothir morthir*, that they should be innocent of 'treason', and that their battles should be fought for a good purpose. To these rules he seems to attach more importance than to any other aspects of 'gentleness'. His interpretation of 'curtesy' begins with the conventional statement that the knights should always be at the service of 'ladyes, damesels and jantilwomen and wydowes'; but, he adds, they should protect the ladies' rights (*strengthe hem in hir ryghtes*) and *never enforce them*. This last prescription must have seemed to Caxton singularly incongruous in an Arthurian context. With a discernment worthy of the translator of the *Order of Chivalry* he deleted it and substituted the traditional formula: *alweyes to do ladyes damoysels and gentylwymmen socour vpon payne of dethe.*

IV

THE DEATH OF MERLIN AND THE
WAR WITH THE FIVE KINGS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F* = (1) Cambridge MS., ff. 300^v, col. 2-309^v, col. 1.
(2) Huth MS. (Br. Mus. Add. 38117), ff. 183^v, col. 1-197^r, col. 2 (old foliation).

EDITION: *Merlin* . . . , p.p. G. Paris et J. Ulrich (S.A.T.F.), vol. ii, pp. 139-74.

Critical works:

1. E. Brugger, *L'Enserrement Merlin* (*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xxix. 56 ff.; xxx. 169 ff.; xxxi. 239 ff.; xxxii. 145 ff.; xxxiv. 99 ff.; xxxv. 1 ff.).
2. H. O. Sommer, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 117-24.

125. 1-2. *So aftir thes questis of syr Gawayne, syr Tor, and kyng Peilynore.* Not in *F*.

125. 2. *felle in dotage.* *F* (Huth MS., f. 183^v, col. 1): 'reparoit moult volentiers avoec la damoisele cacheresse . . . et tant i repaire une fois et autre qu'il l'ama de trop grant amour.'

125. 3-5. *the damesell that kyng Peilynore brought to courte; and she was one of the damesels of the Lady of the Laake, that hyght 'Nyneve'*. In place of this elaborate identification *F* has 'la damoisele cacheresse, celle qui Nivene estoit apielee' (loc. cit.). In an earlier passage, however (f. 182^r, col. 1), *Nyneve* (*Nivene*, *Niviene*, *Vviene*) is identified with the Lady of the Lake who bore away the infant Lancelot to her castle in the lake, where she brought him up, 'ensi comme la grant ystoire de Lanscelot le devise'. *M* calls her 'one of the damesels of the Lady of the Lake' because he has already given the name of the 'Lady of the Lake' to the messenger who was sent by the Lady of the Isle of Avalon to Arthur's court to ask for Balin's head (cf. pp. 65-7 and 65. 13-14).

125. 10-23. *So on a tyme . . . hit woll not be.* This account of Merlin's prophecies is based on a later passage in *F* (MS. cit., ff. 187^v, col. 2-188^r, col. 2). Having left court with the Lady of the Lake, Merlin builds her a magic manor near the lake of Diana (for details see 126. 16-17). One day he finds there a knight, a relative of the lady, lying asleep and says that the knight is more at his ease than Arthur who has just been saved from almost certain death by Kay. The Lady of the Lake encourages him to go and help Arthur, but he replies that if he went back to Britain he would lose his life: his gift of prophecy has been blunted by her spells, and he can neither avoid the danger which threatens him nor foresee the manner of his end. Later he tells her that Morgan, Arthur's sister, *ou il moult se fie* (cf. *M*: 'that he moste trusted'), has stolen his sword Excalibur from him and left him a replica of it (*une contrefaite a cele sanblance qui riens ne vaut*); the king, not knowing this, is in mortal danger: 'il se doit demain combatre encontre un autre chevaliers cors a cors; si est en ceste maniere en peril de mort, car s'espee li faurra au besoing.' *M*'s purpose in substituting for this a dialogue between Merlin and Arthur is not altogether clear, but one result of the change is that it becomes difficult to understand how after a plain warning such as that which Merlin gives him here ('to kepe well his swerde and the scawberde, for . . . the swerde and the scawberde scholde be stolyn', &c.) Arthur could let Morgan steal his sword from him.

125. 25-6. *Merlyon went with her evermore wheresomever she yeode.* *F* makes it clear that Merlin insisted on accompanying Nivene against her will (MS. cit., f. 184^r, col. 2): 'Quant elle oi qu'il venroit avoec li, elle en fu trop dolente, car elle ne haoit riens autant coume lui, mais samblant n'en osa faire, ains fist chiere que moult li fust bieles, et moult l'en mierchia de ceste compaignie que il avoit offert a tenir.'

125. 27-8. *Merlion wolde have had hir prevayly away by his subtile craufstes.* *F* states explicitly that Merlin had no intention of using either craft or force against Nivene, or of doing 'chose dont il cuidast que elle se deust courechier' (MS. cit., f. 183^v, col. 1).

125. 28-9. *she made hym to swere that he sholde never do none inchauntemente*

uppon hir. *F* explains that Nivienne extorted this promise from Merlin because 'elle avoit paour que cil ne la honnesist par son enchantement, ou que a li ne geust en son dormant'.

126. 1. *yonge Launcelot.* Lancelot was then one year old, 'mais del tel petit d'aage estoit il la plus bele creature del monde. Et l'apieloient laiens par cierté Lanscelot, mais il avoit non en baptesme Galaas' (MS. cit., f. 184^v, col. 2).

126. 3. *W: hir lordis; C: her landes.* I have adopted *C*'s reading because in *F* the queen's chief concern is the damage done to her lands: 'se je le hec', she says, 'che n'est pas miervelle, car il m'a mise en povreté' (ibid., f. 185^r, col. 2).

126. 16-17. *And by weyes he shewed hir many wondyrs.* *F* relates the 'wondyrs' in full. When Merlin and Nivienne (*M*'s Nyneve) come to the lake of Diana in the forest of En-Val Merlin tells the story of Diana and Faunus. Diana was a great huntress who lived in the time of Virgil. She settled in the forest of En-Val, fell in love with young Faunus, and built a manor in which they lived together. After a time Diana tired of Faunus and gave her affection to a knight named Felix. Faunus having become an obstacle to her desires, she decided to murder him. Near the lake was a tomb filled with magic water that had the power of curing wounds. One day, after Faunus had been wounded in the chase, Diana persuaded him to lie in the tomb, from which she had previously drained off the water. She then replaced the lid of the tomb and poured in boiling lead, killing the unfortunate hero. Nivienne is attracted by the lake of Diana, in spite of the grisly story attached to it, and asks Merlin to build her a house there similar to Diana's manor. Merlin does as she bids him. He then begins to prophesy (see 125. 10-23): his own death will occur when he returns to Britain, but he cannot foresee who will be the agent of it. His next prophecy concerns Arthur: Morgan le Fay is plotting against the king, her brother: having stolen his magic sword Excalibur, she will have him killed in battle. Nivienne implores Merlin to go to Britain to rescue Arthur. He consents out of love for her, although he knows that it will cost him his life. On their way towards Logres Merlin exhibits his magic art for the last time. They meet with two wizards whom Merlin destroys and places side by side in two tombs, with a fire of brimstone burning round them. The bodies of the wizards will not rot, nor will the fire cease to burn until Arthur is dead and his kingdom destroyed. Merlin desires this wonder to remain as evidence of his magic power, for he knows that his own end is near and that this is the last enchantment he will ever be able to work. The story-teller now turns to Arthur and the rebellion of the five kings. The concluding episode of the Merlin-Nivienne story—*l'enselllement Merlin*—is not related in *F* until much later (Huth MS., ff. 204^v ff.). Cf. p. 132 and 132. 18-25.

126. 17-18. *come into Cornuayle.* *F*: 'arriverent en la Grant Bretagne.' Cf. 127. 23.

126. 18-28. *And allwayes he lay aboute . . . departed and leffte Merlyon.* Instead of returning to Arthur, as does *F*, *M* goes on with the Merlin theme and so straightens out *F*'s narrative pattern. His denouement is based on a later portion of his source (Huth MS., ff. 204^r, col. 2-207^r, col. 1). Of this

he gives a mere summary, dispensing with *F*'s elaborate motivation. The Lady of the Lake, according to *M*, did away with Merlin because 'she was ever passyng wery of hym'—a curious understatement. In *F* she hates Merlin the moment she sees him (cf. 125. 25-6), and the more he loves her the more her hatred grows: 'elle connoissoit bien que il ne baoit fors a son pucelage, si l'en haoit trop mortelment et pourcachoit de canques elle pooit sa mort' (f. 204^v, col. 1). Nor does *M* explain how Merlin fell a victim to his own witchcraft: it was he who taught Nivene the 'subtyle worchyng' by which she acquired complete mastery over him: 'elle l'avoit . . . si atorné par ses enchantemens qu'il ne pooit riens savoir de canques elle faisoit.'

126. 22-4. *Merlyon ded shew hir in a roche whereas was a grete wondir and wrought by enchauntement that went undir a grete stone.* I take this to mean: 'Merlin showed her, in a rock, a great marvel which, wrought by enchantment, was underneath a great stone.' The 'grete wondir' is, according to *F*, a dwelling, the inside chamber of which contains a tomb covered by a large stone. The dwelling, constructed though it is with consummate skill, is not the work of magic; its only supernatural feature is the slab (*M*: 'grete stone') which covers the tomb and which only those familiar with the appropriate spell can lift.

126. 30. *a grete feste with myrth and joy.* *F* (Huth MS., f. 191^r, col. 1): 'sejourna li rois Artus a Camalaoth cinc jours entiers a grant joie et a grant feste.'

126. 36-7. *brent and slewe and destroyed clene byfore hem . . . citeis and castels.* *F* (MS. cit., f. 191^r, cols. 1-2): 'avoient ja pris de ses chastiaus trois ou quatre.'

127. 1-6. *'Alas!' seyde Arthure ' . . . abyde who that wyll.'* The first two sentences of this speech are an expansion of *F*'s 'si dist . . . qu'il n'avr(a)oit ja mais repos devant qu'il lour fust a l'encontre'. The last sentence—*go with me who so wyll, and abyde who that wyll*—is probably *M*'s own.

127. 10-11. *the barownes were wrothe prevayly that the kyng wolde departe so suddaynly.* In *F* the barons were 'wrothe' because they wanted the king to wait for reinforcements: 'Sire, vous deussies encore sejourner et attendre tant que vostre baron fussent venu, cheus que vous avés envoiet querre' (MS. cit., f. 191^r, col. 2).

127. 11-12. *the kyng by no meane wolde abyde.* In *F* Arthur explains his action as follows: 'Coument, signour? Volés vous que je aille chi sejournant et demourant et mi anemi iron t ma terre reubant et preant et prenant mes hommes? Certes, malvaïsement garderoie le peuple que Dieus m'a mis entre les mains', &c. (loc. cit.).

127. 16-17. *I may nat longe mysse you.* Not in *F*, but probably suggested by the remark: 'Il amoit la roine tant qu'il ne s'en pooit consirrer' (MS. cit., f. 191^v, col. 1).

127. 23. *come into the North.* *F*: 'Norgales'. In the French prose romances *Norgales* was the scene of numerous events which required no specific localization, and it is doubtful whether from the French prose-writers' point of view it necessarily meant 'North Wales'. *M*'s tendency to localize the story and to refer the place-names he found in his source to real places is

- noticeable throughout (cf. 10. 39-40, 17. 3, 61. 6-7, &c.), and it has the effect, which he no doubt desired to achieve, of transferring the action from the vague fairyland of romance to a precise and familiar geographical setting.
127. 26-36. *there was a knyght . . . none shall helpe other of them.* In *F* (MS. cit., f. 191^v, col. 2) the stratagem consists in taking Arthur unawares: 'Il ne cuide pas ore que nous sachons nulle riens de sa venue. . . . Et se nous adont nous poiens adont (*sic*) metre en l'ost le roi Artus et souspendre les desarmés, nous les avrions desconfis tout maintenant.' In *M* the five kings seem to be counting less on a surprise attack than on their temporary superiority in numbers: 'hyghe ye unto hym nyght and day tyll that we be nyghe hym, for the lenger he taryeth the bygger he is, and we ever the weyker.' This gives *M* the opportunity of emphasizing Arthur's bravery: 'And he is so courageous of hymself that he is com to the felde with lytyll peple.'
128. 4-10. *kynge Arthure was unarmed. . . . 'Treson!'* *M* seems to have deliberately dramatized this incident. In *F* Arthur and his knights are attacked not in the middle of the night but at dawn, just as they are about to arm themselves. Before the attack begins Arthur, instead of 'laying him to rest with his queen Guinevere', says: 'Il seroit bien tans que nous presissons nos armes' (MS. cit., f. 192^r, col. 2). It is possible that *M* took this to mean 'there will always be time for us to take up arms' instead of 'it is time that we took up arms'.
128. 6-8. 'Sir', *seyde sir Kayyus . . . by the kynge.* Not in *F*.
128. 11-12. 'Alas!' *seyde Arthure, we be betrayed! Unto armyis, felowys!* A characteristic example of dramatization. Cf. *F*: 'Quant li rois Artus ot le cri, il saut sus tous efferés et demande ses armes; et on li aporte, et il s'arma au plus tost que il pot, car il voit bien que li besoins en est venus. Et li autre compaignon keurent a lour armes.'
128. 14-20. *Than come there a wounded knyght, &c.* Here, as throughout this part of the story, *M* imparts an epic quality to his account by the simple process of cutting out all unessential details. What he gives is not a summary of the corresponding passage in *F* but a faithful translation of words and phrases so chosen as to convey the gist of it. In the following extract from *F* (MS. cit., f. 192^v, col. 1) these are printed in italics: 'Et anchois que il fuissent bien armé, vint entr'eus uns chevaliers tous navrés et dist au roi: « Ha! sire, montés isnelement entre vous et ma dame la roine et vous metés a sauveté, car se vous demourés ichi poi ne grant, vous serés tous occhis et decaupés, ne vous n'i avés nul pooir, car tout vostre hounme sont ja mort. Et se vous aviés passé cele iaeue, vous n'avriés garde, car vous avrés secours hui ou demain dou roi Pellinor. » Li rois dist a la roine: « Dame, montés vistement et vous en alés grant oirre dusques a cele yaue, et vous metés a sauveté. Et je vous convoiera[i] jusques là, car quel chose qu'il aviegne de nous, je ne vaurroie en nule maniere que vous chaisiés en lour mains. » Lor monte la roine a moult grant paour et s'en ist hors des pavillons et s'adrece viers le Hombre au plus tost qu'el puet. Et li rois la roine convoie, . . . et Gavains et Keus li senescaus et Giffés. Et fu chascuns si armés qu'il ne li failloit riens. Quant il vinrent au Hombre, il le trouverent moult profont et moult orgilleus.'
128. 30-7. 'Lo', *seyde sir Kayus . . . 'the othir three'.* The substance of this

dialogue is the same in both *F* and *M*, but whereas in *M* Griffiet merely falls in with Gawain's objection, in *F* he is the first to criticize Kay's plan of attack. It would be *folie*, he says, to go back and face the enemy: 'mais metons nous outre et passons la roine, et quant nous serons par dela, se il vient apres nous, nous les porrons legierement occhire.' Kay refuses to do this even though Gawain points out to him that 'il sont cinc et nous ne soumes que quatre'. 'Je tous seus', he retorts, 'en occirai bien deus, et chascun de vous en occhie le sien.'

129. 2. *thorow the shelde and also the body a fadom*. *F*: 'li haubers nel garandist qu'il ne li meche par mi le cors fer et fust.'

129. 7. *gaff hym suche a falle that his necke brake in sondir*. *F*: 'refiert tout autretel l'un des rois.'

129. 11-12. *the stroke clawe the helme and hede to the erthe*. In *F* Kay strikes so hard that he sends the king's helmet and his head spinning a lance's length away from the trunk, which falls to the ground. *M* here, as elsewhere, prefers the 'vertical' cut, characteristic of the epic style of fighting. Cf. 33. 23-4.

129. 12. *seyde kynge Arthure*. *F*: 'Et quant li troi autre compaignon voient cest cop, il dient a Keu', &c.

129. 16-17. *And therewithall they sette the queene in a barge into Humber*. In *F* the battle between the knights and the five kings serves to cover the retreat of the queen, who crosses the Humber by a ford while the fight is going on. After the battle is over the knights see that she is on the other side and are about to plunge into the water and swim across when she points out the ford to them. The enemy forces try to follow them, but are drowned in the river, to the number of two hundred or more.

129. 17-22. *But allwayes queene Gwinyvere praysed sir Kay . . . therewith the queene departed*. Not in *F*.

129. 31-2. *they made such dole that they felle downe of there horsis*. *F* (MS. cit., f. 193v, col. 1): 'et commenchierent a faire le gringnour duel et le gringnour plourison que vous onques oissiés, et fu verités que il se desarmement tout quant il cuidierent bien estre asseur.'

129. 32-130. 1. *And therewithall com in kyng Arthure but with a fewe peple*. In *F* Arthur's men, who fled to the woods when they were surprised by the army of the five kings, now rally and, on being informed by a wounded knight that the five kings are dead, fall on their opponents. On seeing this Arthur recrosses the river and arrives in time to see the enemy put to rout, but does not, as in *M*, lead the counter-attack.

130. 5-7. *And than he sente . . . batayle*. Not in *F*.

130. 8-25. The incidents related in these two paragraphs occur in *F* in the following order:

- (a) The counting of the slain.
- (b) The arrival of a messenger from Pellinor.
- (c) The grief of the supporters of the five kings when they hear of the disaster that has overtaken them.
- (d) The founding of the abbey of La Beale Aventure.

In *M* the order is (b), (a), (d), (c).

130. 10. *And [so he] seyde*. The speaker is clearly Arthur, and it is most unlikely that *W* would have omitted the vital word *he* for other than

'mechanical' reasons. The emendation supplies such a reason by reducing *W*'s error to a *saut du même au même*.

130. 14-16. *there was founde but lytyll paste two hondred men slayne and eyght knyghtes, &c.* In *F* the number is given as 'plus de cinc cens que chevaliers que serjans de cheus qui au roi se tenoient' (MS. cit., f. 194^r, cols. 1-2). *M*'s 'two hondred' may result from a confusion of ii and v, but it may also be an attempt to enhance the brilliance of Arthur's exploit by minimizing the extent of his loss. The 'eyght knyghtes of the Table Rounde' are not mentioned by *F* until later in the story, when Arthur, on his return to Camelot, discovers that 'des compaignons de la table reonde failloient uit qui avoient esté occhis en la bataille' (f. 195^r, col. 1).

130. 18. *a fayerre abbay.* In *F* the abbey is founded 'en l'onour de Nostre Dame'.

130. 30-1. *by youre advyse we must chose eyght knyghtes of the beste we may fynde in this courte.* *F* makes it clear that the selection of the eight new knights is left to Pellinor because of his great experience of such matters: '« Vous les conaissiés mieus », che dist li rois Artus, « que je ne fais, car vous ne finés d'errer. »'

130. 36-132. 2. '*Whych be the olde?*' . . . *departed frome the courte.* In *F* (MS. cit., ff. 195^r, col. 1-195^v, col. 2) the young knights are chosen first: Pellinor chooses Gauvain, Gifflet, Keu, and Torre (*Tor*) in preference to Bagdemagus (*Baudemagus*), 'car il en est mieus dignes de chevalerie'. Arthur then asks him to select four of the older knights, and on his advice appoints Uren (*M*: Uryence), Lach (*M*: 'kyng of the Lake'), Hervieus de Rinel (*M*: Hervyse de Revell), and Galligars li Rous (*M*: Galagars). When all the vacant seats are filled Bagdemagus realizes that he has been excluded and leaves the court swearing not to return until he has defeated at least one of the knights of the Round Table. *M* has inverted the first two parts of this episode: the old knights are chosen before the young, with the result that Bagdemagus withdraws from the court as soon as he has been turned down. This is, in miniature, *M*'s method of dealing with 'interwoven' episodes: for the pattern $a^1 b a^2$ he substitutes $b a^1 a^2$ (see *Introduction*, pp. lii-iv).

131. 11-12. *sir Kay the Senesciall, for many tymes he hath done full worshipfully.* In *F* Kay is 'assés boins chevaliers, mais il n'est mie de la bonté as autres'. He has not, as *M* would make us believe, done 'many tymes full worshipfully', and the only exploit he has to his credit is his gallant attack on the two kings. This, however, is sufficient to justify his election to the Round Table: 'et neporquant se il ne faisoit ja mais de chevalerie, si a il bien deservi le siege de la Table Reonde par le caup qu'il fist des deus rois' (MS. cit., f. 195^r, col. 2).

131. 14-17. '*Be my hede, seyde Arthure.* No direct speech in *F*.

131. 18-32. '*Now, seyde kyng Pellynore . . . tyll another tyme.*' In *F* Pellinor's speech is as follows (MS. cit., f. 195^r, col. 2): 'Pour le quart des juvenchiaux . . . vous envoieurai jou deus pseudoumes, si prenderés le quel que vous vaurrés. Li uns en est Baudemagus, bons chevaliers et biaux et de jovene aage, li autres est Tor, mes fieus. Chelui ne vous loerai jou ja pour chou que mes fieus est, mais assés sevent cil de laiens se chevalerie fu bien emploiee en lui. Or

i metés chelui de ces deus qui mieus vous plaira, car certes li uns et li autres i seroit bien souffisans.' By omitting the two italicized passages and replacing the second by the remark 'of his age there is nat in this londe a better knyght than he (= Torre) is', &c., *M* makes it appear that instead of leaving the decision to Arthur Pellinor is pressing the claims of his son; Arthur naturally agrees at once and decides to 'have hym (= Torre) at this tyme and leve sir Bagdemagus tyll anothir tyme'. In *F* Pellinor at first expresses no preference, and it is only when Arthur forces him to decide between Bagdemagus and Torre that he chooses the latter, 'car il en est mieus dignes de chevalerie'.

131. 35-132. 2. *whereof sir Bagdemagus was wondirly wrothe that sir Tor was avounced afore hym. And therefore soddeynly he departed frome the court.* In *F* Bagdemagus says to himself: 'Ha! Baudemagus, biaux et malvais, jou-vente perdue et gaste, et santé et vertu mal assise et mal emploie, membres fors et bien fais et pour noient, pourquoi montas tu en si haut degré coume est chevalerie pour estre huiseus et pour noient et pour devenir mauvais? . . . car tu t'ies ore si hounis que ja mais tant coume tu vives n'averas houneur', &c. (Huth MS., f. 195^v, col. 2). The next morning he calls his squire, tells him that he is going a little way into the forest, and bids him meet him there with his arms and horse. The squire does as Bagdemagus has ordered him, and after arming his master asks to be allowed to accompany him on his adventures. Bagdemagus consents and the two ride away together.

132. 5-7; 8-9. *his squyre founde wryten uppon the crosse that Bagdemagus sholde never retourne, &c.* In *F* there is no such inscription, but Bagdemagus makes a solemn oath never to return to Arthur's court until he has overcome a knight of the Round Table. *M*'s rendering, so far from being a deliberate attempt to add a supernatural motif, is a misreading of *F*'s 'il jura seur la crois oiant le varlet que ja mais en la court le rois Artus ne retournera' (confusion between *il jura seur la crois oiant le varlet* and *i truva seur la crois escrit li varles*).

132. 13-16. *and there by the way he founde a braunche of the holy herbe that was the signe of the Sanggreall, &c.* However tempting it may be for some critics to see in this reference to the 'holy herbe' a survival of an agrarian cult and a confirmation of the ritual theory of the origins of the Grail, it is nothing more than a misreading of the corresponding passage in *F*. There, immediately after Bagdemagus's dialogue with the squire, the author adds a long apology for the omission of the subsequent adventures of Bagdemagus and says that these will be recorded by his friend and companion Helyes (*messire Helyes mes compains*) who has already begun his work: 'messire Helyes en a commenchie l'ystoire a translater; et si di ge malement l'ystoire, mais la branke, car chou est droitement une des brantes del Graal.' Glancing through this passage *M* must have been completely baffled by the last sentence; he was probably unfamiliar with the word *branke* in the technical sense of 'sub-division of a cycle', and when he saw the phrase *brantes del Graal* he promptly made it into 'a braunche of holy herbe that was the signe of the Sanggreall'. Then, to preserve the appearance of sense, he proceeded to choose from the French text such words and phrases as could be fitted in

with this. To show how he built up the sentence it is enough to place it side by side with the corresponding portions of *F*:

Huth MS., ff. 196^v, col. 2-197^r, col. 1:

A tant se met Baudemagus a la voie
... si trueve ... la branke car chou
est droitement une des brankes del
graal. ... Car ... ne repaire nus rois
a court si sages ne si debonaires ne si
courtois.

M, 132. 13-16:

And so he rode forth, and there by the
way he founde a braunche of the holy
herbe that was the signe of the Sanc-
greall, and no knyght founde no suche
tokyns but he were a good lyver and
a man of prouesse.

132. 18-25. *hit happed hym to come to the roche*, &c. In *F* this occurs later on, immediately after the description of Merlin's imprisonment in the rock: 'Ne il ne fu puis nus qui Merlin oist parler, se ne fu Baudemagus, qui i vint, quatre jours après chou que Merlin i avoit esté mis' (*MS. cit.*, f. 207^r, col. 1).

132. 26-30. *And so Bagdemagus departed and dud many adventures*, &c. The object of this paragraph is to wind up the story of the death of Merlin in an orderly fashion. There is no break at the corresponding point in *F*. After describing Bagdemagus's departure *F* returns to Arthur: 'Et au tierch jor après, au lundi matin, vint Artus en la forest de [Camalaoth]¹ pour courre as bestes, et ot semons ses veneours pour aler avoec li.' This is the beginning of the story of Arthur and Accolon which in *M* forms a separate section.

V

ARTHUR AND ACCOLON

BIBLIOGRAPHY

F = (1) Cambridge MS., ff. 309^v, col. 1-323^v, col. 2.

(2) Huth MS. (Br. Mus. Add. 38117), ff. 197^r, col. 2-220^r, col. 1 (old foliation).

EDITION: *Merlin* . . . , p.p. G. Paris et J. Ulrich (S.A.T.F.), Paris, 1886, vol. ii, pp. 174-228.

Critical works:

1. H. O. Sommer, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 124-35, 141-3.

2. E. Vinaver, *Malory*, pp. 33, 50, 91-2.

137. 1. *Than it befelle*, &c. According to *F* the hunt takes place in the forest of Camelot on a Monday morning, three days after the departure of Bagdemagus (*Huth MS.*, f. 197^r, col. 2).

137. 13-14. '*Lette us go on foote seyde kynge Uryence*, &c. In *F* Urience first proposes to look for the stag by a river ('Car a chou que li chiers a grant caut et grant soif, il buvera ja tant que li cors li partira, et ainsi le couvenra a remanoir mort en la rive'), but as his men are a considerable way behind

¹ MS.: macalaoth.

he decides to take shelter for the night, not, as in *M*, in *somme lodgyng*, but in one of his own castles 'qui est près de chi a deus liues'.

137. 16. *and mo othir houndis come afir*. *F*'s reading (*de tous les autres chiens n'i avoit il plus*) suggests that *mo* may be a corruption of *no*.

137. 17. *blewe the pryce* is a literal rendering of the French *corne prise*: 'si l'ochist et corne prise pour chou que si home l'oient et vieignent a lui.'

137. 18. *the kynge loked aboute the worlde and sawe before hym in a grete water a lytyll shippe*. A curious mistranslation of the French 'li rois regarde contre mont la riviere et voit venir a val l'iaue une nef'. Cf. my *Malory*, p. 100, n. 1.

137. 19. *a lytyll shippe*. *F*: 'estoit la nef grant par raison.' *M* may have mistaken *nef* for *ne*.

137. 24-5. *So at the laste they wente into the shippe all three and founde hit rychely behanged with cloth of sylke*. In *F* the king first looks in, but a curtain of scarlet silk hides the interior of the ship. He then asks his companions to go aboard with him. 'Et quant il i sont, il la prisent (= la nef) plus que devant assés, car il la voient si biele et si cointe et si paree de drap de soie qu'il ne virent onques si biel lieu ne si envoisié que cil lour samble.'

137. 26-8. *there suddeynly was aboute them an hondred torchis*. In *F* the torches are not lit until the king and his companions have accepted the ladies' invitation to spend the night aboard the ship (Huth MS., f. 198^v, col. 1). Candles and torches are then brought by the ladies: 'Lors commencent a aporier chierges et tortis et a metre par mi la nef a mont et a val.' *M* has given this scene a new significance. By making the torchlights suddenly appear 'uppon all the shyppebordis' he has suggested a supernatural setting where his source had failed to do so.

138. 7-8. *a rycher besene chambir sawe he never*. In *F* nothing is said about the richness of the chamber. What impresses the king is the bed. Though it is not the best he has ever seen he thinks it is as good as his own bed in Camelot: 'il ot aussi riche lit et aussi biel coume s'il fut en la chité de Camalaoth' (MS. cit., f. 199^r, col. 1).

138. 15-16. *for on the evyn before he was two dayes journey frome Camelot*. Not in *F*, although at a later point in the story (during the conversation between Arthur and the other captives) the prison is said to be *a deus jornees de Camalaoth, par deviers la terre au duc de la More* (MS. cit., f. 200^v, col. 2).

138. 17-19. *And whan kyng Arthure awoke, &c.* *F* here relates the adventures of Accolon. Cf. 140. 15.

138. 20-4. *'What ar ye that so complayne,' &c.* In *F* the conversation is more polished in tone. The knights apostrophize death and bid it hasten to deliver them. When Arthur asks them 'Pour coi vous plaingniés vous si durement?' (cf. *M*'s 'What ar ye that so complayne?') they try to avoid a direct reply (a common device in courtly romance): how is it, they say, that you, a prisoner yourself, do not know the anguish suffered by captives? The king pleads that he is a newcomer and relates the enchantment of which he has been the victim. As the knights condole with him he asks them why they are imprisoned (*M*'s *For what cause, &c.*).

138. 28. *his name is sir Oughlake*. No such name is given in *F*, and the knight in question is invariably referred to as *li freres*.

138. 31-2. *he kepith frome hym . . . and therein sir Outlake dwellith*. He refers

to Outlake, *hym* to Damas. In *F* each of the two brothers holds land and in addition there is a manor which is disputed between them. Outlake suggests, and Damas agrees, that the quarrel should be submitted to the arbitrament of the sword: 'si fiancha maintenant l'uns a l'autre que de quel eure que li yretages seroit desraisiñés, ja li autres n'i clamerait puis riens.' *M* apparently prefers direct action to litigation and so makes Damas, a man 'without mercy' (*traitres . . . cruel . . . et felon* in *F*), seize his brother's land and hold the manor at the point of the sword ('thorow prouesse of his hondis').

139. 5. *no knyght woll fyght for hym*. This, judging by *F*, should refer to Damas's attempt to persuade one of his neighbours to do battle for him.

139. 7-10. *he hath dayly layne a wayte wyth many a knyght, &c.* In *F* a cousin of Damas suggests that he should capture wandering knights of Arthur's court and make them choose between fighting for him and going to prison.

139. 11-13. *and many good knyghtes hath deyde in this preson for hunger to the numbir of eyghtene knyghtes*. This is a curious expansion of *F*'s brief reference to *maint autre qui ont esté mort en ceste prison*. Cf. 540. 28-36.

139. 15-18. *because this Damas ys so false and so full of treson he wolde never fyghte for hym, &c.* In *F* the knights are ready to fight for Damas to escape starvation: '*nous eussions volentiers la bataille emprise, mais il ne nous veult hors metre.*' *M* omits this, but replaces *F*'s '*nous estiens affoibli de la prison*' by the more graphic '*we be so megir for hungir that unnethe we may stande on oure fete*'. Cf. 540. 28-36.

139. 27. *Wyth this* = 'On this condition, that'. Cf. 554. 13.

140. 1-2. *for she was one of the damesels of Morgan le Fay*. This is revealed in *F* at the very beginning of the conversation.

140. 5. *he was well coloured* stands for the French *si fu vermaus*, but whereas *M* uses the phrase to describe Arthur's healthy complexion, in *F* it means 'red with rage': *Quant li rois vint hors, il estoit courechies, si fu vermaus a desmesure* (MS. cit., f. 202^v, col. 1).

140. 5-6. *well made of his lymmes*. *F*: 'fu grans et corsus et jovenes durement, et sains et haitiés, si fu biaux de toutes choses et si bien tailliés de tous membres' (MS. cit., f. 202^v, col. 2).

140. 15 ff. *Now turne we unto Accolon, &c.* In *F* this episode occurs earlier on, before the account of what befell Arthur in prison (MS. cit., ff. 199^v, col. 2-200^r, col. 2). Cf. 138. 17-19.

140. 16. *by a depe welles syde within half a foote*. *F*: 'il n'i avoit pas un piet entre lui et la fontaine.'

140. 22-5. *They were fendis and no women, &c.* *F*: 'Biaus Sires Dieus, se vous ouvriés a ma volenté, vous confunderiés toutes les femes del monde si que por elles ne seroit pseudom trahis ne travilliés. Et je cuic, se vous les aviés confundues, si que li siecles en fust delivrés, ja mais n'avroit traïson ou monde ne desloiauté.' *M*'s Accolon refrains from generalizing and only threatens to punish 'thes false damysels that faryth thus with theire inchauntementes'.

140. 26-7. *a dwarf with a grete mowthe and a flatte nose*. *F*: 'un nain petit et gros, et ot les chaviaus noirs et la bouche grant et le nés petit et chamus.' *M* has selected from this description the two most striking features, the nose

and the mouth, dispensing with the 'dark hair' which is clearly less characteristic of the dwarf's appearance.

140. 30-1. *at the houre of pryme*. *F*: 'a eure de tierche'. Cf. 161. 1-3.

140. 35-7. *And what damesell that bryngyth her the kynges hede . . . she woll make hir a quene*. This remark is borrowed from Morgan's speech to her two damsels which occurs later in *F* (Huth MS., f. 204^r, col. 2): 'Je vous di que je ferai roine celle de vous deus qui le chief de mon frere m'aportera.'

141. 11. *a knyght and a lady wyth six squyers*. *F*: 'chevaliers et dames et damoiseles'.

141. 14. *C*: 'the knyghte'; *W*: 'the kyng'. *W*'s reading is probably due to contamination with 'passyng' in the next line.

141. 22-3. *he was woundid a lytyll tofore thorow bothe his thyghes with a glayve*. The following parallel quotations will show how this remark originated:

F (Huth MS., f. 203^v, col. 2):

i vint li autres freres, tous navrés d'une plaie que uns chevaliers li avoit faite ne n'en pooit garir a sa volenté, et se complaignoit a li aussi que ses freres avoit fait. «Ne vous esmaiés, fait Morgan, je vous metrai prochainement en vostre ostel tel chevalier qui bien fera vostre besoigne et a vostre preu et a vostre hounour, mais gardés que vous n'en parlés a vostre frere.» Et cil dist qu'il vaurroit mieus estre ferus d'une glaive par mi la cuisse k'il en parlast.

M:

he was woundid a lytyll tofore

thorow bothe his thyghes with a glayve.

141. 23. *as he was woundid* = 'wounded as he was'.

141. 27-30. *he seyde that he wolde fyght . . . on the morne*. *F* alone makes it clear how, having heard of the dispute between Damas and Outlake, Morgan turned it to her own advantage. Both Damas and Outlake come to her and ask her to find them champions, Damas because he lacks prowess, and Outlake because he is suffering from wounds received in battle. Morgan at once sees her chance of arranging a battle between Arthur and Accolon and arming Accolon with a deadly weapon.

142. 10. *there were all the knyghtes and comons of that contray*. In *F* the brothers arrange all the preliminaries in the presence of *les pseudoumes del pais* (MS. cit., f. 208^r, col. 2).

142. 20. *Than they dressed hem, &c.* In *F* the combat takes place the day after Arthur has received the sword and the scabbard from Morgan. 'Et ala oir le serviche Nostre Seignour tout armés fors de hyaume et d'escu et de lanche.' After hearing mass Arthur wishes to go straight to the lists, but Damas bids him wait until news comes that his opponent is ready. At prime the parties betake themselves to the field.

142. 25-6. *The meanewhyle . . . com the Damesel of the Lake*. In *F* the Lady of the Lake does not appear until Arthur has broken his sword.

143. 5-6. *Whan Arthure behelde the grounde so sore bebledde he was dismayde. And than he demed treson that his swerde was chonged, for his swerde bote nat steele as hit was wonte to do*. In *F* Arthur begins to suspect treason because he has lost so much blood: 'il regarda par aventure a ses piés et vit l'erbe

ensanglantee environ lui del sanc qui de ses plaies issoit. Et quant il voit chou, il devient tous esbahis et s'aperchoit maintenant qu'il est de s'espee desaisis, trahis et decheus, et qu'elle li a estet changie.' In *M* his suspicions are aroused by the fact that *his swerde bote nat steele as hit was wonte to do*, a detail not suggested by *F*. But there is a curious omission: neither here nor later does *M* say that Accolon loses no blood because he is protected by the magic scabbard (*par la force et par la vertu du fuerre de l'espee*).

143. 24. *and [wente] verily to have dyed*. The fact that in *W* 'and' occurs at the end of a line probably accounts for the omission of *wente*.

144. 9. *Accolon began with wordis of treson*. There is no suggestion of 'treason' in *F*, and *M*'s use of the word might be explained as the result of his misinterpretation of the French 'lors li dist pour lui essaier qu'il en porra traire'. In *F*'s context this means: 'Accolon then tried to dissuade him from fighting on and said', &c. It is difficult to see how, if at all, *M* construed the sentence, but it is possible that he mistook *traire* (literally 'to draw away') for *trair* ('to betray').

144. 26-8. *Arthur preced unto Accolon with his shelde*, &c. *F* (f. 210^v): 'Et li rois nel refuse onques, ains giete l'escu encontre pour recevoir le cop, et cil i fiert si durement R'il en abat a terre canques il en ataint, et lors commenche a mener le roi a l'espee trenchant si malement qu'il li fait le sanc saillir de toutes pars.' *M* must have thought that *cil* referred to Arthur instead of Accolon and mistaken the accusative *le roi* for the nominative.

144. 29-33. *When the Damesell of the Lake behelde Arthur, how full of prowess his body was, and the false treson that was wrought for hym to have had hym slayne, she had grete pete that so good a knyght and such a man of worship sholde so be destroyed*. In *F* the Lady of the Lake does not watch the battle, but comes at this point upon the scene to ensure the safety of Arthur. Merlin, warning her of the danger that threatened Arthur, had foretold all the details of the fight (Huth MS., f. 188^r, col. 2) so that she could identify Arthur at the critical moment and save him ('Merlins meismes li ot bien devisé quels armes il porteroit en la bataille', op. cit., ff. 210^v, col. 2-211^r, col. 1). By omitting this *M* has to supply a different motive for her sudden intervention: she saves Arthur because, having watched the battle from the beginning, she feels that it would be wrong to let such a good knight die.

144. 33-6. *And at the nexte stroke sir Accolon stroke at hym suche a stroke that by the damesels inchauntemente the swerde Excaliber fell oute of Accalons honde to the erthe*. *F* (MS. cit., f. 211^r, col. 1) explains how this happened: 'si giete son enchantement et tient si court Accalon que la ou il avoit s'espee drechie contre mont pour ferir le roi Artus a plain caup n'ot il pooir de s'espee amener a val, ains li chai de la main sour l'erbe.'

145. 8-13. *'A, sir knyght', seyde kynge Arthur, &c.* This is an example of how *M* used the word material of his source:

F (Huth MS., f. 211^r, col. 2):

« Dans chevaliers, ore estes vous alés.
Certes vous estes venus a vostre mort,
chou que vous me desistes hui au-
chunes fois. Ja ne vous garandira la

M:

'A, sir knyght . . . this day haste thou
done me grete damage wyth this
swerde. Now ar ye com unto youre
deth, for I shall nat warraunte you,

desloiaus qui de *ceste espee* vous saisi.
Vous n'euustes pas trop *grant painne*
au conquerre.»

but ye shall be as well rewarded
with *this swerde*, or ever we departe,
as ye have rewarded me, for *much*
payne have ye made me to endure
and much blood have I loste.'

145. 24. 'But God do with my body what He woll.' F (MS. cit., f. 211^v, col. 1): 'Mais l'outranche que vous me requerés n'orrés vous ja, se Dieu plaist.'
145. 25-6. *Than sir Arthure remembirde hym and thought he scholde have sene this knyght* is a mistranslation of *et lors s'apensa li rois Artus qu'il savora que il est*. M has mistaken the future for the past, with the result that Arthur, instead of deciding to find out the knight's name, recognizes him as an old acquaintance.
145. 32-3. *for than he remembirde hym . . . enchauntement of the shippe*. F (loc. cit.) says: 'car il set bien que che est il qui avoec lui fu enchantés dedens la nef'. Morgan is not mentioned. How in fact could she be, since Arthur is as yet unaware of any collusion between Morgan and Accolon?
145. 34. *I pray you [telle me] who*. The omission of *telle me* in W is probably due to the fact that *you* comes at the end of the line.
145. 36-7. *Wo worthe this swerde*. F: 'mal la presisse je, l'espee!' Although *wo worthe* makes excellent sense it is most probably the result of a confusion between *proisier* (= 'to prize') and *prendre*.
146. 1-5. The contradiction between ll. 1-3 (*this swerde hath bene in my kepyng the moste party of this twelve-monthe*) and ll. 3-5 (*Morgan le Fay . . . sent it me yestirday*) goes back to F. There, as in M, although the sword is brought to Accolon by a dwarf the day before the battle, Accolon says to Arthur that Morgan gave it him *il i a plus d'un an passet*. Equally puzzling, and again supported by F, are the words *to the entente to slei kyng Arthure hir brothir* (F: 'pour chou que je en deusse occhirre le roi Artus son frere'). Neither F nor M has so far suggested that Accolon is in league with Morgan.
146. 6-7. 'because he is moste of worship and of prouesse of ony of hir bloode'. F gives no such reason: 'car bien saichiés qu'il n'i a riens ou monde que elle hee si morteument que elle fait le roi Artus' (MS. cit., f. 211^v, col. 2).
146. 9-14. *And if she myght bryng hit aboute to sle Arthure by hir crauftis she wolde sle hir husbonde kyng Uryence lyghtly, &c.* F (MS. cit., f. 212^r, col. 1): 'Et pour la grant amour que ele avoit a moi pourcachast elle volentiers la mort de son frere, se elle en euust le loisir, et me fesist couronner dou roiaime de Logres, se elle peuust en nule guise.' Both in M and in F Accolon seems to know more about Morgan's secret designs than is compatible with his alleged innocence, but in F he is at least unaware of her attempt to murder Urience.
146. 28-9. *I fele by thy wordis that thou haste agreed to the deth of my persone, and therefore thou art a traytoure*. Not in F.
147. 8. *hit is hymself kyng Arthure oure all lyege lord*. F: 'Chou est li rois Artus, que vous veés chi devant vous, que vous mesistes em bataille campel encontre moi aussi comme che fust un povre chevaliers errans. Bien vous deveroit on tous destruire et hounir des cors, car a poi que vous n'avés occhis vostre signour lige.'

147. 12-148. 6. *Than all the peple . . . brother Damas.* Most of this is *M*'s own invention. In *F* the keepers of the field (not *all* the people) fall on their knees and crave the king's pardon. The king forgives them on condition that they do not disclose his identity until he has reached Camelot. (The sententious remark about the adventures that befall knights-errant is not in *F*.) The two brothers are then brought to him and at his command make peace with each other. *M* must have felt that as Outlake was the victim of an injustice the case could not be settled without some material compensation such as a transfer of property from the offender to the victim ('that sir Outelake holde the maner of you and yerely to gyff you a palfrey to ryde uppon')—one more sign that the practical side of life was not far below the surface of the English author's consciousness. Cf. my *Malory*, pp. 49-50.
148. 29-32. *a ryche abbey of youre elders foundacion, of nunmys.* *F* (MS. cit., f. 212^v, col. 2): 'une abeie de nonnains qui assés estoit près d'illuec'.
149. 4. *sey that I sende her hym to a present.* In *F* the dead body of Accolon is not described as a 'present'. The phrase was probably suggested to *M* by the remark 'et li presentés de par moi cest chevalier que elle amoit de tout son cuer'.
149. 7-9. *The meanewhyle Morgan le Fay, &c.* *F* begins with an account of what befell Urience after the adventure of the magic ship: 'Or dist li contes que li rois Uriens fu aportés par enchantement dalés Morgain sa feme a cele eure que li rois fu mis en la prison et Accalon el vergiet. Li rois Uriens sans faille s'esmiervilla quant il fu mis dalés sa feme, mais il ne fu point esbahi, car il ne li souvenoît pas dou roi ne de la nef ne de chose qui li fust avenue devant . . . , si s'en rendormi maintenant aussi fermement comme il avoit devant fait.' *M* makes no attempt to connect the two episodes. Cf. *Introduction*, p. liv. For a continuation of *F*'s account see 150. 4-14.
149. 10-11. *Go fecche me my lordes swerde, &c.* In *F* the scene opens with a conversation between Morgan and one of her ladies. Morgan points to the sleeping king and tells the lady that they will never have a better opportunity of making away with him. The lady, however, refuses to do the killing, alleging that she is *feble et couarde*; she is afraid of Urience's vengeance if the attempt should fail. It is only then that Morgan announces her readiness to do the deed and sends the lady into the next room for Urience's sword.
149. 18-22. *So she wente . . . to fecch his swerde.* In *F* Uwain, having overheard the conversation between his mother and her 'damsel', watches from a hiding-place to see what will happen and rushes into the room just in time to prevent the murder. *M* makes him act in a more dignified manner and at the same time gives the damsel a less guilty part: she endeavours to persuade Morgan to abandon her design, and when this fails warns Uwain that his mother 'woll sle the kyng . . . slepyng on his bedde'.
149. 24-5. *with quakyng hondis.* *F*: 'toute tramblant'.
149. 28-31. *sir Uwayne lepte unto his modir, &c.* *F* (MS. cit., f. 213^v, col. 2): 'Lors saut par dessus le lit, coume chis qui legiers estoit, si prent sa mere par le brac et li oste l'espee de la main.' Here *M* adds the exclamation, *A, fende, what wolt thou do?* but the next sentence—*And thou were nat my modir with this swerde I sholde smyte thyme hede*—is an admirably condensed translation

of F: 'Certes se vous ne fuissies ma mere, mar l'eussies baillie, l'espee, car ja mais après ceste ne baillissies autre, ains en morussies maintenant.'

149. 32-3. *men seyde that Merlyon was begotyn of a fende, but I may say an erthely fende bare me.* F (f. 214^r, col. 1): 'Je devroie mieus estre apielés fieus de dyable comme Merlins, car nus ne vit onques que li peres de Merlin fust dyables, mais je vous ai veut et dyable et anemi droit. Et si fu en vous concheus et de vous issi, de quoi je puis de voir affremer que je sui mieus fieus de dyable que che ne soit Merlins.' What M's crisp rendering loses in rhetorical finish it certainly gains in force and naturalness.

150. 4-14. *Then come tydynges unto Morgan le Fay that Accolon was dede.* This is preceded in F by a sequel to the scene quoted under 149. 7-9. Urience wakes up again and is astonished to find himself in his castle instead of in the magic ship. He sends his knights to look for traces of the ship and of his two companions. Lines 4-28 are a brief summary of what follows: Urience's messengers find no trace of either Arthur or Accolon; at length the four knights appear, bearing Accolon on a bier. Accolon's body is recognized by the bystanders, and the bearers give Morgan Arthur's message. She pretends to laugh the matter off with the remark that this is a joke of the king's. But when Accolon's body is buried in the church of St. Stephen she is overcome with grief (cf. M, ll. 7-8): 'Onques de tout le jour ne pot faire Morgue biele chiere, car elle avoit tant de duel a son cuer que feme n'en porroit plus avoir, pour la mort d'Accalon que elle amoit plus que riens qui adont fust au monde' (MS. cit., f. 215^v, col. 2). The next day she orders her ladies to make hasty preparations for flight and takes leave of Guinevere, as in M.

150. 23-4. *she wyste (welle) that he was there. And anone she asked where he was.* I take this to mean that Morgan le Fay knew that Arthur was in the abbey and that when she arrived there she asked where in the abbey she could find him (cf. F: 'Morgue toutes voies aloit la plus droite voie que elle savoit la ou li rois Artus estoit. . . . Quant elle fu laiens descendue elle demanda que li rois faisoit'). The emendation (*wyste welle for W's wyste nat*) is thus supported by F, but it can also be justified on the ground that it provides a common denominator for the two surviving readings: C's *knowyng he was there she asked where he was* is an attempt to avoid the apparent contradiction between *wyste welle that he was there* and *asked where he was* without altering the sense, while W's *wyste nat* is an attempt to avoid the same contradiction without much regard for the general sense. I have supplied *welle* after *wyste* because *to wyte welle* is M's normal phrase for 'to know' (cf. ll. 10 and 35-6) and because it is fair to assume that first of all *welle* dropped out after *wyste* by homœoteleuton and that the next copyist, puzzled both by the contradictory appearance of the sentence and the incompleteness of the phrase *wyste that*, inserted the negation after *wyste*.

150. 25-8. *'he had but lityll reste this thre nyghtes.' 'Well,' seyde she, 'I charge that none of you awake hym tyll I do.'* Not in F.

150. 31. *no man durste disobey hir comaundement.* Not in F. See next note.

151. 3-5. *they seyde his sister, quene Morgan le Fay, had bene there, &c.* In F the knights who are keeping guard reply that a lady has been there, but that they did not know her. At Arthur's request they describe her, and from

their description Arthur realizes that it is Morgan who has committed the theft. Hence there is no room for either Arthur's reproach ('falsly have ye wacched me') or for the courtiers' reply ('we durst nat disobey your systers commaundement').

151. 10-11. *bydde sir Outlake arme hym, &c.* *F* (MS. cit., f. 216^v, col. 2): 'Et fait aussi monter un autre chevalier pour lui faire compaignie.' *M* has identified *un autre chevalier* with a character already familiar to the reader (distinct from *Outlake of Wentelonde*, see 115. 8-9).

151. 17. *W*: 'rydyng this way with a fourty horses. And so they folowed.' *C*: 'rydyng with a XL horses and to yonder forest she rode Thenne they spored theire horses and folowed.' *F* supports *C* and shows that *W* has lost part of this sentence through a homœoteleuton: 'Et quant elle s'en fu de chi alee, elle s'en ala droit a cel bosquel ou chevaliers et dames l'attendoient' (MS. cit., f. 217^r, col. 1).

151. 25-6. *So hit sanke, for hit was hevvy of golde and precious stonys.* *F* gives no such description of the scabbard, but tells of its subsequent fate: it remains in the lake until Marsique, the beautiful fay, raises it in order that Gawain can bear it when he does battle against Naborn the Enchanter. It then disappears from mortal ken 'si coume cis contes meismes le devisera apertement quant lius et tans en sera'.

151. 30-1. *anone withall come kynge Arthure and sir Outlake whereas the kynge myght know his sistir and her men.* *W* inserts a negation after *myght*: 'whereas the kynge myght *nat* know his sistir', &c. This implies that Arthur came to a place where he could *not* see Morgan and her knights and that his remark '*here may ye se the vengeance of God*' referred to his failure to discover her whereabouts. The reading I have adopted—'whereas the kynge myght know', &c.—is *C*'s and it tells an entirely different story: Arthur comes to a place where he *can* see Morgan and her knights changed into stone, and at the sight of the miracle exclaims '*here may ye se the vengeance of God*'. Such, too, is the substance of *F*'s account. Arthur's companion is the first to notice the stone statues of men and horses; bewildered by this *merveille* he says to Arthur: 'Veés la gent de pierre, chevaus de pierre. Onques mais de tel merveille n'oi nus hom parler.' Arthur soon recognizes Morgan and her knights: 'Et quant il en est si prés qu'il les puet auques remirer, il dist au chevalier qui avoec li estoit . . . « Par foi, fait il, c'est Morgue ma serour et toute sa compaignie qui sont mué en pierre »' (MS. cit., f. 218^r, col. 1). The insertion of *nat* in *W* is clearly a scribal error.

151. 32-4. '*A, seyde the kynge, here may ye se the vengeance of God! And now am I sory this mysaventure is befall.*' *F*: 'tout est torné a dolour et a mesaventure entre ma serour et sa maisnie. Elle ne fist onques se mal non, et a la fin li a Dieus monstre, car il l'a confondue et li et tous cheus qui la suivoient.' The change from the moralizing trend of Arthur's remark in *F* to the melancholy tone of his exclamations in *M* may not be intentional. Starting with *a la fin Dieus li a monstre* ('here may ye se the vengeance of God'), *M* went back to *tout est torné a dolour et a mesaventure* and possibly mistook this sentence for *tant m'est torné a dolour la mesaventure* ('now am I sory this mysaventure is befall').

152. 3-4. *and we myght a stered of one stede* = 'if any one of us had been able

to move from his steed'. The reason for this strange construction is to be found in the corresponding sentence in the Huth MS.: '*se nous euussiens pooir de fuir, nous nous fuissions fui, car nous nel doutons pas petit; mais nous n'aviens nes poissanche de metre fors nos alainnes*'. *M* misread the italicized words as '*se nous euussiens pooir de metre fors* (= to move) *nes* (= even) *a. I. aune* (= saddle)' and took them to mean 'if we had only been able to move from any one saddle'. For examples of this type of misreading, cf. 101. 37-102. 1, 102. 24, 118. 36-119. 2, and 132. 13-16.

The reading of the Cambridge MS. (f. 322^v, col. 2) is substantially the same as that quoted above: '*nus n'avioms puissanz neis de mettre fors nos alaines*'.

152. 4. *amyvestyall*. No such word exists in either Old French or Middle-English, and *M*'s use of it can only be explained by reference to the Huth MS. which has in the corresponding place: '*nous n'aviens nes poissanche de metre fors nos alainnes, ains estions del tout aussi comme mors*'. This was the sentence *M* had in front of him when he was looking for a suitable epithet to go with 'countenance'. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that glancing at the passage without really reading it he saw the words *ains estions del* and promptly coined a new adjective—*amyvestyall* or *amvestiall*—without any specific meaning.¹ *W*'s *amyvestyall* is clearly more authentic than *C*'s *armyestall*, for *C* not only omits the *i* of *estions* but, in an attempt to read sense into a non-existent word, inserts *r* between *a* and *m*. Sommer takes up the hint, makes *armyestall* into a derivative of 'army' ('warlike', 'martial'), but queries it in his *Glossary*. Later editors have dispensed with the query. A. W. Pollard gives 'martial' as the genuine meaning of the word and Strachey goes so far as to replace it in the text by 'warlike'.

The Cambridge MS. (loc. cit.) omits the words *del tout* ('ains estoions ausi com mort') which undoubtedly occurred in *M*'s immediate source.

152. 7-9. *she mette a knyght ledynge another knyght on horseback, &c.* In *F* Morgan encounters '*un chevalier qui avoit un homme despoillié tout nu, en ses braies, et li avoit les ieus bendés, et le voloit gietier en un puich qui devant lui estoit. Et estoit chis puis plains de vermine anieuse*'.
152. 14-15. *she shall have the same deth anone.* *F* (MS. cit., f. 218^v, col. 1): '*je le lancerai orendroit en cest puich apriés ma feme que ge i ai getee pour la desloiauté ou je le trouvai*'. *M* seems to have misread this as: '*je le lancerai orendroit en cest puich: apriés ma feme ge l'i geterai, pour la desloiauté*', &c.
152. 17. *Is hit trouthe that he seyth of you?* In *F* Morgan, instead of asking the knight whether the charge against him is true, declares that he deserves to die.
152. 18. *he seyth nat ryght on me.* *F*: '*Ensi m'ait Dieu que je n'en fui onques coupables de che qu'il me met sus*'.
152. 24-5. *So this Manessen was loused and the other knyght bounde.* In *F* Morgan casts a spell on Manessen's adversary, making him fall to the ground: '*Lors jete son enchantement si que li chevaliers se traist arriere si enchantés qu'il n'a pooir de soi tenir en estant, ains chiet a terre tout adens. Et elle vient maintenant a Manassés, se li desloie les mains qu'il avoit liés derriere le dos et li desbende les ieus*' (MS. cit., f. 219^r, col. 1).

¹ In the MS. he was using *ain* looked very much like *am* and *del* like *all*.

152. 25-8. *And anone Manessen . . . so drowned hym.* In *F* Morgan asks Manessen what he proposes to do with his late captor. He replies that he has decided to drown him. Morgan approves this plan, 'coume celle en qui cuer merchis n'estoit onques entree'. She then bids him disarm his victim. 'Et cil li oste maintenant toutes les armes qu'il avoit vestues et le despoille tout nu, et puis le gete tout nu el puis a tel eure que cil i morut, car en poi d'eure fu noiiés.'
152. 33. *lette hym wete I can do much more whan I se my tyme.* Judging by *F*, this should mean that next time Morgan arranges a single combat between Arthur and one of her own knights Arthur will not come out of it alive: 'Et encore li poés dire que plus euusse je fait de lui, ne fust la damoisele cacheresse qui l'a garandi encontre moi' (MS. cit., f. 219^v, col. 1).
152. 34-6. *she departed into the contrey of Gore and there was rychely receyved, &c.* In *F* Morgan arrives in Gorlot (*not* Gore), establishes herself in the castle of Tugan, and builds a tomb in which she hides a book given her by Merlin. This book foretells the manner in which Arthur and Gawain are to die, but Morgan herself knows nothing of the prophecies which it contains. Great harm will be wrought by this tomb: Gawain and Hector des Marés, while guarding it, will be sorely wounded by Lancelot. *Et ceste aventure devise ceste ystoire anchois que on kieche a conter la vie de Percheval. Mais ore laisse li contes a deviser de Morgain et de cele aventure, et parole del roi Artus.*

VI

GAWAIN, YWAIN, AND MARHALT

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F* = (1) Cambridge MS, ff. 323^v, col. 2-342^v, col. 2.
 (2) Huth MS. (Br. Mus. Add. 38117), ff. 220^r, col. 1-230^r, col. 2 (old foliation).
 (3) MS. B.N. fr. 112, ff. 17^r, col. 2-28^r, col. 2.

EDITION OF *F* (2): *Merlin . . .*, p.p. G. Paris et J. Ulrich (S.A.T.F.), vol. ii, pp. 228-54.

EDITION OF *F* (3): *Die Abenteuer Gawains, Ywains und Le Morholts mit den drei Jungfrauen*, ed. by H. O. Sommer in *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xlvii.

Critical works:

1. H. O. Sommer, [Introduction to] *Le Morte Darthur*, &c., vol. iii, pp. 143-8.
 2. H. O. Sommer, *Die Abenteuer*, &c. (as above), p. xxvii, footnote; p. xli, footnote.
 3. F. Whitehead, *On Certain Episodes in the Fourth Book of Malory's Morte Darthur*, *Medium Ævum*, vol. ii (October 1933), pp. 199-216.
157. 1-158. 11. *Whan the kynge had well rested hym, &c.* *M* is here com-

binning two distinct episodes: that of Uwain's exile from the court and that of the magic mantle, which does not occur in *F* until later. The adventure of the magic mantle leads to the discovery of Morgan's plot, and it is this discovery that causes Arthur to banish Uwain whom he 'holds suspect' because he is Morgan's son. In this way *M*'s narrative acquires more coherence and unity than can be claimed for its source, and the threefold quest of adventures by Uwain, Gawain, and Marhalte appears as a natural outcome of one of the main themes of the *Tale of Arthur*—the story of Morgan's treachery.

157. 6-7. *Than come Manessen.* In *F* the damsel who 'com on message frome Morgan le Fay' arrives before Manessen.
157. 7. *tolde the kyng of his adventure.* In *F* Manessen describes how Morgan changed herself and her retinue into stone in order to outwit Arthur. If *M* had this in mind 'his adventure' should be taken to mean 'the danger he (= Arthur) was in'.
157. 8-9. *'I shall be so avengid on hir and I lyve, that all crystendom shall speke of hir.'* In *F* Arthur says, more cautiously, that *if* Morgan had not been a sorceress he would have duly punished her ('*j'en eusse vengié et moy et tout le siecle*').
157. 10. *So on the morne there cam a damesell.* In *F* (MS. cit., ff. 21^r, col. 2-21^v, col. 1) the first to arrive is the Lady of the Lake who informs Arthur of the plot. The bearer of the mantle comes 'au soir, après soupper'.
157. 13-14. *as full of precious stonys . . . that ever the kyng saw.* Not in *F*.
157. 15-19. *'Your sister sendyth you this mantell', &c.* *M* does not seem to realize that the last thing Morgan wants is to let Arthur know that the mantle came from her. In *F* the damsel refers to her in ironical terms which conceal her identity: 'la plus vaillante damoiselle et la plus belle que je sache orendroit ou monde'.
157. 20. *With that come the Damesell of the Lake.* See 157. 10.
157. 29-30. *I woll se hit upon you.* In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 112, f. 21^v, col. 1) Arthur invents an ingenious excuse for asking the damsel to wear the mantle: 'Damoiselle, fet il, certes il est beaulx, mais je croy qu'il seroit mieulx convenable a damoiselle que a chevalier, car il me semble ung pou trop court. Et pour ce vous pry je que vous l'essaiés; si verrons comme il vous serra.'
157. 33-4. *'ye shall were hit or hit com on my bak.'* *F*: 'Si vueil, fait il, que vous le faciés, et se blasme y avient, le blasme en sera tornés sur moy et non mie sur vous.' A characteristic change from a request to a command.
157. 36-7. *she fell downe deede and never spoke worde after, and brente to colys.* In *F* the damsel does not burn 'to colys': 'elle chiet a terre et s'estent, et maintenant ly part l'ame du cors' (MS. cit., f. 21^v, col. 1). Arthur then has a fire lit and throws the damsel's body on it, together with the mantle.
158. 1-11. *Than was the kyng wondirly wroth more than he was toforehande, and seyde unto kyng Uryence, &c.* The essence of Arthur's speech is drawn from *F*'s account of his return home after his combat with Accolon (MS. B.N. fr. 112, f. 17^v, col. 1), but whereas in *F* Arthur pardons Uryence on account of his past record, in *M* he simply acquits him of the charge of conspiracy.
158. 12-14. *And whan sir Gawayne wyste that, he made hym redy to go with*

- hym*, &c. In *F* he does this at Uwain's request (MS. B.N. fr. 112, f. 17v, col. 1).
158. 18. *all the astatis*. *F*: the king and his knights.
158. 18-19. '*Now*', *seyde Gaherys*. In *F* the speaker is Arthur.
158. 19-20. *loste two good knyghtes for the love of one*. *F*: 'perdu l'un pour l'autre'.
158. 23. *by a turrette*. Not in *F*, but when Marhalte arrives on the scene the ladies take refuge in a tower 'qui près d'illec estoit' (MS. B.N. fr. 112, f. 18r, col. 2).
158. 27-8. *as the damesels com by hit*, &c. In *F* the ladies hurl abuse at the shield but do not 'throw mire' upon it—a gesture hardly imaginable in the French setting of the story.
158. 31-5. '*Sir*', *seyde the damesels*, &c. In *F* the speaker is Uwain. Cf. 159. 4-5.
158. 36-159. 3. '*I shall sey you*', *seyde Gawayne* '... *suche a man of prouesse as ye speke of*'. Not in *F*. From the point of view of the courtly tradition the fact that a knight 'lovyth in som other placis' does not justify him in being discourteous.
159. 4-5. '*Sir*', *they seyde*, '*his name is sir Marhaus*', &c. In *F* the speaker is Uwain. Cf. 158. 30-5.
159. 6-9. '*I knowe hym well*', *seyde sir Uwayne* '... *myght no man withstonde hym*'. These four lines are an expansion of *F*'s *je le vy n'a pas un an en ung tournoement ou j'estoie escuier* (MS. cit., f. 18r, col. 1).
159. 19-21. *And whan the twelve damesels sawe sir Marhaus*, &c. In *F* (MS. cit., f. 18r, col. 2) a boy watching from a tree announces the approach of Marhalte. 'Onques ne veistes femmes si espoventees com elles estoient, car la plus forte et la plus seure convint il a cheoir a terre deus foiz ou trois ains qu'elles venissent a la tour, de la grant paour qu'elles avoient du Morholt.'
159. 31. *But yet for hir love that gaff me this whyght shelde I shall were the*. In *F* Marhalte says that for the love of her who gave him the shield he has so far refrained from using it.
159. 33. *And so he honged it aboute his necke*. In *F* he first cleans the shield and kisses it.
160. 3-7. '*Late hym go*' ... '*so good a knyght*'. Not in *F*. Uwain's praise of Marhalte is, however, modelled on Gawain's remark in *F*: 'Ha! Dieux, tant est cil homs puissant. . . . Dieux, tant seroit fol et desmesurés qui tel honme aatiroit d'une bataille s'il n'y avoit droite achoison' (MS. cit., f. 18v, col. 2).
160. 31-2. *hit is nat commendable one knyght to be on horsebak and the other on foote*. Not in *F*.
161. 1-3. *But sir Gawayne* . . . *his myght encresed*. *M* translates *midy* 'nine of the klok' instead of 'noon', thus altering the time of the day during which Gawain's strength grows. According to *F* (MS. cit., f. 19r, col. 2), 'Gauvain . . . estoit de tel maniere que en toutes saisons il doubloit sa force entour heure de mydy'; but his strength abated a few hours later: 'car sanz faille celle force qui ly venoit entour heure de midy acoustumeement ne ly duroit pas très bien jusqu'a heure de nonne' (= 3 p.m.).
161. 12-13. '*and oure quarelllys ar nat grete*'. In *F* this remark belongs to

Gawain: 'la querele n'est pas si grant entre nous ne la haine si mortelle que elle ne doie bien remanoir'.

161. 14. *a fele* = 'I feel'. See *Glossary*.

161. 22-34. *And as they rode by the way . . . as a knyght ought to do*. Not in *F*.

162. 1-5. *For as the booke rehersyth in Freynsch there was this many knyghtes that overmacched sir Gawayne for all his thyrse double myght that he had: sir Launcelot de Lake, sir Trystrams, sir Bors de Gaynes, sir Percivale, sir Pelleas, sir Marhaus; thes six knyghtes had the bettir of sir Gawayne*. A similar passage occurs in *F*, but at an earlier point in the story, in the account of the battle between Gawain and Marhalte (B.N. fr. 112, f. 19^r, col. 2): 'il ne trouva en toute sa vie chevalier qui a luy se combatist a l'espee qu'il ne menast en la fin jusqu'a oultrance, fors seulement six. Ly ungs en fut Lancelot du Lac; ly autres Boors li Essiliez; ly autres Hector des Mares; ly quart Gaherietz. . . . Le quint fut Tristan l'Amoureux. . . . Le sixieme fut le Morholt dont je parle en cest compte cy.' In *M* Hector and Gaheriet are replaced by Perceval and Pelleas.

162. 35-163. 18. *Whan thes knyghtes . . . hir is me moste levyste*. In *F* (MS. cit., f. 20^r, col. 2) it is the eldest of the three ladies who asks the knights what they are seeking, not the knights who ask the ladies why they are sitting at the fountain. The three companions explain that they are knights-errant; the eldest lady then rallies Gawain on the shortness of his stature, declaring that she does not believe he is capable of achieving any adventure that requires skill and strength. Gawain assures her that there is no knight in the land whom he fears to meet in battle. Thereupon the lady issues a challenge: each knight shall take a lady and set out with her on a quest. When they accept the challenge she goes on to warn them that (f. 20^v, col. 1) 'il y a une de noz trois qui ne se peut mettre en queste, se cil ne luy creante qui avec ly se mettra qu'il la conduira un an sauvement et la garantira encontre tous ceulx qui rien ly voudront demander'. Uvain agrees to take charge of her. Gawain and Marhalte then pick their ladies, Gawain courteously allowing Marhalte the first choice and Marhalte, no less courteously, choosing 'celle de moyen aage'. 'Et messire Gauvain prent l'autre, qui moult estoit de grant beauté.'

163. 18. *hir is me moste levyste*. The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes *C*'s reading—*she is moost lewest to me*—as an illustration of the predicative use of *lief* (AC) in the sense of 'dear', 'agreeable'. *W*'s reading shows, however, that *levyste* should be taken here as an adverb ('gladly', 'willingly') with the verb 'to have' understood: 'for it is her I should have most willingly'.

163. 23. *and every knyght sette his lady behynde hym*. In *F* (MS. cit., f. 20^v, col. 1) the ladies ride their own horses: 'lors montent les damoiselles et les chevaliers aussi'.

163. 24-6. *And sir Uwayne toke the way that lay weste, and sir Marhaus toke the way that lay sowthe, and sir Gawayne toke the way that lay northe*. Not in *F*. Cf. 117. 30.

164. 19-20. *undir the horse bely*. In *F* the knight is tied to the horse's tail: 'Et en vont le chevalier traynant a la queue du cheval si grant erre que c'est merveille qu'ilz ne le derompent tout' (MS. cit., f. 22^v, col. 1).

164. 32-3. *methynkes ye have no lyste to helpe hym*. In *F* Gawain is about to

rescue the knight, but his host stops him and says: 'Ha, sire! Pour Dieu ne vous entremetés de chose que vous veés, mes souffrés le.' The damsel's disparaging remark is not in *F*, but *M* may have borrowed it from a later passage which he reproduced again on p. 165 (ll. 27-30).

164. 37. *with a grete mowthe and a shorte nose.* *F* (loc. cit.): *ung nain laitz et hideux et petit, la plus hideuse creature qui onques fut veue a mon escient* (MS. B.N. fr. 112, f. 22^v, col. 1). *M* probably remembered that the dwarf who had brought Excalibur to Accolon had a *grete mowthe and a flatte nose* (cf. p. 140, ll. 26-7).

165. 2-3. *they began to stryve for the lady, for the knyght seyde he wolde have hir.* The 'strife' between the knight and the dwarf, which *M* dismisses with this brief remark, occupies a whole column in *F* (MS. cit., f. 22^v, col. 2). The knight, treating the dwarf with the disdain demanded by the courtly code, refuses at first to speak to him ('le chevalier ne ly respont mot, car il ly atornoit a desdaing que cil le tenoit tant en paroles'); then he contemptuously declines to fight their quarrel out: 'Comment, nains? fet le chevalier, vouldriés tu donc que je me combatisse a toy? . . . Ja se Dieu plaist, fet le chevalier, tant ne m'avilleray que a toy me combatte.'

165. 4. *Woll we do welle?* = 'Shall we do the right thing if we do this?'

165. 5. *Letie hit be putt uppon hym* (= 'let it be entrusted to him') is perhaps a deliberate mistranslation of the French *je m'en metray . . . sur ce que cil chevalier illec en dira* ('I shall rely upon what that knight will say about it').

165. 15-18. *she left the knyght and went to the dwarff, &c.* In *F* (MS. cit., f. 23^r, cols. 1-2) the lady explains her choice by saying that the knight has been false to her: 'a moy avés vous failli a tous les jours de vostre vie.' When she leaves him and goes away with the dwarf (who departs 'liez et joyeulx et faisant joye merveilleuse', but not 'syngyng' as in *M*) the knight says to Gawain: '« Ha sire! que pourray je fere? Je suis mors et honnis quant ceste damoysselle s'en vait ainsi, car je n'amoye rien fors ly, ne n'ameray jour de ma vie. » Et il (= Gauvain) se seigne de la merveille qu'il en a et respont: « Sire, je ne sçay que dire de ceste chose, onques mes femme ne fist si grant deablerie com ceste a fait. Voirement a elle bien cuer de femme qui vous a laissié et a pris ceste fature. » Et le chevalier respont tout em plorant: « Sire, telz sont li guerdons d'amour que cil qui ayme loyaument n'avendra ja a ce qu'il plus convoite. »'

165. 19-21. *Than com there two knyghtes all armed and cryed on hyght: 'Sir Gawayne, knyght of the courte of kyng Arthure! make the redy in haste and juste with me!'* In *F* two knights appear, but only one of them cries: *Gauvain, Gauvain, a joustier te convient!* This explains the apparent inconsistency in *M* between the plural of the opening sentence and the singular of 'juste with me'.

165. 27-30. *I may nat fynde in my herte to be with hym, for ryght now here was one knyght that comfytet ten knyghtes, and at the last he was cowardly ledde away.* This seems at first sight an odd reason for taking a dislike to Gawain. In *F* the lady says that Gawain is a coward because he has allowed a good knight to be defeated and carried away without even attempting to rescue him.

166. 23-4. *But she was so prowde that she had scorne of hym.* The reason for

this, as *F* explains, is that Pelleas 'est de bas lignage et elle est extraicte de haulte gent' (MS. cit., f. 24^r, col. 1). Reluctant as he was to have a protagonist of low birth, *M* made Pelleas 'lord of many isles' (cf. p. 168, ll. 1-2) and so removed the motive for Ettard's 'pride and scorn'. Cf. 170. 25-6.

166. 27-8. *and Sir Pelleas wolde have profyrde hem love they wolde have shewed hym the same for his noble prouesse.* Not in *F*.

166. 29-31. *And so this knyght promysed Ettarde to folow hir into this contray and never to leve her tyll she loved hym.* This sums up one of the finest lyrical monologues in *F*: '... suis je maubaillis et cheuz en douleur et en la greigneur langour que onques mais homme fust. Car je languiray des or mais, ne ne pourray mourir ne vivre, car il n'est nulle douleur fors la mort seulement qui me peust faire morir tant com je vous sceusse en vie, ne nulle peine ne nulle honte que je souffrisse pour vous ne me pourroit de vostre amour oster' (MS. cit., f. 24^r, col. 2).

166. 33. *And every weke she sendis knyghtes to fyght with hym.* In *F* Arcade (*M*'s *Ettard*) forbids Pelleas to set foot on the Plaine Aventureuse which belongs to her, and warns him that if he does she will order her knights to seize him and cast him into prison. When he tries to see her she hides from him. He then decides to trespass upon the Plaine Aventureuse so as to be captured by her knights and brought before her: 'Et ainsi la verroit, ou honteux ou joyeux; autant li chaloit si l'en li faisoit honte comme honnor, mes qu'il la veist. Lors s'en ala en la Plaigne Aventureuse tout armés, et la damoiselle y envoioit chascun jour (*M*: 'every weke') des chevaliers de son hostel.'

166. 34-167. 2. *and whan he hath putt hem to the worse than woll he suffir hem wyllfully to take hym presonere because he wolde have a syght of this lady.* By a process of simplification and compression *M* has robbed this incident, perhaps not unwittingly, of all its significance. In *F* (MS. cit., f. 24^v, col. 1) Pelleas strikes the ten knights down and, having thus disgraced them, sends them back to their mistress. Arcade then dispatches ten knights to joust with him, one after the other. If it should happen that he unhorses them all they are not to attack him on foot but to order him, by the faith he owes his lady, to stand still. If he obeys they are to tie him to the tail of a horse and bring him to Arcade. Pelleas submits to this not merely because, as in *M*, he hopes to 'have a sight' of her, but because he is anxious to obey the courtly convention which requires a knight to carry out the commands of his lady however unreasonable they may seem.

167. 4-5. *and somtyme bynde hym undir the horse bealy.* See 164. 19-20.

167. 8. *all this cannat make hym to leve.* In *F* Arcade asks Pelleas if he still has it in his heart to love her. He replies that he loves her more than ever, since he is sure that the suffering she has inflicted upon him will not have been borne in vain.

167. 8-10. *and he wolde a fought on foote, he myght have had the bettir of the ten knyghtes as well on foote as on horsebak.* *F* (MS. cit., f. 24^v, col. 2): 'Car bien sâchés de voir que s'il vouloit faire son pouvoir de soy desfendre, ilz ne ly pourroient faire chose qui li despleust, car il est trop bon chevalier.'

167. 11-13. *'Alas', sayde sir Gawayne, 'hit is grete pytt of hym', &c.* In *F* Gawain expresses at length his opinion of the lady's conduct. He has never

heard, he says, of so proud or so ill-bred a lady. He doubts whether she can be of such noble birth as she is said to be, for no high-born lady could deal so harshly with such a lover. If it were possible, he would try to bring them together; but he does not, as in *M*, announce his intention of seeking Pelleas and offering him his help.

167. 15. *sir Carados* is anonymous in *F*.

167. 16. *makyngre grete mone oute of mesure* stands for the French 'estoit si pensifz qu'a paines l'entendi li'.

167. 18-29. *And as hit above rehersyth . . . on his horse bak*. Not in *F*. Lines 23-6 offer an interesting contrast to the French: 'se je n'y prenoie plus a ceste foiz guerdon de cest travailh ne mes ce que je vous voy, si m'en tieng je moult bien a païé'. Whereas the French writer thinks that the knight is amply justified in besmirching his reputation for prowess in obedience to his lady, *M* endeavours to assure his readers that but for the expectation of a reward Pelleas would have preferred death.

167. 35-7. '*Sir, I am of the courte of kyngre Arthure . . . sir Gawayne*.' In *F*, instead of announcing himself as the son of King Lot of Orkeney as he does in *M*, Gawain replies that he is 'ung chevalier errant d'estrangle pais'. Later in *F* it appears that Pelleas knows Gawain's name, but *F* does not explain how he discovered it.

168. 1-7. *And my name . . . she is lady off*. Not in *F*. Cf. 166. 23-4.

168. 8-18. '*And so I may never com to hir presence. . . I myght have a syght of hir dayly*.' Not in *F*.

168. 22-3. *and so shall I come within hir to cause hir to cheryshe me*. In *F* Gawain's plan on setting out is nothing more than to gain access to the lady's castle and plead Pelleas's cause for him.

168. 23-4. *And than shall I do my trew parte that ye shall not fayle to have the love of hir*. Not in *F*.

168. 28-9. *And sir Gawayne departed and com to the castel where stood hir pavylyons withoute the gate*. *F*: 'vint au recet a la damoiselle, a une tour fort et haulte qui estoit au pié d'une montaigne. Et li advint ainsi qu'il trouva la damois[el]e seant en ung sien pavillon.'

168. 30-1. *she fledde in toward the castell*. In *F* Arcade simply orders her knights to remove 'cest ennemy, cest desloyal'.

168. 37-169. 2. *and asked hym feythfully whethir he had slayne sir Pelleas, and he seyde yee*. In *F* she infers this without asking: 'Et quant elle le voit en appert, elle cuide bien qu'il ait cellui occis.'

169. 8-9. *she made sir Gawayne good chere*. In *F* Arcade gives Gawain a rich robe, and when he has put it on she sits beside him and asks him who he is. 'Et il en dit la verité (cf. *M*, ll. 2-3). Et quant elle entent qu'il est nepveu au roy Artus et de si hault lignage com cil est qui est filz de roy et de roynne, ele le prise moult en son cuer, pour ce qu'elle avoit ja oy parler de sa chevalerie.'

169. 10-23. *Than sir Gawayne sayde that he loved a lady and by no meane she wolde love hym. 'Sche is to blame,' seyde Ettarde, 'and she woll nat love you, for ye that be so well-borne a man and suche a man of prouesse there is no lady in this worlde to good for you.' 'Woll ye,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'promyse me . . . to gete me the love of my lady?' &c.* This stratagem is not in *F*. 'Is it not

true', the lady says to Gawain, 'that all the knights of the Round Table *pyment par amours?*' He replies that there are indeed few who do not. 'Et a vous, fet elle, comment en va?' Gawain says that although he is too young to have had any experience of love, there is one lady whom he would serve faithfully if she would let him. 'Et qui est elle?' At first Gawain does not reply, but as Arcade insists he says that if he told her the truth she would not believe it: 'Sachés que ce estes vous, car je vous ameroie se vous me daigniez amer.' He leaves the choice to her: she can accept or reject him; but Arcade needs no persuasion: 'vous estes', she says, 'aussi beaux comme je suis belle, et de plus haut lignage estes vous que je ne suis, et bon chevalier estes vous . . . et vous doint mon cuer et mon corps a faire toutes vos volentés.' *M* faithfully translates this, leaving out the courtly formula of *cuer et corps*: 'And so she graunted hym to fulfille all his desyre.' But whereas in *F* this conversation only serves to reveal the lovers' feelings, in *M* it is conceived as part of the plot. Arcade's thoughts which precede the dialogue in *F* are made in *M* into Ettard's opening words: 'ye that be so well borne a man and suche a man of prouesse, there is no lady . . . to good for you.' This gives Gawain the opportunity of making Ettard promise to 'get him the love of his lady', so that in the end she has no choice; the moment Gawain has said 'hut is yourself that I love so well' she can but accept him as a lover: 'I may nat chese but if I shoulde be forsworne.' In this way a scene which in the French romance was essentially lyrical acquires in *M* a dramatic interest.

169. 24. *in the monthe of May*. There is nothing corresponding to this in MS. B.N. fr. 112. For the reading of the Cambridge MS., see 170. 1-2.

169. 29-31. *And there sir Gawayne lay with hir in the pavylyon two dayes and two nyghtes*. *F* only says that Pelleas waited for two days for Gawain's return and set out on the third morning to find him.

169. 32-5. *for he hadde never slepte syn sir Gawayne promysed hym by the feythe of his body to com to hym, &c.* 'He hadde never slepte' sums up a long description of Pelleas's reaction to Gawain's seemingly inexplicable delay. On the second day Pelleas gives way to despair, thinking that Gawain has failed in his mission. He remains in his tent without eating or drinking, and weeping all the while. That night he cannot sleep for sorrow, and on the next morning takes his arms and sets out for Arcade's castle. *M*'s *within the space of a day and a nyght* is not in *F*.

170. 1-2. *three knyghtes in three beddis, and three squyres lyggyng at their feete*. Cf. Cambridge MS.: 'deus chevalierz gisanz qui se dormoient encore moult fermement, et che estoit tout droit a l'entré de may, et a lors piés se dormoient deus esquiers.' For the use *M* makes of the allusion to the month of May, cf. 169. 24. MS. B.N. fr. 112 ends this sentence at *fermement* (f. 26^v, col. 1).

170. 9-24. *And than he toke his horse . . . and rode his way*. In *F* Pelleas returns with the sole object of leaving a token which will show the two lovers that he has spared them; he places his sword not, as in *M*, *overthwarte bothe their throtis*, but on the head of the bed, 'si qu'a pou qu'elle ne tochoit a ung chief et a l'autre'. *M*, on the other hand, tries to show 'that Pelleas was not prepared to forgo, without a severe internal struggle, the vengeance that the exigencies of the story forbade him to take' (F. Whitehead, in

Medium Ævum, vol. ii, p. 205). The sword incident in *F* obviously goes back to the Tristan legend, in which King Mark, finding the lovers asleep in the forest, raises his sword to kill them and then decides to spare them and leave his sword with them as a sign that he has put aside all thoughts of vengeance. In *F*, as in the Tristan romances, the sword is a symbol of forbearance; in *M* it is a token of an unfulfilled desire for vengeance.

170. 15-16. *I woll never sle hym slepyng for I woll never dystroy the hyghe Ordur of Knyghthode*. To *M* the phrase 'to destroy the high Order of Knighthood' probably meant much the same as *desloyauté* to medieval French writers, and *F*'s explanation of Pelleas's generous behaviour can serve as a commentary on *M*'s: 'ce seroit plus que desloyauté s'il l'occioit en dormant, et mesmement (= especially) si hault homme comme est filz de roy et si bon chevalier comme il est.'

170. 25-6. *he tolde his knyghtes and his squyers*. In *F* Pelleas has no knights or squires to whom to impart his last wishes; his only friends are 'deus chevaliers qui estoient ses compaignons d'armes'. For *M* he is 'King Pelleas'; for *F* the son of a poor *vavassour*. Cf. 166. 23-4.

170. 27-9. *For youre good and true serwyse ye have done me I shall gyff you all my goodes, for I woll go unto my bedde and never aryse tyll I be dede*. Not in *F*.

170. 30-2. *I charge you that ye take the herte oute of my body and bere hit her betwyxte two sylver dysshes and telle her how I sawe hir lye with that false knyght sir Gawayne*. In *F* Pelleas asks his friends to carry his heart to Arcade in an *escuele d'argent* which she gave him after he had won the golden circlet at the tournament, and wish her a happier experience of love than he has had (MS. B.N. fr. 112, f. 27^r, col. 2): 'li dites que je en mourant priay a dieu d'amours qu'il luy envoie greigneur joie de ses amors que je n'ay eu des moies.' Thus, while in *M* the gift is intended to be 'a posthumous condemnation of Ettard's baseness' (cf. F. Whitehead, loc. cit.), in *F* it is a symbol of undying love.

170. 35-172. 22. *Than sir Gawayne and Ettarde . . . duryng their lyfe*. This denouement bears no resemblance to the French. In *F* Gawain is seized with contrition at the sight of the sword and bitterly regrets his *mesfait*. Arcade, however, instead of blaming him as she does in *M* for his breach of trust, tries to comfort him and, reluctant as she is to part with her lover, agrees to go back to Pelleas for his sake. On hearing this Pelleas forgives Gawain (or *m'avés vous bien amendé ce que vous m'avés mesfait*) and returns with Arcade to her castle. To *M* this ending offered few attractions, partly because it left the lady's infidelity unpunished, and partly because it credited Pelleas with an attitude of forbearance which could only be understood as part of the French tradition of courtly sentiment. What *M* obviously wanted was to punish Ettard according to her deserts and to reward Pelleas by giving him a more worthy lover. The love spell cast upon Ettard makes her die of sorrow, while Pelleas, cured of his unhappy love, finds his happiness with Nyneve: 'and the Damesel of the Lake rejoysed sir Pelleas, and loved togedyrs duryng their lyfe.'

172. 23 ff. *Now turne unto sir Marhauite, &c.* From this paragraph until the end of his *Tale of King Arthur* *M*'s account has little in common with any known French romance. After the end of the Pelleas story MS. B.N. fr. 112

returns to the earlier adventures of Gawain, relates how Marhalte had a contention with certain knights of King Pellinor, how he lost his lady at the Perron du Cerf, where she was stricken by the power of the Grail, and how a similar adventure befell Uwain's lady. Afterwards Gawain encounters Marhalte. Bewitched by a lady whose love they scorn they are enticed into the 'Roche aux Pucelles' where twelve ladies detain them in a world-forgetting captivity until they are delivered by Gaheriet. Gawain then goes to court and Marhalte returns to Ireland.

173. 1-3. *the good man wente uppon his gate . . . in a lane and within an houre he brought hym untyll a fayre castell.* C has changed *wente uppon his gate* (= 'went his way') to *wente and opened the gate*. The fact that a 'gate' is not likely to be within an hour's journey from the castle to which it belongs does not seem to have struck any of the numerous editors who have reproduced C's reading without alteration or comment.

173. 15-174. 36. '*Sir,*' he seyde, '*I am a knyght of kynge Arthurs and knyght of the Table Rounde, and my name is sir Marhaute,*' &c. That this episode is of M's own invention is shown by the fact that it depends entirely upon Marhalte's alleged association with the Round Table. The only reason why the host challenges Marhalte is that he wants to avenge the death of his son, slain by Gawain, upon a knight of King Arthur's court: 'I made myne avowe,' he says, 'that there sholde never knyght of kynge Arthurs courte lodge with me or com thereas I myght have ado with hym, but I wolde revenge me of my sonnes deth.' M is here at variance not only with the French Arthurian romances, which never describe Marhalte as a knight of the Round Table, but with his own ending of the *Tale of King Arthur*, for he says on p. 179 that 'at the next feste' (i.e. after Marhalte had completed his quest and come to Arthur's court) 'sir Pelleas and sir Marhalt were made knyghtes of the Rounde Table'.

175. 1-7. *And within two dayes . . . with grete honoure.* Dr. F. Whitehead (art. cit., p. 211) suggests that this adventure may be based on the story of Pelleas and Ettard. Pelleas, it will be remembered, met Ettard at a *grete justis* where the prize was a *passyng good swerd and a cerclet of golde* (cf. p. 166, ll. 13-21).

175. 8-176. 11. *And so within sevennyght his damesel brought hym to an erlys place. His name was the erle Fergus that afir was sir Trystrams knyght . . . sir Marhaute dwellid with the erle nye half a yere, for he was sore brused with the gyaunte.* The source of this adventure is unknown, but all the characters, including Marhalte himself, belong to the Prose Romance of Tristan, while the description of the fight with the giant is borrowed from the scene of Arthur's fight with the giant in the *Noble Tale of King Arthur and the Emperor Lucius* (p. 203, ll. 3-29). See *Introduction*, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

176. 9-11. *So sir Marhaute dwellid with the erle nye half a yere, &c.* Cf. 179. 34-5.

176. 14-19. *So by adventure he mette with four knyghtes of Arthurs court . . . to mete at his day.* A similar incident occurs in MS. B.N. fr. 112 (f. 57^v, col. 1). Marhalte, having finished his quest and left Gawain and Uwain, goes to Ireland (cf. 172. 23), and on his way meets five knights: *et les deus s'appelloient Agravains et Guerrhes, et le tiers s'appelloit Mador de la Porte . . .*

et le quart Dodinel le Sawage, et le quint estoit Sagremor le Desree. Marhalte defeats the first three knights, is wounded by Dodinel before he can overcome him, and makes a truce with Sagremor. What seems a miraculous victory in *M* ('with one spere smote down these four knyghtes') is but the result of drastic abridgement.

176. 20-5. *Now turne we unto sir Uwayne . . . with cloth of golde.* This episode is clearly modelled on *M*'s account of Marhalte's adventures a few pages above. The common pattern is a tournament (at which the hero wins the prize) followed by a 'quest'. There are also curious similarities of detail: Uwain travels west and comes to a tournament 'nyghe the marche of Walys'; Marhalte goes south and fights an enemy of Arthur's court who describes himself as 'the duke of the South Marches' (see p. 173).

176. 26-178. 26. *So than sir Uwayne ded many strange adventures . . . of his grete hurtis.* The source of this episode is unknown, but the name of the lady that was called the Lady of the Roche seems to have been suggested to *M* by *F*'s *Pucelles de la Roche* (MS. B.N. fr. 112, f. 35^v, col. 1 ff.).

176. 27. *brought [hym] to a lady.* The omission of *hym* after *brought* is analogous to the omission of *you* after *avaunce* on p. 64: it may be a case of 'silent reading' causing the scribe to pronounce the two words as one and reduce the second to a barely audible ending of the first.

177. 26. *in the defence* = 'in the battle for the defence'.

178. 24-6. *So sir Uwayne dwelled with this lady nyghe halfe a yere, &c.* Cf.

179. 34-5.

178. 26-179. 15. *whan hit drew nyghe the terme-day . . . one of the beste knyghtes lyvyng.* In *F* the three knights and their ladies do not meet at the end of the quest: Uwain comes to court to announce the plight of Gawain and Marhalte who are still detained in the 'Roche aux Pucelles'; Gaheriet is sent to release them, and when they are set free Marhalte returns to Ireland while Gawain and Gaheriet rejoin Arthur's fellowship. It is virtually certain that the whole of this chapter in *M* is original. Cf. Whitehead, art. cit., p. 214.

179. 26-30. *And grete joy had kynge Arthure of sir Pelleas and of sir Marhalte, but Pelleas loved never after sir Gawayne . . . for so hit rehersyth in the booke of Frensh.* It will be remembered that whereas in *F* Pelleas and Gawain are reconciled, in *M* Pelleas remains hostile to 'that false knight sir Gawain' (cf. p. 170, l. 32). The reference to the 'book of French' is clearly intended to conceal the fact that this passage is an elaboration of *M*'s own ending of the Pelleas story.

179. 34-5. *lay at a nunrye half a yere.* *M* here repeats, with some variations, the endings of two earlier incidents, as the following comparison will show:

176. 9-11:

*So sir Marhaute dwel-
lid with the erle nye
half a yere, for he was
sore brused with the
gyaunte*

178. 24-6:

*So sir Uwayne dwelled
with this lady nyghe halfe
a yere, for hit was longe
or he myghte be hole of
his grete hurtis*

179. 31-5:

*So sir Trystramys . . .
lay at a nunrye half a
yere*

Neither in the French Prose *Tristan* nor in *M*'s version of it (cf. p. 383, l. 30) does Tristram stay at a nunnery to recover from his wounds.

179. 36-7. *sir Pelleas . . . was one of the four that encheved the Sankgreall.* This remark suffices to show how very little *M* knew of the Grail legend when he wrote his *Tale of King Arthur*. He may have confused Pelleas, the unfortunate lover of Lady Ettard, with King Pelles; or else he may have thought of the Grail quest as a worldly adventure the 'encheving' of which might enhance Pelleas's reputation for prowess. In either case it is safe to say that at that time the *Sankgreall* was to him little more than the title of a book he had not read.
180. 12-14. *this was drawyn by a knyght presoner, sir Thomas Malleord, that God sende hym good recover. Amen.* On this passage, see *Introduction*, pp. xiv-xvi.

THE TALE OF KING ARTHUR AND THE EMPEROR LUCIUS

MALORY's *Tale of the Noble King Arthur that was Emperor Himself*—usually referred to in these pages as the *Tale of Arthur and Lucius*—is a slightly modernized prose rendering of the English alliterative *Morte Arthure*. Until the discovery of the Winchester MS. it was only known through Caxton's shortened version, and it was largely because Caxton had reduced it to half its size, relieved it of passages which seemed to him too hard or too unrefined, and deprived it of much of the pervading alliterative cadence, that the exact nature of the source Malory used was for long a subject of controversy. Ever since the publication of Trautmann's work on Huchown in 1877¹ it had been recognized that Malory's *Tale* was closely related to the alliterative *Morte Arthure* as preserved in the unique surviving copy made by Robert Thornton.² But a legitimate doubt still remained as to the exact relationship of the two texts. Sommer and other critics thought that Malory must have used at least two different sources, but they could not be quite certain about the provenance of either of them. The Winchester MS. sets all such doubts at rest. It shows that Malory's only source was an English alliterative poem very similar to the one found in the Thornton MS. Apart from the numerous passages in which the Winchester text agrees word for word with the Thornton copy, it has a number of readings unparalleled in the latter but undoubtedly having their basis in an alliterative text. These readings either supply alliterating lines which are missing in the Thornton *Morte Arthure*,³ or improve on its wording,⁴ or again fill a logical gap in the narrative.⁵ In some instances Malory's

¹ 'Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke', *Anglia*, i (1877).

² A list of the various editions of this work will be found in the bibliography at the end of this essay.

³ Cf. notes 211. 11-12; 214. 22; 224. 10-23; 228. 14-18; 231. 2-4; 238. 10-11, &c.

⁴ Cf. notes 189. 19-20; 198. 16; 199. 16; 205. 22; 218. 24; 220. 19-20; 228. 19; 229. 9; 235. 10-11, &c.

⁵ Cf. notes 196. 16-19; 233. 12-13; 238. 5-7, &c.

Tale has preserved details absent from the *Morte Arthure* but attested by earlier texts. All this suggests that Malory used a more authentic version of the poem than that represented by the Thornton text. The source of the poem itself must have been a French romance closely related to such works as the two Merlin romances (the *Estoire de Merlin* and the *Suite du Merlin*), Wace's *Brut*, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*.

Apart from its language, the *Tale of Arthur and Lucius* is one of the least original of Malory's works.¹ Its real originality lies in its purpose. Most of Malory's contribution to the plot of the *Tale* can, with tolerable certainty, be related to the historical events of his own time. He brings the story to an end with Arthur's victory over the Romans and dismisses the tragic denouement, which fills more than a thousand lines in the alliterative poem, as if he wished to commemorate in this way the military and political triumphs of a great English king who, like Arthur, won his most resounding victories away from home. Moreover, in Malory's rendering all that can suggest or lead up to Arthur's final defeat is ruthlessly cut out: Mordred's sinister figure is suppressed from the beginning and replaced by two characters, each modelled on that of a prominent contemporary. When Henry V left for France he appointed two men to rule the country in his name: Bishop Beaufort was made Chancellor, and the Duke of Bedford, the king's brother, became regent. In Malory Arthur acts in like fashion: instead of proclaiming Mordred *dictour to doo whatte hym lykes*, as he does in the *Morte Arthure*, he makes two 'chieftains': *Sir Baudwen of Bretayne, an auncient and an honorable knyght, for to counceyle and comforte*, and *Sir Cadore son of Cornuayle that was at that tyme called Sir Constantyne that aftir was kynge, aftir Arthurs dayes*. The phrase *for to counceyle and comforte* used in reference to Sir Baudwen is reminiscent of the character of Beaufort who was noted for his wisdom and diplomatic skill and had played a prominent part at the Council of Constance. Arthur's

¹ On the way Malory fashioned his prose while using the alliterative poem as his source see *Introduction*, pp. xlii-xlvii. There is room for a more detailed study of this process.

kinsman, Sir Constantine, who in Malory's version shares the burden of regency with Sir Baudwen, has an obvious counterpart in Henry V's brother John, the Duke of Bedford. Constantine, according to all accounts, *was kynge aftir Arthurs dayes*. Bedford did not actually accede to the throne after Henry V, but became viceroy of France in the name of Henry VI, and substantially strengthened the British rule on the Continent by his victories at Crevent-sur-Yonne (1423) and at Verneuil (1424).

It will be seen from the notes on the relevant passages how Malory altered his source so as to make Arthur's journey across the Continent resemble Henry V's itinerary, and how this simple change turned the whole story into a tribute to the victor of Agincourt.¹ But perhaps the most important of all the innovations made by Malory is found in the statement that *at the day assigned Arthur was crowned Emperour by the Popys hondis, with all royalté in the worlde to welde for ever*. None of the sources Malory used or might have used could have supplied this denouement. If of all Arthurian writers Malory alone gives Arthur the imperial crown, it is because he wishes to remind his readers that Henry V was once acclaimed in Paris as a victor and, in the words of the 'Bourgeois de Paris', *moult joyeusement et honorablement receu*. The French king himself—Charles VI—had agreed by the Treaty of Troyes to let Henry V succeed him on his death. In the meantime Henry V had married Charles VI's daughter and taken possession of the Louvre and the Bastille. Not only in the eyes of the half-witted Charles VI but in those of the authorities and part of the population Henry V was virtually king of France. He died in 1422, two months before Charles VI, and so never received the French crown, but his infant son, Henry VI, was then proclaimed king simultaneously in England and in France and crowned in Notre Dame in 1430 by Bishop Beaufort. Hence the happy ending of Malory's story, an ending totally unprecedented in Arthurian epic, but calculated to make it appear as something more topical and significant than a mere record of the rise and fall of a legendary kingdom.

What Malory did to his source in other respects is less

¹ See note 227. 4-5 and the maps on p. 1389.

easy to see. The Thornton copy of the *Morte Arthure* is imperfect—sometimes even inferior to Malory's version—and the differences between them do not necessarily represent Malory's alterations. What is obvious is that Malory reduced the narrative to about half its original size,¹ and that he did this not by means of indiscriminate omission but by a careful elimination of passages which seemed to delay the action: monologues, dialogues,² and descriptions of scenery. He clearly aimed at a more direct narrative and in the endeavour to avoid all that was not essential to its progress³ did not hesitate to omit such episodes as Arthur's council of war in Luxemburg,⁴ the adventures of King Loth⁵ and those of the earl of Artele,⁶ or to dispense with some of the gruesome details of the battle-scenes.

For all this, however, his sympathy with the matter and manner of the poem is beyond question. He follows it without showing any inclination to make far-reaching changes, and even where he alters the story he does so in the spirit of his original. I have already described his treatment of the character of Arthur.⁷ Lancelot is another case in point. He finds in the Roman campaign his first opportunity of serving the ideals of the Round Table. He is still very young, more brave and more reckless than he was in the alliterative poem, full of that adventurous spirit which will eventually make him the best knight in the world. But Malory's account gives the impression that Lancelot is nothing but a warrior, and that all his great qualities of mind and heart are to be placed for ever in the service of his king. No reader of Malory's *Tale of Arthur and Lucius* would gather from it that Lancelot had been from the very beginning a courtly hero, that he had first appeared in medieval romance as a champion of *courtoisie*, and that it was as the protagonist of Chrétien de Troyes' *Conte de la Charrette* that he had won his world-wide fame.

¹ Caxton reduces Malory's account in almost exactly the same proportion.

² The following passages do not appear in Malory. *Morte Arthure*, 697-712, 1210-12, 1502-9, 1963-72, 2047-50, 2314-20.

³ See notes 192. 22-193. 4; 205. 15-16; 218. 14-15, &c.

⁴ *Morte Arthure*, 2388-416.

⁵ *Ibid.* 2081-95.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2837-51.

⁷ *Introduction*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

It was because Lancelot had only been known as a courtly knight that he had had so few attractions for earlier English writers: they had found little in him to support and illustrate their epic treatment of Arthurian romance. The author of the *Morte Arthure*, no doubt for this very reason, had relegated Lancelot to comparative insignificance. Malory's attitude was at first much the same: his mind, like that of his English predecessors, dwelled on problems of human heroism, not on the subtle issues of courtly behaviour. And in order to restore Lancelot to fame he made him into a genuine epic hero, more akin to the Gawain of the *Morte Arthure* than to Chrétien's 'knight of the cart'. We do not know how much of the French tradition was directly accessible to him at the time when he wrote his *Tale of Arthur and Lucius*. What is certain is that he was then primarily an epic writer, unwilling and perhaps even unable to follow the fantasies of romanticized knight-errantry and understand its fascination. The great adventure of the 'French Books' had not yet begun.

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185. 1-7. *Hyt befelle, &c.* The object of this paragraph is to remind the reader of some of the important events which preceded the Roman campaign: Arthur's marriage, the foundation of the Round Table, and the defeat of the 'moste party' of Arthur's enemies. All this is in keeping with tradition and, to some extent, with the early part of the alliterative *Morte Arthure*. More original is the next remark: *than sone aftir com sir Launcelot de Lake unto the courte, and sir Trystrams come that tyme also*. The reference to Tristram is irrelevant, for he plays no part in the story of Arthur's war against Rome,¹ but the introduction of Lancelot is decidedly characteristic. Whereas the alliterative poem relegates Lancelot to the background, *M* makes him both attractive and prominent. This young and reckless knight (cf. 189. 31-190. 6) will distinguish himself so much in fighting the Romans that even Gawain will not be able to eclipse him.

185. 8-15. *So hit befelle that the Emperour Lucius, &c.* *M* begins the story, as is his custom, *in medias res*. He omits some 77 lines of the poem describing Arthur's victories, the foundation of Carlion 'on the riche reuare pat rynnys so faire', and the feast at Carlisle on Christmas Day when

'on ryall araye he helde his rounde table,
With semblant & solace & selcouthe metes.'

Then in a few lines he sums up the substance of ll. 78-123 of *MA*, but the end of the paragraph (*they were so aferde of his grymme countenaunce*) is a fairly faithful reproduction of *Because of his countenaunce confusede them semede*, and from this point onwards *M* closely follows his source.

185. 17-18. 'Crowned kynge, myssedo no messyngers, for we be com at his commaundement.' This is a combination of the first, second, and last lines of the messengers' speech in *MA*:

125 Kynge coroune de of kynd. . . .

126 Misdoo no messangere for. . . .

131 We come at his commaundment.

'*As seruyturs sholde*' is not in the poem.

185. 19-186. 3. 'Thou recrayedest coward knyghte, why feryst thou my countenaunce? There be in this halle, and they were sore aggrieved, thou durste nat for a deukedom of londis luke in their facis.' The corresponding lines in *MA* read as follows:

(133) Haa! crauaunde knyghte, a cowarde þe semez!

Pare some segge in this sale, and he ware sare greuede,

Thow durste noghte for alle Lumbardye luke on hym ones.

¹ He is mentioned again, without any apparent reason, on p. 195, ll. 11-13.

- The fact that *there* occurs in both texts shows that some form of the word stood in their common source, and does away with the emendation suggested by Holthausen and Bjorkman for l. 134 of *MA*: *Ware* for *Pare*. But if we are to keep *Pare* we have to interpret it as a relative connecting the clause with the preceding statement: 'Thou seemest a coward *in that if* some knight in this hall were sorely angered, thou wouldst not dare, for all Lombardy, look on him once.' *M* misunderstood this and began a new sentence with *there*; it may, of course, be argued that by so doing he made Arthur's reply to the messengers more forceful and pointed. The meaning of Arthur's remark in *M* is: 'Why should you fear *my* countenance? There are many in this hall whom you would not dare look in the face if they were [as] sorely angered [as I am.]' Instead of an insulting remark Arthur utters a threat, which is perhaps more appropriate to the character of the 'Conqueror'.
186. 4. 'Sir', seyde one of the senatoures, 'so Cryste me helpe.' *MA* has exactly the same reading (l. 136). Holthausen, in *Englische Studien*, xxx. 270-5, has emended *helpe* to *saue*, but *M*'s agreement with the Thornton MS. disposes of the emendation. Cf. O'Loughlin, op. cit., p. 154.
186. 7-15. *the gretis welle Lucius, the Emperour of Roome . . . Julius Cezar, conquerour of this realme*. To give the substance of the Emperor's message *M* goes back to an earlier passage in *MA* (86-115) which he has already summarized once (p. 185, ll. 10-11): 'commaundynge hym to pay his trewage that his auncettries have payde before hym.' He now relates the message in greater detail, and even adds to it: in *MA* the messengers omit to mention Uther Pendragon, and refrain from referring to Julius Caesar's 'statutes and decrees'.
187. 6. *commaunded sir Clegis*. *MA* (156): 'commande sir Cayous'.
187. 7. *be seteled and served*. 'Seteled' is probably a mistranslation of *styghtyll* (= 'to provide for'). Cf. *MA* (157-8):
 To styghtyll þa steryn men, as theire statte askys,
 That they bee herberde in haste.
187. 11. *remembir on oure worschyp*. In *MA* the word 'worship' is used in a different connexion. Arthur says to Kay:
 'If þou my wyrchippe wayte . . .
 þou sall haue gersoms full grett' (164-5).
187. 13. *So the Romaynes had therof grete mervayle*. *M* omits here a description of the feast offered to the Roman messengers (*MA* 176-219).
187. 15. *within a towre*. *MA* (245): 'to þe geauntes toure'.
187. 15-16. *the moste party of the knyghtes of the Rounde Table*. Not in *MA*.
187. 21. *now shall we haue warre and worschyp*. *MA* (257): *Now wakkenyse þe were, wyrchipe be Cryste*. As in l. 11 (see note), *M* borrows the word *wyrchippe* from his source, but uses it in a different sense.
188. 7-8. *that borne were in Bretayne*. Belyne's and Bryne's birthplace is not mentioned in *MA*, but the heavy alliteration (sir Belyne and sir Bryne of my blooded elders that borne were in Bretayne) suggests that some reference to Brittany occurred in the original poem.
188. 10. *dame Elyneys (C: Heleyne) son*. Not in *MA*.
188. 13. *thus haue we evydence inowghe to the Empyre of hole Rome*. *MA*

- (286): *Thus hafe we euydens to aske þe emperour þe same*. Bjorkman translates *euydens* 'Beweis, Grund, Ursache'. *M* takes it to mean 'claim'.
189. 2. *and all shall be within two ayges*. *MA* has *wythin two eldes* (301), and *M*'s *ayges* is probably a literal translation of *eldes* in his source. The phrase means 'between the right limits of age and youth' (cf. note in Mrs. Banks's edition of *MA*). There seems to be no reason for the emendation suggested by Bjorkman: *monethes* for *eldes*.
189. 7. *at my costis and wages*. Not in *MA*.
189. 13. *Poynte Tremble* = Pontremoli in the Apennines.
189. 15-18. *And than I complayned me to the Potestate the Pope hymself*. Not in *MA*. Judging by the alliteration this line would seem to belong to *M*'s source. The next sentence, however, betrays his own hand: *but I had nothyng eillys but pleasaunte wordys; other reson at Roome myght I none have*.
189. 19-20. *of my wyghteste Walschemen* makes better sense than *MA*'s *of Wyghte and of Walschelande* (334), since there is no reason why the King of Wales should undertake to provide men from Wight (cf. *GF*, p. 94).
189. 21. *thirty thousand*. *MA* (335): 'twa thosande'.
189. 22-3. *sir Ewayne and his son Ider that were nere cosyns unto the conqueror*. *MA* only mentions Ewayn, 'cosyn to þe conquerour'.
189. 24-5. *they helde Irelande and Argayle and all the Oute Iles*. Not in *MA*.
189. 27. *Poynte Tremble*. See 189. 13.
189. 30. *thirty thousand*. *MA* (365): 'Fyfty thousande'. As the line in *MA* alliterates on *f* this is probably the correct reading.
189. 31-190. 1. *Than leepe in yong sir Launcelot de Laake with a lyght herte*. These characteristics of Lancelot are not found in *MA*, and it was doubtless part of *M*'s design to make Lancelot appear young and 'light-hearted'. But a similar phrase is used in *MA* in a different sense: 'By oure Lorde', quod sir Launcelott, 'now lyghttys myn herte'!
190. 1-2. *Thoughe my londis marche nyghe thyne enemyes*. Not in *MA*. It is not clear to what lands Lancelot is referring.
190. 4. *twenty thousand helmys*. *MA* (380): 'sex score helmes'.
190. 7-10. *Than lowghe sir Bawdwyn of Bretayne and carpys to the kynge, &c.* In *MA* this speech is assigned to 'sir Lottez' who says, like Bawdwyn in *M*, 'I make myn avowee to Gode and to þe holy vernacle' (386), and promises sufficient help to conquer the Romans but without stating the number of his men. On Bawdwyn of Britain, see 195. 3-10.
190. 11-13. *Now I thanke you, &c.* A free summary of Arthur's speech in *MA* without any verbal borrowings.
191. 3-5. *And may ony be founde a spere-lengthe oute of the way and that ye be in the watir*. Cf. *MA* (461): 'For be þow founden a fute withoute þe flode merkes.' *In the watir* is a very inaccurate rendering of *withoute þe flode merkes*.
191. 13-14. *from towne to towne*. Not in *MA*.
191. 22-3. *and (= and said) how he was the gastfullyst man that ever they on loked*. Not in *MA*.
191. 26-192. 2. *I wente that Arthure wold have obeyed you and served you, &c.* Cf. *MA* (511-14):

'Thow sulde his ceptre haue sesede & syttyn abou[e]n,
 For reuerence and realtee of Rome þe noble!
 By sertes þow was my sandes[man] & senatour of Rome,
 He sulde for solempnitee hafe seruede þe hym seluen!'

192. 9-10. *for he thynkys to be Emperour hymself*. Not in *MA*, where Arthur's object is not to become Emperor but to conquer the Romans: *For ȝife he reche vnto Rome, he raunsouns it for euere*. Cf. 245. 5-12.

192. 15. *nine kyngis*. *MA* gives the same number but says, for the sake of alliteration, that including Arthur there were *ten* kings at his table: *Hole ten at his table þat tym with hym selfen*.

192. 20-1. *that the mountaynes of Almayne be myghtyly kepte*. In *MA* the senator advises Lucius to send his *soudeours* to the *mowntes*, but otherwise *M*'s reading, in spite of its alliteration, is not paralleled in the poem.

192. 22-193. 4. '*Be Estir*,' *seyde the Emperour*, &c. A good example of *M*'s method of shortening the narrative:

'Bee Estyre', says þe emperour, 'I ettyll my selfen

To hostaye in Almayne with armede knyghtez;
 Sende freklye into Fraunce, þat flour es of rewmes,

Fande to fette þat freke & forfette his landez;
 For I sall sette kepers, full conaunde & noble,
 Many geaunte of Geen, justers full gude,
 To mete hym in the mountes & martyre hys knyghtes,

Stryke þem down in strates and struye them for euere.

There sall appon Godarde a garette be rerede
 That schall be garneschte & kepyde with gude men of armes,

And a bekyn abouenn to brynne, when þem lykys,

þat nane enmye with hoste sall entre the mountes;

There schall one Mounthe Bernarde be beyldede anopere,

Buschede with banerettes and bachelers noble:
 In at the portes of Pavye schall no prynce passe
 Thurghe the perelous places for my pris knyghtes.'

'Be Estir', seyde the Emperour, 'I caste me for to passe Almayne and so furth into Fraunce

and there bereve hym his londis. I shall brynge with me many gyauntys of Geene that one of them shall be worth an hondred of knyghtes,

and perelous passage shall be surely kepte with my good knyghtes.

193. 6-20. In the list of allies and vassals summoned by Lucius to fight Arthur *M* omits the kings of Crete (*MA* 580), of Thebay (583), 'the flour of þe folke of faire Amazonnes' (584), the knights of 'Babyloyn and Baldake' (586) and of Persia (> *Pounce?*), 'all þe realls of Roodes' (597), 'Pull (= Apulia) and Pruysslande' (604), and the 'lege-men of Lettow' (605), but adds *the kyng of Portyngale with many thousande Spaynardis*. It is not clear

what induced *M* to add the King of Portugal to the list of Arthur's enemies.

193. 25-6. *betwyxte hym and Flaundyrs*. Not in *MA*.

193. 26-194. 1. *fyfity gyauntys that were engendirde with fendis*. *MA* (612): 'Sixty geauntes before, engenderide with fendez.'

194. 5. *the Emperour with all hys horryble peple* is *M*'s own description of the Roman army. *MA* is content to say: 'He ayerez oute with alyenez, ostes full huge' (617).

194. 10-12. *And thus Lucius within a whyle destroyed many fayre contrayes that Arthure had wonne before of the myghty kynge Claudas*. Not in *MA*. The remark seems characteristic of *M*'s attitude to the two protagonists in that it stresses Arthur's claim to the 'many fair countries', and at the same time makes Lucius seem unnecessarily cruel.

194. 13-16. *commaunde hem to mete with hym in Normandy in the contray of Constantyne*, &c. In *MA* it is Arthur, not Lucius, who orders his knights to assemble at 'Constantyne' (627-9):

Kayere to 3our cuntrez and semble 3our knyghtes

And kepys me at Constantyne, clenlyche arayed;

Byddez me at Bareflete apon þa blythe stremes.

Instead of saying *I shall thorowly dystroy hit* Arthur promises *menskfully* to meet his knights in *thos faire marches*.

195. 3-10; 17-19; 20-4. Here *M* deliberately alters his source. In *MA* and in the French versions of the story Arthur entrusts his kingdom to Mordred whom he appoints to the office of 'dictour' (*MA* 712). On the significance of this change, see above, pp. 1361-2.

195. 6-7. *sir Cadore son of Cornuayle that was at the tyme called sir Constantyne*. *C* has rightly taken this to mean 'syr Constantyn sone to syre Cadore of Cornewaylle'.

195. 11-13. *And sir Trystrams at that tyme beleft with kynge Marke of Cornuayle for the love of La Beale Isode, wherefore sir Launcelot was passyng wrothe*. Not in *MA*.

195. 16. *hir ladyes bare hir to her chambir*. Not in *MA*.

196. 8-9. *they strekyn forth into the stremys many sadde hunderthes*. This line suggests an alliterative model, but *MA*'s reading is different (755): *And all þe steryn of þe streme strekyn at onez*.

196. 15. *shone as the golde*. *MA* (766): 'all in schire syluere'.

196. 16-19. 'his wombe was lyke mayles of mervelous hew, and *his tayle was fulle of tatyrs*, and his feete were florysshed as hit were fyne sable. *And hys clawys were lyke clene golde*.' The italicized words are not found in *MA*, but the 'tattered tail' at least must belong to the original description of the dragon as this feature is referred to by the 'sage philosophers' who interpret Arthur's dream (821-2):

And the tatterede (tachesede?) taile with tonges so huge.

Betakyns þis faire folke, that in thy fleet wendez.

The reference here is awkward and obscure unless the tattered tail has been mentioned in an earlier passage. A line may easily have been lost in *MA* after 769, of some such form as this: *His tayle was totared, with tonges ful huge* (cf. *GV*, p. 86).

196. 22-3. *a grymly beare*. *C* changes this to *a grymly bore*, probably on account of the 'grylsy tuskes'. But he seems to have overlooked the *pawys* . . . *as byg as a poste*.
197. 5. *rayled all over the see*. Cf. *MA* (795): *Rynnande on reede blode as rayne of the heuen*.
197. 9-10. *brennys hym up clene that all felle on powder both the fleyshe and the bonys*. *MA* (802): *Thus he brittenyd the bere and broghie hym o lyfe*. *M* probably mistook *britten* ('to strike, to break into pieces') for *brennen* ('to burn') and so imagined that the dragon had set the bear on fire. To complete the picture he added *all felle on powder both the fleyshe and the bonys*. This did not prevent him farther on from translating *bryttenede* almost literally (*M* 197. 21; *MA* 823).
197. 13. *a philozopher*. In *MA* there are two 'philosophers', and they are described as being *in the seuyn scyence the suteleste fonden* (808).
197. 19-20. *sygnifyed your noble knyghtes of the Rounde Table*. *MA* (822): *'Betakyns pis faire folke that in thy fleet wendez.'*
198. 8. *a husbandeman*. *MA* (841): 'a templere'.
198. 16. *by a ryver*. *MA* has *by Rennes*, but *M*'s reading is more in keeping with the context as both texts refer eventually to a river.
199. 2-3. *Howell the Hende*. The name is not given in *MA* until after Arthur's victory over the giant, when he orders the giant's head to be sent to *'sir Howell pat es in herde bandez'* (1180). This line suggests that the original epithet was *Herde*.
199. 8. *I had lewir than all the realmys I welde unto my crowne*. *MA* (872): *'I had leuere thane all Fraunce.'*
199. 10. *I wolde have done my payne* ('I should have done my utmost'). *MA* (875): *'I hadde lefte my lyfe'*.
199. 16. *colde strendys*. *Strendys* = 'streams'; *strandez* in *MA* (883) makes much less satisfactory sense.
199. 17-18. *more tresoure as I suppose than is in all Fraunce aftir* = ('in the rest of France'). *MA* (885-6): *'more tresour . . . thane in Troye was, as I trowe.'* The alliteration suggests that *Troye* was the original reading, but *M* must have realized that the comparison was forced and replaced *Troye* by *Fraunce*.
199. 20-1. *'Thy soth sawys have greved sore my herte.'* *Than he turnys towarde his tentys and carpys but lyryl*. The second of these sentences agrees in substance, but not in wording, with *MA* 889 (*Raykez ryghie to a tente and restez no longere*). The first is without parallel in *MA*, but its alliteration and vocabulary point to a pre-Malory state of the text.
199. 25-200. 1. *none but we three*. Not in *MA*.
200. 1. *whan my lordis is served* is almost word for word the second half of l. 897 in *MA* (*whene lordex are servede*), but as *M* had missed the first half of the line (*In the tyme of suppere*) he did not realize that *lordex* meant 'Arthur's knights', and the reference to 'pilgrimage' naturally made him think that it stood for 'our Lord'. As a result he changed *are* to *is* and made Arthur say 'when I have served our Lord' instead of 'when the knights have finished supper'.
200. 3-5. *Anone sir Arthure wente to his wardrop, &c.* *M* selects only three

objects (*his gesseraunte and his basnet with his brode shyld*) out of some fifteen described in *MA* (902-13):

Armede hym in a acton with orfraez full ryche,
 Abouen on pat a jeryn (?) of Acres owte-ouer,
 Abouen pat a jesseraunt of jentyll maylez,
 A jupon of Ierodyn jaggede in schredeze.
 He brayedez one a bacenett, burneschte of syluer,
 The beste pat was in Basill, wyth bordurs ryche;
 The creste and þe coronall, enclosed so faire
 Wyth claspis of clere golde, couched wyth stones;
 The vesare, þe aventaille, enamelde so faire,
 Voyde withowttyn vice, with wyndowes of syluer;
 His gloues gaylyche gilte and grauen at the hemmez
 With graynez and gobelets, glorious of hewe;
 He bracez a brade schelde and his brande aschez,
 Bounede hym a broun stede and on þe bente houys.

200. 9-10. *a blythe contray full of many myrry byrdis*. *M* has reduced to this one line one of the most striking descriptive passages in *MA* (926-32):

All þe feulez thare fleschez that flyez with wengez,
 For thare galede þe gowke one greuez full lowde,
 Wyth alkyn gladchipe pay gladden þem seluen
 Of þe nyghtgale notez þe noisez was swette,
 They threpide wyth the throstills, thre hundreth at ones;
 Pat swete swowyng of watyre and syngyng of byrdez,
 It myghte salue hym of sore, pat sounde was neuere.

200. 13. *that none nyghe other* = 'so that neither should be near the other'. Cf. *MA* 934: '*o ferrom bytweene*'.

200. 22. *asked hir why she sate sorowyng*. In *MA* Arthur only asks the widow the whereabouts of the giant. The phrase *why she sate sorowyng* mainly consists of words which *M* found in the previous line (953): 'He saluzede pat sorowfull with sittande wordez.'

200. 24. *woll destroy us bothe*. *MA* (958): 'he worows vs all'.

201. 5. *mylde* is here used substantivally, as in the corresponding line in *MA* (976): 'He hade morthrede this mylde, be myddaye war rongen.' *C* replaces it by *her*.

201. 5-6. *he forced her by fylth of hymself*. *MA* (978): 'he has forsed hir and fylede' (= 'defiled').

201. 12-16. *But and thou have brought Arthurs wyff, dame Gwennyvere, he woll be more blyther of hir than thou haddyste geffyn hym halfendele Fraunce, &c.* After this sentence *M* proceeds to describe how the giant made himself a mantle bordered with the beards of fifteen kings. In *MA* the collecting of beards seems to be the giant's main ambition, and while nothing is said about his designs upon Guinevere it is emphatically stated that he would give anything for Arthur's beard (1017-18):

If thowe hafe broghte þe berde, he bese more blythe
 Thane þowe gaf hym Burgoyne or Bretayne þe more.

M's remark about Guinevere is modelled on these two lines, with the

substitution of Arthur's wife for his beard and of *halfende le Fraunce* for Burgundy and 'Bretayne pe more'. It is substantiated a few lines farther on where *M* says: 'for *Arthurs wyffe he lodgys hym here*.' It looks as though *M* wanted to stress the giant's lasciviousness at the expense of some of his other vices. In *MA* all vices have an equal share in his character: he is a murderer, a cannibal, a glutton (he adds with relish 'pyment full plenteuous of Portyn-gale wyne' to his supper, consisting of 'seven knave children'), and incidentally an adulterer.

201. 14-15. *halfende le Fraunce*. *W*'s reading is *halfondede*, but in view of the frequent confusion between *o* and *e* in the MS. there is every reason to normalize the spelling.
202. 11. *W* has *hym somys* which I have emended to *semys* on the analogy of *MA*: *breklesse hym semede*.
202. 13. *in maner lyke birdis*. The phrase is not due, as it might seem to be at first glance, to a misunderstanding of the ME *burdes* ('young girls'), for *M* translates this word correctly a few lines above (*MA*: 'bierdez þam tour-nede'; *M* 202. 11-12: 'three damesels turned three brochis'). But he also finds in it a phonetic similarity with 'birds' which suggests an image. Hence the comparison of the giant's sinister meal with the roasting of game on spits.
202. 16. *theff*. *MA* (1060): 'sotte' (= 'fool').
202. 21. *Thou haste made many martyrs by murtheryng of this londis*. *MA* has (1066): 'Thow has marters made and broghte oute of lyfe.' Mennicken (*Bonner Beiträge*, v) and Björkman emend *broghte* to *merked*, but if the original reading of the line was as in *M* there is no need to emend it.
202. 27-203. 3. *he was the foulst syghte that ever man sye . . . fyve fadom longe and large*. Of all the hideous features of the giant which are described in detail by *MA*, *M* selects the least repulsive—his inordinate size; he replaces all the rest by a generalization. The description of the giant's appearance accounts for 30 lines in *MA* (1074-1103), of which only the last has found its way to *M*'s version: *Fro þe face to þe fote was fyfe fadom lange*. This is literally repeated in *M*, whose reading incidentally justifies that of the Thornton MS. in spite of the criticisms of Luick (*Anglia*, xi. 587) and Holthausen (*Englische Studien*, xxx. 272).
203. 6. *the coronal* ('*the creest and the coronall*' in *MA* 1108) seems inconsistent with Arthur's *incognito*. In the previous scene he told the 'careful widow' that he 'came from the noble conqueror, sir Arthur' (201. 8-9); he was presumably not wearing a crown.
203. 8. *evyn infourmede* = 'well directed'.
203. 23-4. *the warlow wrath Arthure undir*. In *MA* (1140) 'þe warlow welters hym vnder', but *M* must have noticed the word *wrythyn* in the next line and used it to give a clearer picture of Arthur being hurled unto the ground by the giant.
204. 8-10. 'Hit is nat so', seyde the kynge, 'but helpe me, sir Kay, for this corseynthe have I clegged oute of the yondir clowys.' This remark is modelled on *MA* (l. 1164, which belongs to Bedwere's speech: 'Pat þus clekys this corsaunt oute of þir heghe clyffez'), but by putting it in Arthur's mouth *M* has added a touch of humour: while asking his knights to help him in his struggle Arthur keeps up the pretence that the giant is a *corseynthe*.

204. 14-15. *I woll never seke for none.* In *MA* Bedwere expresses himself less logically and more irreverently. He says that if all the saints are like the giant he will 'never no seynt bee' (1169).
204. 19. *geff hit to thy seruaunte that is swyffte-horsed.* *MA* (1179): 'Gife it to thy sqwyre, fore he es wele horsede.' *M*'s reading 'swyffte-horsed' is preferable to 'wele horsede' as the line clearly alliterates on *s*. Mennicken seems to have been singularly ill-inspired when he tried to restore the alliteration by changing *sqwyre* to *hanseman* (cf. *GV*, p. 93).
204. 22-3. *all the comyns of this contrey.* *MA* (1183): 'biernes'.
205. 1. *So I have* = 'provided that I have', 'so long as I have'. To convey this meaning *MA* (1191) uses the inversion: 'Hauē I the kyrtyll and pe clubb.'
205. 3-6. *for I mette nat . . . had I nere founden.* Here *M* goes back to the early part of Arthur's speech in *MA* and reproduces almost word for word ll. 1174-7 ending with the half-line *Ne had my fortune bene faire*. In *MA* this is followed by *fey had I [ben] leuede*. *M* omits the main clause and combines the conditional clause with the previous line: 'that had I nere founden, had nat my fortune be good'. He does this partly for the sake of brevity and partly no doubt to restore the suppressed condition: *pat had I nere funden*.
205. 4. *the mounte of Arrabē* (*MA*: 'pe mountez of Araby') is a mountain in Wales, to which Geoffrey of Monmouth refers as *mons Aravius*.
205. 5. *ferser* is a mistranslation of *forcyere* (= 'stronger'). Cf. *MA* (1176): *He was pe forcyere be ferre, pat had I here funden*.
205. 8-9. *toke with hem what tresoure that hem lyked.* Not in *MA*. In the next passage Arthur gives the giant's treasure to 'comouns of the contré, clergie and oper', to be distributed among his 'dere pople' (1215-16). But the poet does not say that any of Arthur's knights benefited by it.
205. 15-16. *Looke that the gooddys be skyffted that none playne of his parte.* *MA* is more explicit (1212-17):
 He somond pan pe schippemen scharpely perafytyre,
 To schake furthe with pe schyre-men to schifte pe gudez:
 'All pe myche tresour, pat traytour had wonnen,
 To comouns of the contré, clergie and oper,
 Luke it be done and delte to my dere pople,
 That none pleyn of theire parte, o peyne of ȝour lyfez'.
- This is a good illustration of *M*'s method of 'reduction': his summary consists of words borrowed from his source.
205. 16. *his cosyn, sir Howell.* No name in *MA*.
205. 17-18. *in the worschyppe of seynte Mychael.* Cf. *MA* (1220):
 'Criste for to serfe,
 In mynde of pat martyre, pat in pe monte rystez'.
205. 21. *into a fayre champayne.* *C*'s reading (*came in to Champayne*) suggests that he has mistaken *champayne*, 'field', for the province of Champagne.
205. 23. *the mete-whyle* seems preferable to *MA*'s *mene-while*. Meal-time is the conventional moment for messengers to arrive and for important adventures to be announced.
206. 5. *dowseperys.* *W*'s reading (*Dowse leperys*) is probably the result of

two successive corruptions: *dowsesepers* (dittography) and *dowse le pers* (rationalization).

206. 6-7. *the peerys of Parys towne, ar fledde downe into the Lowe Contrey towarde Roone.* Cf. *MA* (1256): *Prayes the for Peter luffe, þe apostyll of Rome.* In view of the fact that the peers of Paris would not normally have fled to Rome through the Netherlands it is not altogether unlikely that *M*'s remark is based on some hopelessly corrupt reading in which *prayer for Peter* had become *peerys of Parys* and *Rome* had been changed to *Roone*. The alternative would be to regard *Roone* as a misreading of 'Rhine'.

206. 12. *sir Lyonel.* *MA* has 'sir Berill'. The fact that 'Lyonel' spoils the alliteration would suggest that *M* altered the text. Cf. 209. 12.

206. 17-18. *that is more worschyppe than thus to overryde maysterlesse men.* The moral argument is only vaguely suggested in *MA*: Arthur simply challenges Lucius to an open war which, he says, will show 'whatt ryghte þat he claymes thus to ryot þis rewme and raunsome the pople' (1275-6).

206. 21-2. *many prowde pavylyons of sylke of dyverse coloures.* Cf. *MA* (1287-8):

Palaisez proudliche pyghte, þat palyd ware ryche
Of pall and purpure, wyth precyous stones.

In *MA* the pavilions are 'pighie in þe playn mede'; in *M* 'in a medow besyde a ryver'.

206. 23-4. *and the Emperoures pavylyon was in the myddys with an egle displayed on loffie.* *MA* gives a much fuller description of the camp (1291-8):

And than the Romans so ryche had arayede their tentes
On rawe by þe ryuere vndyr þe round hillez,
The emperour for honour ewyn in the myddes,
Wyth egles al ouer ennelled so faire;
And saw hym and þe sowdane and senatours many
Seke towarde a sale with sextene kynges,
Syland softely in swettly by them selfen
To sowpe withe þat soueraygne full selcouthe metez.

207. 1-4. *But behynde them they leffte stuff of men . . . sir Gawayne and sir Borce wente with the message.* Not only is there no reference to this stratagem in the corresponding place in *MA*, but the account of Gawain's embassy makes it clear that at his interview with Lucius he was not accompanied by the other messengers. *M* seems to anticipate the story of the ambush from a later passage (*MA* 1403 ff.) where, after relating the first attack of the Romans on the messengers, the poet says that 'thare ware Bretons enbuschide'. The device, often used in *M*'s other works, is intended to reassure the reader by anticipating a happy ending.

207. 2. *he leffte* is probably a misreading of *they leffte*.

207. 3. My punctuation of this line is based on the context: since Bedwere was left in the ambush with Lionel he could not be entrusted with the message, and his name must be separated from Gawain's by a full stop.

207. 21-2. 'Other I,' *seyde sir Borce, 'than to welde Bretayne other Burgayne the noble.'* In *MA* Bors is silent.

207. 25. *Englyshe Bretonns.* *MA*: *pes Bretonns.*

208. 4. *into they com ny the busshemente*. 'Into' stands for 'unto' in the sense of 'until'. The form, though unusual, may be explained as the result of a confusion of 'they rode unto they com' and 'they rode into the busshemente'.

208. 4-5. *they com ny the busshemente there sir Lyonell and sir Bedwere were hovyng styll*. In the poem the ambush is not mentioned until ll. 1403 ff. Cf. 207. 1-4.

208. 8-13. *Than tyrnys hym sir Borce. . . . Than sir Borce aspyed hym, &c.* In *MA*, as in Layamon's *Brut*, the protagonist of this adventure is Gawain. In all the other versions it is either Bors or Gerin.

208. 16-17. *he was called Calleborne the strengyste of Pavynes Londis*. *MA* (1377): 'He was a paynyme of Perse.' There is no support in *MA* for *M*'s reading. 'Calaburn(e)' is the name given in *MA* to Arthur's sword (Excalibur), and *Pavynes* (Pavia?) is probably *M*'s own rendering of *paynyme*.

208. 21. *sir Feldenake*. *MA* (1382): 'sir Feltemoure'.

208. 24. *Galantyne*. *MA* (1387): Galuth.

209. 3. *one of the senatours*. Not in *MA*.

209. 4-5. *shrewed messengers and bolde boosters*. *MA* has no 'shrewed messengers' but gives an interesting comment on 'bolde boosters':

3one are bold bosturs, þat suche bale wyrkez;
It befell hym full foule, þat þam so fyrste namede.

209. 8. *the marchall of Rome*. *MA* (1397): 'Marschalle de Mowne'. *M* avoids an unfamiliar name at the expense of alliteration.

209. 10. *ore they wente*. The first of these words appears as *one* in *W*, but *ore* is clearly required for the sense, and the common confusion of *r* and *n* makes the reading legitimate.

209. 12. *MA* does not mention *Lyonel* among the knights who lay in ambush. Cf. 206. 12.

209. 13. *oure noble knyghtes of mery Ingelonde*. *MA* (1412) dispenses with both epithets: 'Erles of Inglande'.

209. 15-18. *returned unto the Emperour and tolde hym, &c.* *MA* says that the message was delivered to the senator *Petyr* by a *sandes-man*, but gives no details of the defeat of the Romans. Nor has it any counterpart to *M*'s ll. 17-18.

209. 19-32. This paragraph is a very free rendering of some eleven lines of the poem (1426-37). The alliterating line—*were formeste in the frunte and freyshly faught*—is not in *MA* and does not seem to fit in with the one line in this passage that alliterates on *f*: *Boi fleede to þe foreste and the feelde leuede*. The remark that *sir Borce and sir Berell, the good barounnes, fought as two boorys* suggests an alliterative source, but is not traceable to *MA*. Generally speaking, the two texts seem to be too far apart here to throw any light one upon the other.

210. 1-2. *sir Idres sir Uwaynes son*. *MA* gives the name of Idres's father (*Ewayn*) in a later passage (1498).

210. 3-10. *and whan he wyste . . . was thou borne*. Not in *MA*.

210. 10-16. *'Alas, thes Romaynes . . . ar ledde us fro.'* This part of Gawain's speech seems to be an expansion of *MA* 1443-8. The alliterating line—

Loo, where they lede oure lordys over yondir brode launde—is not in the poem, but would fit in with the group of lines alliterating on *l*:

'And we lurkede vndyr lee as lowrande wrechis;
I luke never on my lorde þe dayes of my lyfe,
And we so lytherly hym helpe, þat hym so wele lykede.'

210. 17-18. '*That is knyghtly spokyn, seyde sir Idres, and pulde up her brydyls.*' The most likely reason for the plural possessive pronoun *her* is that in the original the subject of this sentence was *the Bretons*. Cf. *MA* (1449):

Thane the Bretons brothely brochez theire stedez
And boldly in batell appon þe bent rydes.

210. 17-26. Apart from Idres's remark ('*That is knyghtly spokyn, seyde sir Idres*'), this paragraph corresponds approximately to ll. 1464-75 and 1484-5 of *MA*, with the addition of a few details such as the rescue of sir Berell and the alliterative phrase *the brayne and the blode*.

210. 19. Here *M* omits some of the grim details of fighting such as:

Thare ware gomes thurghegirde with grundyn wapyns,
Grisely gayspande with grucchande lotes. (*MA* 1461-2.)

210. 27-33. *Ther was a proude senatoure . . . on payne of theire hedys.* Having reproduced l. 1476 of *MA* (*The Senatour Peter thane persewede hym aftyre*), *M* gives a summary of ll. 1498-514, replacing the dialogue between Idres and the Senator by a narrative, but concludes with a fairly accurate rendering of ll. 1515-16:

Pay ledde hym furthe in þe rowte . . .
Lefte hym wyth Lyonell and Lowell hys brothire.

211. 1-2. *Whan sir Gawayne that aspyed he sente forth, &c.* In *MA* the message is delivered by an unknown knight (ll. 1531 ff.):

A knyghte cayrez before and to the kynge telles:
'Sir, he commez thy messangerez', &c.

211. 5-6. *and odir proude pryncis, we knowe nat theire namys.* *MA* describes the 'proude pryncis' as of *Perse* and of *Porte Iaffe* paynymmez (1544).

211. 11-12. *clappyng his hondys.* Not in *MA*, although it seems to form part of an alliterating line.

211. 14-16. *there is no golde undir God that shall save their lyvys.* *MA* has (1572): *Thare sall no siluer hym saue bot Ewain recouere*, which Brock and Mennicken have emended as follows: *Thare sall no siluer hym saue bot sir Ewain be salued*. *M*'s reading, however, seems to suggest that his original had a line alliterating on *g*, especially as Gawain's name occurs immediately afterwards: *I make myne avowe to God, and sir Gawayne be in ony perel of deth*.

211. 18-21. *So forth the presoners were brought before Arthure and he commaunded hem into kepyng, &c.* This sentence combines the end of Arthur's speech in *MA* (1585-8) with the next two lines:

'Pay conuaye this captyfe with clene men of armez
And kend hym to þe constable, alls þe kynge byddez.' (1589-90.)

211. 22-212. 5. *So within a while, &c.* This paragraph has no close parallel in *MA*, but it is interesting to compare it with Arthur's speech in the poem:

MA (1597-600):

'I sall them luffe, whylez I lyffe, so
me our Lorde helpe!
And gyfe þem landys full large,
whare them beste lykes;
They sall noghte losse on þis layke,
ȝif me lyfe happen
pat þus are lamede for my lufe be
þis lythe strandez.'

M (211. 26-212. 2):

'Fayre cosyn, me ruys of thy hurtys!
And yf I wyste hit myght glad thy
hert othir fare the bettir with hit, I
sholde presente the with hir hedys
thorow whom thou art thus rebuked.'
'That were lytyll avayle,' sayde sir
Gawayne, 'for theire hedys had they
lorne, and I had wolde myself, and
hit were shame to sle knyghtes whan
they be yolden.'

Characteristic here, apart from the change from monologue to dialogue, is the substitution of a symbolic gift (*hir hedys thorow whom thou art thus rebuked*) for a practical one (*landys full large*), and Gawain's noble and generous attitude to *knyghtes whan they be yolden*, an attitude more akin to romantic chivalry with its belief in the virtue of forbearance than to the militant and often vindictive spirit of epic poetry.

212. 3. *and spoke* = 'and they spoke'.

212. 6-11. *the kyng callyd unto hym sir Cador, &c.* In *MA* the list of knights summoned by Arthur includes Bawdwyne, Raynalde, and Richere, but not Lancelot. Nor does *MA* give Bryan (Bryane) the picturesque title of *de Les Yles*. 'Raynalde' and 'Richere' appear later in *M*'s account as 'Raynolde' and 'Edwarde'.

212. 7-8. *sir Clarrus of Clereounte, a clene man of armys*. *M* has ingeniously reduced two companies of knights to one man. Cf. *MA* (1603): *Sir Clere-mus, sir Clermonde with clene men of armez*.

212. 12. *I pray the, sir, as thou lovys me, &c.*, refers to Lancelot. In *MA* Arthur's speech is addressed to all the knights summoned to take charge of the prisoners (1609-16).

212. 17. *Than sir Launcelot and sir Cador with thes other knyghtes*. *MA* (1617): 'pe Bretons'.

212. 30. 'Now, lordis', *seyde sir Launcelot, &c.* In *MA* the warning is given by sir Cador (1638-44).

213. 8-26. *Than sir Clegys cryed on lowde, &c.* This is a paraphrase of a much longer passage (cf. *MA* 1651-1705). *Ther shall none that is here medyll with the this tyme* is *M*'s rendering of *there sall neuer Romayne . . . be with rebawdez rebwykyde*.

213. 30. *men of armys to the numbir of sixty thousand*. *MA* (1710): 'Fifty thousandez of folke of ferse men of armez.'

213. 33-214. 2. 'Nay, be my fayth,' *sayde sir Launcelot, &c.* In *MA* Lancelot does not speak, but Cador says instead (1720):

'Sir Lancelott sall never laughe, pat with the kyng lengez
That I sulde lette my waye for lede appon erthe.'

214. 15-16. *Than anone sir Launcelot and sir Cador . . . dubbed knyghtys*

- worshyp to wyne. In *MA* this is done by Cadore alone (1738): *Than this doughty duke dubbyd his knyghttez*. 'Worshyp to wyne' is probably *M*'s addition, although the phrase occurs elsewhere in *MA* (cf. 1805).
214. 17. *sir Hectimer and sir Alyduke*. *MA*: *Ioneke and Askanere, Aladuke and oþer* (1739).
214. 18. *sir Hamerel and sir Hardolf*. *MA*: 'Howell and Hardelfe'.
214. 19. *sir Harry and sir Harygall*. *MA*: 'Sir Heryll and sir Herygall' (1742). In a later passage in the poem these knights are referred to as *Sir Orrigge and sir Ermyngall* (1825). Cf. 215. 34.
214. 22. *sir Berel*. *MA* (1744) has *sir Vryell* instead of *sir Berel*, but *M*'s reading is very likely to be authentic as it alliterates with *Bedwere*. In the original poem the name was probably spelt *Berylle*. Mennicken's emendation of *Vryelle* to *Bryane* seems to have been a bad guess.
214. 25-7. *This commaundement we geff you as ye woll answeere to oure soverayne lorde*. Not in *MA*.
214. 31-2. *as he is oure kynde lorde*. *MA*: 'pe riche kynge'.
215. 3. *bare his course*. Each of these words is traceable to *MA*:
 Kaghte hym a couerde horse and *his course* haldez,
 Beris to sir Berill (1770-1).
215. 6-7. '*Alas*', *sayde sir Cadore*, '*now carefull is myne herte that now lyeth dede my cosyn that I beste loved*'. There is no direct speech in *MA*, but Cadore's grief is described there in practically the same words:
 And thane sir Cadore of Cornewayle es carefull in herte
 Because of his kynnes-mane, þat þus es myscaryede (1778-9).
215. 10. *craked grete wordys*. *MA* (1781): 'laughs'.
215. 17-18. *Than sir Cadore, sir Launcelot, and sir Bors, the good men of armys, thes three*. In *MA* the attack is launched by Cadore alone.
215. 31. *umbelyclosed*. A blend of *umbelte* and *unbeclose*, both meaning 'to surround', 'to enclose'.
215. 34. *Ascamour* (Astamour?) is called *Achinour* in *MA*. *M*'s *Herawde* stands for *MA*'s *Orrigge* (emended by Mennicken and Bjorkman to 'Horrigge'). This character is presumably identical with *Heryll* mentioned in l. 1739. Cf. 214. 17.
216. 2-3. *nere had sir Clegis, sir Cleremonde had nat bene, with the knyghthode of sir Launcelot: tho newe made knyghtes had be slayne everych one* = 'but for Sir Cleremonde and the gallantry of Sir Lancelot, Sir Clegis would have been taken prisoner and all the newly made knights would have been slain.' *MA* says that but for Sir Clegis and Sir Cleremonde (Clemente) '*oure newe men hade gone to noghte and many ma oþer*' (1829).
216. 5-6. *smote hym an hyghe uppon the hede that the brayne folowed*. *MA*'s account of the death of the king of Lybye is somewhat less gruesome:
 Hittez hym heghe on pe helme with his harde wapen,
 That all pe hotte blode of hym to his hande rynnez. (1832-3.)
216. 7. *corne-boote agaynewarde*. On this phrase, see Holthausen in *Beiblatt zu Anglia*, xii. 237; Björkman, *Minnesskrift*, p. 42; and Schumacher, *Studien über den Stabreim*, p. 133.

216. 7-8. *the devyll have thy bonys* is a summary of a long tirade in *MA* (1837-43), but the phrase occurs elsewhere in the poem (cf. 1783).
 216. 10-11. *sette sore on oure knyghtes*. *MA* (1847): *sette appon oure sere* (= 'various') *knyghttez*.
 216. 12. *Sir Launcelot and sir Bors* are here substituted for Cadur of Cornwall (*MA* 1848).
 216. 12-13. *as tellyth the romaynes, they had slayne of the Sarazens mo than fyve thousand*. *MA* does not refer to the 'romance'. It puts the number of Saracens killed in battle at *fyfty thosande* (1851), and goes on to describe the battle as follows:

Thare was at þe assemble certayne knyghttez
 Sore wondede sone appone sere halfes;
 The sekereste Sar[a]zanez, that to þat sorte lengede,
 Behynde the sadylls ware sette sex fotte large;
 They scherde in the schiltrone scheldyde knyghttez,
 Schalkes they schotte thrughe schrenkande maylez,
 Thurghe brenys browden brestez they thirlede,
 Brasers burnyste bristez in sondyre;
 Blasons [blendez with] blode, and blankes they hewen,
 With brandez of browne stele brankand stede. (*MA* 1852-61.)

216. 19-20. *Than oure knyghtes folowed with a freysshe fare and slew downe of the Sarezens 'on every syde'*. *W*'s reading is an interesting case of contamination: . . . *folowed with a freysshe fare and slew downe of the Sarazens and folowed with a freysshe fare*. But in the process of repeating the words *folowed with a freysshe fare* the scribe seems to have omitted *on every syde*, which, as both *MA* and *C* suggest, must have occurred in *M*.

MA 1874-9:

M:

C:

And felede them so feynte . . .	<i>folowed with a freysshe</i>	
In the feryne of the fyrthe	<i>fare and slew downe of</i>	
fore ferde of oure people . . .	<i>the Sarazens on every</i>	<i>slewe doune ryght</i>
By hundrethez they hewede	<i>syde</i>	<i>on euery syde</i>
doun be þe holte-eyuys		

M's treatment of *MA* is an example of his use of homonyms: while the meaning of the original is completely altered, the words *folowed*, *freysshe*, and *fare* are modelled on *felede*, *fyrthe*, and *fore*, respectively, and by the same process of phonetic adaptation *MA*'s *eyuys* becomes 'every syde'. *C* has reduced a whole page of *M*'s text to a few lines and telescoped the description of the pursuit of the Romans with that of Lancelot's gallantry. In *M* *slewe doune on every syde* refers to the former event, in *C* to the latter.

216. 21-7. *And sir Launcelot ded so grete dedys of armys that day that sir Cadur and all the Romaynes had mervayle of his myght, &c.* Not only is Lancelot's name absent from the corresponding place in *MA*, but the poem never suggests that *ther was nother kyng, cayser, nother knyght that day myght sionde hym ony buffette*. Cf. 217. 11-17 and 220. 16-18.
 217. 2-3. *the pure proveste*. Although 'pure' does not occur in *MA* it is used here in the conventional sense in which it is often found in alliterative

- poetry. See *Destruction of Troy*, 3828, 4492, 5501, 5525, &c. Cf. *GV*, p. 95.
217. 6-10. *Whan the kynge his knyghtes sawe he . . . cleyght knyght be knyght in his armys and sayde: 'All the worschyp in the worlde ye welde!'*, &c. Not in *MA*.
217. 11-17. *there was none of us that fayled othir, but of the knyghthode of sir Launcelot hit were mervayle to telle*, &c. The first remark (*there was none of us*, &c.) is a summary of some 28 lines in *MA* enumerating Arthur's gains and losses, but all the rest of the speech is *M*'s invention. There is no reference in *MA* to Lancelot's feats of bravery, nor to the fact that *of wyse wytte and of grete strengthe of his ayge sir Launcelot hath no felowe*. Arthur's reply, '*Hym besemys for to do such dedis*', is a further example of *M*'s partiality to Lancelot. Cf. also 216. 21-7 and 220. 16-18.
217. 22. *sir Manaduke and sir Mandyff. MA: sir Meneduke of Mentoche* (1919). It does not seem possible to decide which of the two readings is authentic.
217. 24-5. *with a keuercheff wypped his iyen*. Not in *MA*.
217. 27-218. 3. *for I calle hit but foly to abyde whan knyghtes bene overmacched*. *MA* (1925-6) does not generalize to this extent, and the controversy about 'useless' fighting is only vaguely suggested. In *M*, on the other hand, it is carefully elaborated. The argument is that honour comes before strategy, and that no knight should avoid a battle no matter what the odds against him might be. Something of the old quarrel between Roland and Olivier is revived in this way. Lancelot and Arthur are contrasted in the same way as the two great heroes of French epic (*Roland est preuz et Olivier est sage*), but there can be no doubt that *M* prefers 'wisdom' to 'valour'.
218. 4. Here *M* omits a dialogue between Arthur and Cador, ending with a eulogy of Cador's bravery:
- Thow has doughttily donn, sir duke, with thi handez,
And has donn thy dever with my dere knyghttez.
- He also omits the description of the banquet held by Arthur to celebrate the victory of the Britons (1946-9):
- Thane gerte he in his awen tente a table to sette,
And tryede in with trompez trauaillede biernez,
Serfede them solempnely with selkouthe metez
Swythe semly in syghte with sylueren dischees.
218. 4-5. *Now leve sir Arthure and his noble knyghtes and speke we of a senatoure that ascaped fro the batayle*. Not in *MA*. *M* adds this sentence in order to mark a change of scene, whereas *MA* passes abruptly from Arthur to Lucius (1950):
- Whene the senatours harde say, pat it so happenede,
They saide to þe emperour, &c.
218. 6-8. '*Sir, withdrawe the! What doste thou here in this marchis and to overren poore peple?*' In *MA* the senators address the Emperor with more deference. They do not tell him to 'withdraw'; instead of '*What doste thou*', &c. they say: 'Thow dosse bot tynnez pi tym and turmenttez pi pople.'

The alliteration shows that *M* is responsible for the substitution of *overren* for *turmenttez*.

218. 11-12. *For this day one of Arthur's knyghtes was worth in batayle an hundred of oures*. In *MA* Lucius's defeat is attributed to the treachery of his men (1955): 'Thow arte betrayede of pi men that moste thow on traystede.'

218. 14-15. *thy wordys greveth me muche more*. In *MA* Lucius, 'angerde at his herte', is determined to conquer his enemies at all costs and says to his vassals that his heart 'sothely es sette':

Riste vs and reuell and ryotte oure selfen

Lenge pare in delytte, in lordechipez ynewe (1970).

218. 16-17. *a knyght that hyght sir Leomye* is probably the result of a misreading of *sir Leo be* which occurs in l. 1971 in *MA*: *To sir Leo be comen with all his lele knyghtez*. On 'King Leo', see Imelmann, op. cit., p. 53.

218. 21. *Sessoynne* (= Soissons). *MA* has the same reading in the corresponding place (1977), and *Sexon* a few lines above. Critics have taken this to be a corruption of Geoffrey's *Suesia*, a Latinized form of *Suisse*, a small tributary of the Marne. *Sissonne* in Picardy has also been suggested (cf. G. Neilson, *Huchown*, pp. 62 ff.).

218. 23. *sir Vyllers the valyaunte* corresponds to *sir Valyaunt of Vylaris* in *MA* (1982), emended by Branscheid (op. cit., p. 230) and others to *sir Valyaunt of Walis*. O'Loughlin (op. cit., p. 163) remarks that *M* 'in his last three books, which are quite independent of *MA*, has a knight whose name is Sir Vyllyers le valyaunt, and the name occurs some six times in various spellings. In view of this it is unsafe to emend, and we must leave further elucidation to the editors of *Malory*.' The Winchester MS. shows that *Vyllers the Valyaunte* is the correct reading.

219. 1-5. *And take renkys of the Rounde Table*, &c. *MA* describes these preparations at much greater length (ll. 1993-2005).

219. 22. *do doughly this day, and the felde is ourys*. *Doughly* is not in *MA*, but it was certainly suggested to *M* by the word *dowtte* which occurs in the corresponding line. The two passages placed side by side provide a good illustration of his method of using the word material of the poem:

MA 2042-3:

*Do dresse we tharefore, and dreche we no
langere
Fore dredlesse withouttyn dowtte, the daye
schall be ourez*

M 219. 24-5:

*And therefore do doughly
this daye, and the felde is
ourys*

220. 2-3. *and therein was a dolefull dragon*. The 'dolefull dragon' is a contraction of

'a dragone engowschede, dredfull to schewe,
Deuorande a dolphyn with dolefull lates'.

(*MA* 2053-4.)

220. 4-5. *the valyaunte Vyllers*. *MA*: 'sir Valyant'. On the reading of this name, see 218. 23.

220. 16-18. *and in his wey he smote thorow a kynge that stooode althirnexte*

hym, and his name was Jacunde, a Sarezen full noble. This feat of gallantry is not recorded in *MA*. The episode is doubtless *M*'s invention designed to enhance the reputation of his favourite character. Cf. 216. 21-7 and 217. 11-17.

220. 19-20. *smote hym on the helme.* In *MA* Lucius is killed twice, first by Lancelot, and again by Arthur (ll. 2251-6). *M* avoids this by suggesting that Lucius survived Lancelot's attack.

220. 22-3. *all seyde that hit sawe* = 'all those who saw it said that'.

220. 23-4. *there was never knyght dud more worschyp in his dayes.* *MA* makes no comment on Lancelot's success. Cf. 216. 21-7, 217. 11-17, and 220. 16-18.

220. 25-9. *Than dressed hym sir Bors, &c.* *M* substitutes Bors for Loth, but whereas Bors has two encounters, Loth in *MA* has only one. How this discrepancy arose can be seen from the following:

MA 2085-7:

Thane strekez the *steryn* and streynys
his brydyll
Strykez into the stowre on a stede ryche
Enjoynede with a geaunt

M:

Than dressed hym sir Bors unto
a sterne knyght and smote hym
on the umbrell that his necke
braste. Than he *joyned* his horse
untyll a sterne gyaunte

Steryne in *MA* is used substantivally, but refers to the attacking knight. *M* has changed it to *a sterne knyght*, thus giving Bors another victim. It will also be noticed that, while borrowing *MA*'s *enjoynede*, *M* alters both the construction of the sentence and the meaning of the word.

220. 30. *bowemen of Inglonde and of Breiayne.* *MA* (2095): 'bowmen of Breiayne'.

220. 32. *with darts and with crosse-bowys.* *MA* (2101): *Dartes the Duchemen dalien azaynes.* Cf. 220. 35.

220. 34. *with quarels (MA: gwarells).* On the use of this weapon in medieval warfare, cf. Deters, *Die englische Angriffswaffen*, pp. 115 and 122 ff.

220. 35. *with hir bowys of horne.* *MA*: 'schotte of þe scharppe arowes'. There is no mention of either *bowys* or *horne* in the poem, but the former was obviously suggested to *M* by *arowes* and the latter, most probably, by the group of lines (2108-10) alliterating on *h*.

221. 10. *Now art thou of a syse* is an admirably neat summary of the following (*MA* 2124-8):

'Come down . . . and karpe to thy ferys!
Thow arte to hye by the halfe, I hete þe in trouthe
Thow sall be handsomere in hye, with the helpe of my Lorde.'

221. 12-18. *Than come sir Cadore and sir Kay, &c.* In compiling this list of warriors *M* must have looked through some hundred lines of the poem (*MA* 2131-233) which supplied the names of Kay (2157), of Gawain (2218), of Lyonel (2217), and of Cadore (2265). He still had to add Lancelot, Bors, Ector, Ascamore, Pelles, and Marhault, and it is by no means impossible that the last two were added by the scribe (see *Introduction*, p. xxxviii, footnote 5). When *M* went back to the account of the slaughter of the giants (*MA* 2132-4) he must have remembered line 2183 (*Hadde thow wele*

dalte thy dynt with thi handes), part of which reappears in his version: *by the dyniys were dalte and the dome yoldyn*.

221. 21-4. *They leyde on with longe swerdys . . . ten thousand at onys*. A very approximate rendering of *MA* (2139-52). The poem has supplied the words *leyde* (2147), *swerdys* (2146), and *thousand at onys* (2152), but not 'Swapped thorow braynes' nor the number of the Romans who fell in battle, which it puts at *a thosande*. Mennicken emends this to *a fyve thosande* to restore the alliteration.

221. 27. *sir Kay, sir Clegis, and sir Bedwere the ryche*. *MA* (2157): 'Sir Kayous, sir Clegis with clere men of armez.' 'Clere men of armez' is clearly a scribal error (the same phrase occurs at the end of the next line). Björkman emends it to *sir Cleremownde þe noble*, but *M*'s *Bedwere* has a better claim as he is mentioned again in the same scene: in *MA* (2238-41) he is mortally wounded; in *M* (223. 4-6) he is struck down 'to the colde erthe' and rescued by Lancelot and Lovel. Cleremownde does not appear in the poem until the very end (3635).

221. 30. *roode unto a kyng of Ethyopé*. *MA*: 'to a kynge' (2166).

222. 1-2. *betwyxte the breste and the bowellys*. In *MA* Kay is wounded in the *felettes* and in *þe flawnke aftyre*, so that the enemy's lance reaches his *bewellys* (2175-6).

The *breste* was no doubt suggested to *M* by the verb *braste* (preterite of *briste*, 'to break') in the next line of the poem: *Pat braste at þe brawolyng and brake in þe myddys*. It is possible that *betwyxte* was suggested by *in þe myddys*.

222. 4-5. *Though I dey of thy dente, thy praysyng shall be lytyll*. In *MA* Kay uses similar language ('Hadde thow wele delte thy dynt with thi handes, I hode forgefenn þe my dede'), but the phrase *dey of thy dente* seems to have been borrowed from *MA*'s description of Kay's wound a few lines above (2177-8):

Sir Kayous knewe wele be þat kyde wounde,
That he was dede of þe dynte.

222. 5-9. *Whan sir Glegys and sir Bedwere . . . how they had spedde*. Not in *MA*.

222. 13-14. *for my love*. *MA*: 'fore hir wyrchipe' (2192).

222. 15-16. *Arthur's Thou shalt lyve for ever, &c.* Not in *MA*.

222. 16-19. *And therwith the kyng hymself pulled oute the truncheon, &c.* In *MA* Kay dies of his wounds. *M* spares him and explains that his apparently mortal wounds were not as deadly as was at first feared. Characteristic of *M*'s style is Arthur's complaint: 'Thou shalt lyve for ever, my herte thynkes', which is an expansion of *MA*'s *Thane semmes þe riche kyng for rewthe at his herie*. Equally typical is the account of Kay's healing: *the kyng hymself pulled oute the truncheone of the speare and made lechis to seche hym sykerly, and founde nother lyvir nor lungys nother bowelles that were attamed*.

'Lyvir and lungys' is, of course, the usual alliterative formula for such occasions, but *M* probably borrowed it from the description of Kay's successful attack on 'a kyng' ('kyng of Ethyopé' in *M*) a few lines above (*MA* 2168): 'the lyuer and þe lunggez on þe launce lengerz'.

222. 22-6. *Than the kyng in this malyncoly*, &c. The following is an example of skilful condensation:

MA 2201 ff.:

Cleues hym with Collbrande clenlyche in sondyre.

He broches euen thorowe þe byerne and þe sadill bristes

And at þe bake of þe blonke þe bewelles entamede.

Manly in his maly[n]coly he metes anoper; The medill of þat myghtty, þat hym myche greuede,

He merkes thurghe the maylez the myddes in sondyre,

That the myddys of þe mane on þe molde fallez, þe toper half of þe haunche on the horse leuyde.

Of þat hurte, alls I hope, heles he neuer!

He schotte thorowe þe schilttrouns with his scharpe wapen,

Schalkez he schrede thurghe and schrenkande maylez;

Baneres he bare downne, bryttenede scheldes, Brothely with brown stele his brethe he pare wrekes;

Wrothely he wryththis by wyghtnesse of strenghe,

Woundes pese whydyrewyns, werrayed knyghttes,

Threppede thorowe þe thykkys thryttene sythis,

Thryngez throly in the thrange and [thri]chis euer aftyre.

M 222. 23 ff.:

and with Excalyber he smote his bak in sundir.

Than in that haste (cf. 222. 22: in this malyncoly) he metys with anothir and gurde hym in the waste thorow bothe sydes

Thus he russhed here and there thorow the thyckyst prees more than thirty tymes.

222. 27 (i). *Than sir Launcelot, sir Gawayne and sir Lovelys son*. Of these knights only Gawain is mentioned by name in the poem (2218-19):

Thane sir Wawayne the gude with wyrchipfull knyghttez

Wendez in the awawewarde be tha wodde-hemmys.

222. 27 (ii). *sir Lovelys son*. *M* never mentions 'Lovel's son', and it is clear from the next paragraph (p. 223, l. 6) that the knight who joined Lancelot and Gawain in their attack on Lucius was Lovel himself, not his son. There are two possible ways of interpreting *Lovelys son*: one is to take *Lovelys* as a variant of *Lovel* and *son* as 'soon'; the other is to read: *Lovel Y(wain)s son*. The emendation would be in keeping with the context, since in an earlier passage Lovel is described as *Idrus brother* and *Idrus* as *sir Uwaynes son*. Later on, in the story of the *Healing of Sir Urry*, Lovel will appear as Gawain's son.

222. 32-4. *Sir Launcelot was wroth at hys grymme wordys . . . bloode felle doune to his feete. Not in MA.*

222. 35-6. *And sir Gawayne wyth his longe swerde leyde on faste that three amerallys deyde thorow the dynte of his hondis* The first part of this sentence is found in *MA* (2226), but *M* substitutes Gawain's name for *he* which in *MA* refers to the Emperor Lucius: *He laughte owte a lange swerde and luyschede one faste*. Nor is there any support in *MA* for the story of the admirals killed by Gawain.

222. 37-223. 1. *And so Lovel fayled nat in the pres; he slew a kynge and a deuke that knyghtes were noble. MA* introduces instead *Sir Lyonell*, who attacks the Roman Emperor and 'hittes hym on þe hede, þat þe helme bristis'.

223. 5-6. *Yet sir Launcelot and sir Lovel rescowed hym blyve. In MA* (2238-42) *Bedivere* is killed:

'The ryall raunke stele to his herte rynnys
And he rusches to þe erthe, rewthe es the more.'

M spares him as he has spared Kay (cf. 222. 16-19).

223. 10-13. *oftetymes thorow envy grete hardynesse is shewed that hath bene the deth of many kyd knyghtes; for thoughe they speke fayre many one unto other, yet whan they be in batayle eyther wolde beste be praysed.* This is *M*'s own comment on the behaviour of Arthur's knights in their attack on the Romans. Not only is it absent from *MA*, but it seems strangely irrelevant to the events described: there is no suggestion in the poem or, for that matter, in *M*'s rendering of it that Arthur's knights were actuated by 'envy' or that they fought so bravely because 'eyther wolde beste be praysed'. The remark is indeed more likely to have arisen from *M*'s own reflections on the art of war than from anything he could have found in his source.

223. 18. *gaff hym a wounde nyghe unto the tunge. MA* (2246 ff.):

at Arthure he strykez

Awkwarde on þe vmbrere and egerly hym hittez

The nakyde swerde at þe nese noyes hym sare,

The blode of [the] bode kynge ouer þe breste rynnys.

223. 19-20. *with all the myght that in his arme was leved. Not in MA.*

223. 20-1. *frome the creste of his helme unto the bare pappys hit wente adoune. MA* (2253-4):

Thourghe þe brene and þe breste with his bryghte wapyn

O slante down fro þe slote he slyttes [him] at ones.

223. 24-224. 1. *for the love of sir Bedwer that longe hath me served. Not in MA.*

224. 1-2. *for golde nothir for sylver. MA* (2263): 'for non siluer'.

224. 2-3. *for they that woll accompany them with Sarezens, the man that wolde save them were lytyll to prayse* = 'for whoever saved the people who followed the Saracens would deserve no praise'. Not in *MA*.

224. 5-9. *Than sir Cadore . . . uppon a mountayne. MA* does not name the 'chiftaynes on chalke-whitte stede' (2268) who answered Sir Cadore's call and launched a final attack on the Romans. *M*'s list consists of familiar

names, with the addition of *Florens*, who belongs to a later episode and whose parentage (*was gotyn of sir Baundyles sistir appon a mountayne*) seems irrelevant in this context. *MA* mentions neither Brandyles nor the circumstances of Florens's birth, but *M* refers to both these knights on another occasion, in the list of knights who attempted to heal Sir Urry's wounds. There he also includes Lovell (Lovel), *goten vpon sir Bandyles systre*.

224. 10-23. *all thes knyghtes russedd forth in a frunte . . . many a thousande ascaped thorow prevy frendys*. This description of the onslaught made by Arthur and his host on the Romans corresponds to a much shorter passage in *MA* (2268-77). Realizing that this was the most important battle of the war, *M* may easily have added some details, but he is not likely to have contributed either the northern word *thrumbelyng* or the alliterative line *euer he slow slyly and slypped to another* (cf. *GF*, p. 87).

224. 24-31. *And than releuys the kyng, &c.* This is an expansion of:

Thare myghte no siluer thaym saue ne socoure theire lyues,
Sowdane, ne Sarazene, ne senatour of Rome.

The last sentence (*And thus he let save many knyghtes, &c.*) is entirely at variance with *MA* in stating as it does that Kay and Bedivere recovered from their wounds.

225. 1. *Than the kyng rode, &c.* Characteristically enough *M* omits to mention how King Arthur's knights ransacked the country and collected the treasures which belonged to their enemies:

Thay kaire to þe karyage and kaghte whate them likes
Hekes and hakkenays and horses of armes,
Howsyng and herbergage of heythen kynges;
They drewe owt dromondaries of dyuerse londes,
Moyllez mylke-whitte and meruayllous bestez,
Olfendes and arrabys and olyfauntez noble,
Per are of þe Oryent with honourable kynges.

(*MA* 2282-9.)

225. 2. *lordely*. *MA's* *louelyly* (2292) is probably a corruption of this, not, as Björkman thought, of *louely*.

225. 3-4. *and of Ethyopé the kyng, and of Egypte and of Inde two knyghtes full noble, wyth seventene other kynges were taken up als*. This may well be a rendering of two alliterating lines which, according to Branscheid (*Anglia*, viii. 230) and Björkman (op. cit., p. 157), have dropped out of the Thornton text.

225. 18-21. *presente thes corses unto the proude Potestate . . . bourde with me and my knyghtes*. *M* anticipates Arthur's grim message to the Roman Emperor. 'I trow they woll beware how they bourde with me and my knyghtes' is borrowed from Arthur's next speech (2348-9):

'Bott byde them neuere be so bolde, whylls my blode regnes,
Efte for to brawlle pem.'

225. 22. *dressed in a charyot*. In the alliterative poem the Emperor's body is sent back to Rome *appon an olyfaunte*, while the bodies of his warriors are placed *on kameles belyue, on asses and arrabyes*.

225. 24. *by cowplys*. *MA* (2336): 'They coupylde þe kystys'.

226. 4-5. *If they thynke hit nat inowe, I shall amend hit what that I com.*
Not in *MA*.

226. 10. *within eyghtene dayes.* Not in *MA*

226. 13. *Est londys* is an adaptation of *MA*'s *owtt-illes*, the more curious because these islands are said to be situated in the west (2359-60):

all pir owtt-illes

That Arthure in the Occedente occupyes att ones.

A reminiscence of the connexion thus established between *Est londys* and *owtt-illes* can be seen in the *Tale of Sir Launcelot du Lake* where *M* describes two of the four queens who capture Lancelot as the queen of *Estlonde* and the queen of the *Oute Iles* (p. 257).

226. 19. *store you wyth stuff.* *MA*: 'We rede 3e store 3owe of stone and stuffen 3our walles' (= 'put garrisons on your walls'). Neither *stone* nor *stuffen* means 'stuff', but *M*'s phrase is a good example of his use of homonyms. See *Introduction*, p. xlii.

227. 2. *and to bery them that were slayne.* 'Made us' or 'ordered us' is understood before *to bery*.

227. 4-5. *entryth streyghte into Lushburne and so thorowe Flaundirs and than to Loraïne.* Here *M* deliberately alters Arthur's itinerary. *MA* has in the corresponding two lines (2387-8):

'Enteres to *Almayne* wyth ostez arrayed;

Lengez at *Lusschenburghe*, to lechen hys knyghttez.'

The route given in the alliterative poem is the normal route from Normandy to Tuscany: starting at Barflete, it goes through Soissons, Luxemburg, Metz, Lucerne, Gothard, and Como. *M* adds a detour: instead of going straight to Luxemburg on his way south Arthur suddenly turns north towards Flanders and, according to Caxton, to Brabant.¹ This at once calls to mind the itinerary followed by Henry V on his way from Fécamp to Agincourt. The triangle Soissons-Lorraine-Flanders is an exaggerated replica of the triangle Fécamp-Athies-Calais, which roughly describes the route adopted by Henry V. True, Henry V had excellent reasons for seeking a southern crossing through the Somme. After passing Eu he had reached what one of his biographers describes as 'the critical stage in his advance'. 'Before him lay the Somme; behind him a hostile country. The Somme was a difficult river over which to transport an army; but near the estuary was a famous ford known as Blanquetaque or Blanchetache, over which Edward III had forced his way immediately before Crécy. This ford, however, was negotiable only at low tide. Before Henry reached Blanquetaque on Sunday October 13 he had been told by a prisoner . . . that stakes had been driven into the bed of the ford and that the French force under Marshal Boucicaut lay on the opposite side. . . . There was nothing for it but to march South-east up the Somme until a crossing could be effected.'² This

¹ *W* has Luxemburg, Flanders, Lorraine, and *C* Lorraine, Brabant, Flanders. *M* certainly had Flanders, but whether he put it before or after Lorraine is not certain.

² J. D. Griffith Davies, *Henry V*, p. 178.

explains why Henry had to go so far south. through Abbeville, Amiens, Boves, and Corbie, to Nesle where he finally crossed the river, and thence to Athies, Doingt, Bonnières, Frevant (where he crossed the Canche), and Blangy; only after Blangy did he reach Agincourt. Arthur had no excuse for taking such a roundabout way. But Malory, writing a history of Arthur's conquest of the Continent, could not help remembering the most remarkable English victory of the century. The analogy was obvious, and it was only natural that he should have attempted to strengthen it by suggesting that Arthur had chosen the same way as Henry V. A comparison of the two maps facing this page will show what he had in mind.

227. 5-8. *and than to Loraïne . . . the tirrauntys destroyed.* In *MA* this is part of Arthur's speech at a council which he had summoned to ask 'kings, kayseris and clerks' to 'caste all their wits' and suggest the best way of conquering the enemy.

227. 9-10. *and ther were captaynes full kene that kepte Arthurs comyng.* This line, although not in *MA*, almost certainly comes from the original poem. The relevant passage in *MA* (2390-7) has eight lines alliterating on *k*; a ninth line with *k*-staves would complete the three groups of three.

227. 12. *ther was a cité.* *MA* gives the name of this city as *Meyes* (= Metz) and adds that it is in 'Lorrayne alosede, as London es here' (2418).

227. 14-15. *I woll wyinne this towne other ellys many a doughty shall dye.* Not in *MA*.

227. 17. *sir Florence.* *MA* (2432): 'sir Ferrere'.

227. 21-2. *to kyllle a crowned kynge that with creyme is anoynted* (*MA* 2447: To kyll a corownde kynge, with krysom enoynttede). After this *M* omits sixteen lines of *MA*'s description of 'harageous knyghtez' and of 'þe frekke men of Fraunce . . . in theire scheen wedes'.

227. 23-4. *Than the noble knyghtes of the Rounde Table approached unto the cité.* This sentence is a compound of two different lines in *MA*:

2448: *Than come þe herbarious, harageous knyghtez.*

2464-5: [Thane the price men prekes and proues þeire horsez]
Satills to þe ceté.

228. 4. *My folk.* *MA* (2484): 'The Frenchemenne'.

228. 7. *that forestes.* *MA* (2489): 'the mountes'.

228. 14-15. *with that forth yode sir Florens and his felyshyp was sone redy.* Not in *MA*. The corresponding passage contains, however, two lines alliterating on *f* (2501-2).

228. 19-20. *hente his hors.* Not in *MA*.

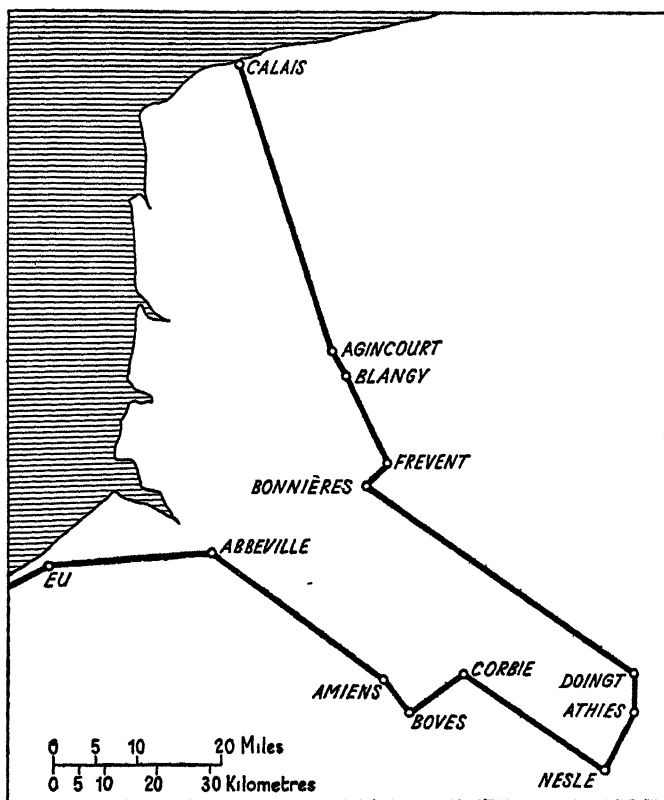
228. 21. *a woodis ease* = 'the edge of a wood'. Cf. *Gaw. and the Gr. Knight*, 1178: 'by lynde woodez euez'.

228. 21-2. *his shelde braced on his sholdir, and he on a stronge horse.* *MA* (2518): 'Enbrassede a brode schelde on a blonke ryche'.

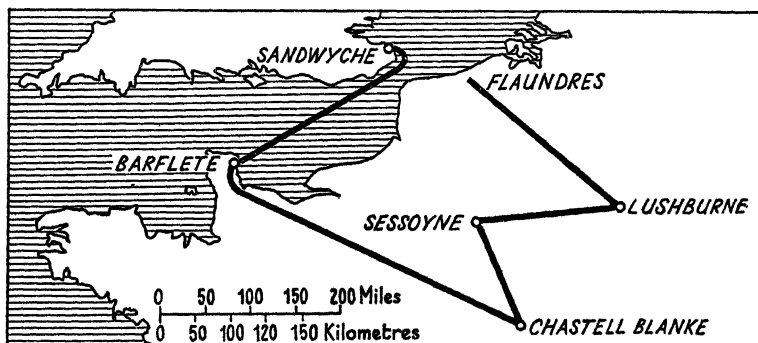
229. 2-3. *of golde glystrand.* *MA* (2521) has *the bare gessenaunde in golde* (cf. O'Loughlin, op. cit., p. 166).

229. 8. *he asked hym what he was.* *MA* (2529): "'Arthure!'" he askryes.'

229. 9. *in his langage of Tuskayne.* *MA* (2531): 'On a launge of Lorrayne.' *M*'s reading, though less alliterative, makes better sense.



HENRY V'S ROUTE FROM EU TO CALAIS



ARTHUR'S ROUTE ACCORDING TO MALORY

229. 12. *prove whan the lykys*. *MA* (2534) makes better sense with 'profire when pe lykys'.
229. 13. *thy proude lokys*. *MA* (2536): 'thy prowde lates'.
229. 13-14. *Thou spekyste proudly*. A paraphrase of *siche glauerande gomes greues me bot lytill* (*MA* 2538).
229. 15. *grymme wordis*. *MA*: 'grete wordes'.
229. 19-20. *thorow there shene shuldrys they were thorowborne*. *MA* (2546): 'schere thorowe schoulders'. *M* modernizes *schere thorowe* to *thorowborne*, but adds the adjective *shene*, no doubt suggested by *schere*.
229. 20-1. *brede of an hande*. *MA* (2546): 'a schaft-monde large'.
229. 23. *hatefull dynytys*. *MA* (2551): 'hertelyche dynttys'.
230. 2. *flowe oute of hir helmys*. *MA*: 'one their helmes'.
230. 6-7. *thycke haubirke made of sure mayles and the rubyes that were ryche*. Not in *MA*.
230. 12-13. *so worched his wounde that his wytte chonged*. *MA* (2571): 'That voydes so violently pat all his witte changed'. Either reading seems acceptable.
230. 15-16. *for thou all bebledis this horse and thy bryght wedys*. This line is not in *MA*, although the corresponding passage in the poem alliterates on *b* (2576-8).
231. 2-4. There are two alliterative lines in this passage: '*becom meke for my mysdedis*. Now mercy I *Jesu beseche*', and '*and thou mayste for thy manhode have mede to thy soule*', neither of which is found in *MA*.
231. 8. *and what lorde or legeaunte thou art undir*. *MA* (2594): *And what legyaunce and whare thow arte lorde*. Holthausen reads 'And whate legyaunce thow lenges to', and O'Loughlin 'And whate legyaunce and londe and whare . . .' or 'preferably': 'Of what legyaunce', &c. (op. cit., p. 166), introducing the word *londe* from *C*. But *W* shows that *C*'s *londe* is a corruption of *lorde*.
231. 12. *ouerleder of kynges*. *MA* (2602): 'ouerlynge of kynges'.
231. 15-16. *Oute lles*. *MA* (2607): *owte-landes*.
232. 2. *to poynte all the paltokkys*. *MA* (2624): 'poyne all his pavelouns'.
232. 6-7. *yf I have happe <to> my hele to serve my lyege lorde I shall be well holpyn in haste*. Bjorkman and Branscheid wrongly assign the corresponding lines of the poem (*MA* 2630-1) to Priamus. *M* lends support to Brock, who places them at the end of Gawain's speech. My emendation is based on *MA*, l. 2630 ('Gife I happe to my hele that hende for to serue'), and on the supposition that either *M* or one of his copyists, having mistaken *hele* (= 'health', 'luck') for *helde* ('life-time'), took *my hele* for an adverbial phrase meaning 'while I live'.
232. 8. *his knavys be so kene*. *MA* (2632): *his knafes be syche* (cf. *GV*, p. 96).
232. 20. *provynce of Perysie*. *M* has here telescoped 'Provence' and 'Paris': 'Thane I of Provynce warre prynce and of Paresche ryche' (*MA* 2647).
232. 21. *toryn with four wylde horse*. Not in *MA*.
233. 6. *Southlonde*. *MA* (2657) has *Surylande* (= 'Syria') which is probably the original reading. It is difficult to see what country *M* had in mind.
233. 11. *take thou hede <to the> haynxman*. *W*'s reading is: *take þu hede m haynxman*. The redundant *m* cannot be read as *in*; its insertion can best be

explained as an anticipation of the *m* in *haynx-man* (probably written as two words in *W*'s original). I have therefore replaced it by *to the*, which is supported by *MA* (2662: *Tak heede to his hanseman*). *To the* could easily have dropped out by homeoteleuton after a word ending in *e*.

233. 12-13. *for here howys at thy honde a hondred of good knyghtes*. This line, though not in *MA*, supplies the necessary antecedent to l. 2664: 'For they are my retenuz, to ryde, whare I wyll[e].'

233. 17. *sir Gawayne rode over a water*. A curious mistranslation of *Sir Wawayn wente or þe wathe com*. *M* was probably puzzled by the ME. word *wathe* (= 'danger') and used the nearest homonym that came to his mind: *over a water for or þe wathe*.

233. 21-2. *with lawghyng and japyng and many lowde wordys*. *MA* (2673): 'with lowde laghturs on lofte for lykynge of byrdez'.

233. 25-6. *Than sir Gawayne tolde hym how he had macched with that myghty man of strengthe. Therefore greve yow nat*. This sentence combines the first words spoken by Gawain in *MA* (2686: "'Greue ȝow noghte", quod Gawayne') with an earlier remark to the effect that Sir Wycharde (*MA*: Wycher) wondered 'how he [i.e. Gawain] maistered þat man, so myghty of strengthes' (2683).

234. 1-4. *for thoughe my shyld . . . hele us bothe*. This may be paraphrased as follows: 'Although my armour is damaged, Sir Priamus is seriously wounded. But he has a remedy which will heal both his wounds and mine.' *MA* is less confused:

2688 Poſſe my ſchouldire be ſchrede and my ſchelde thyrllede. . . .

2690 This priſſonere, ſir Priamus, þat has perilous wondes,
Sais þat he has ſaluez, ſall ſofter vs bothen.

234. 4-5. *But here is new note in honde nere than ye wene, &c.* In *MA* the attack on Arthur's knights is not anticipated by Gawain and comes as a surprise later on (ll. 2717 ff.). The warning is clearly modelled on an earlier line in the poem (1816) which contains the phrase *new note: Bot new notte es onon, þat noyes me ſore*.

234. 11-16. There is no direct speech in *MA*.

234. 12. *the gurdyll of my haynxman*. *MA* (2704): 'at his (i.e. Priamus's) gyrdill.'

234. 14. *the mykyll fruyte in fallys* (*MA* 2707: *That myche froyt of fallez*). *Fallys* = 'fallacy', 'deceit'. Cf. 'fallacious fruit' in *Par. Lost*, ix. 1046.

234. 17. *with colde whyght wyne*. In *MA* the wounds are 'cleansed' with 'clear water'; when this is done the wounded knights are given wine and food. In *M*, as a result of the telescoping of the two statements, Arthur's knights seem to be using wine for rinsing their wounds.

234. 23. The description of the meal served to the wounded knights, although partly telescoped with the account of their healing (see previous note), is reproduced very accurately, with the substitution of *ryche byrdis* for *bredis* (= 'meat') *full ryche*.

235. 1-5. *'Sirs, seyde sir Pryamus, &c.* This speech is not in *MA*, but both its strong alliteration and its importance for the dialogue suggest that it belongs to the source.

235. 10-11. *chyfften of this chekke and cheyff of us all*. On this line see *GV*, p. 96.
235. 19-26. '*Now, fayre lordys*', *seyde sir Pryamus*, &c. There is no speech by Priamus in *MA*, and it has been suggested (*GV*, p. 89) that, the beginning of it having dropped out in an early version of the poem, the end was joined on to Florent's speech. The last three alliterating lines in *M* are almost identical with ll. 2742-4 in *MA*.
236. 4. '*I assent me with good heri*', *seyde Florence*. Not in *MA*.
236. 9-10. *sir Ferraunte of Spayne . . . that was fostred in Farmagos*. In *MA* Ferraunt is said to have been *fosterde in Famacoste*. 'Famacoste' is the ME. form of Famagusta, a town on the east coast of Cyprus. *M* gives it a Spanish ending (Farmagos) and makes Ferraunte a Spaniard. On the origin of Ferraunt's name, see Björkman, op. cit., p. 163.
236. 17. '*Thou haste slayne a knyght and kynge anoynted*' is a misreading of '*Thowee has killede . . . þe kynge of all knyghtes*' (*MA* 2773).
236. 21. *And therwith to hym he flyngis with a swerde*. *MA* (2780): *Bot Floridas with a swerde as he by glenttys*. Holthausen has altered *swerde* to *glaufe* to supply the alliteration, but *M*'s text shows that the original poem had *swerde* and that the alliteration was supplied by the word *flyngis* (cf. *GV*, p. 92).
236. 28. *on a rede stede*. *MA* (2791): 'one a ryall stede.'
237. 8-9. *brake browys and brestys*. *MA* (2807): *brenyes browdden they briste*.
237. 25. *the erle of Ethelwolde* is a misreading of *the erle Antele the olde* (*MA* 2829).
237. 26. *the deuke of Douchemen* is a compound of two distinct phrases in *MA*. *þe duke of Lorrayne* (2833) and *with dowbill of þe Duchemen* (2834).
238. 5-7. *they jowked downe with her hedys many jantyll knyghtes*. *A more jolyar joustynge was never sene on erthe*. This must have formed two complete lines in *M*'s alliterative original. The first of these (*they jowked downe with her hedys many jantyll knyghtes*), completely absent from *MA*, alliterates on the same letter as the following three (2875-7), thus completing a group of four. The second (*A more jolyar joustynge was never sene on erthe*) alliterates more fully in *M* than in *MA* (2875): *Was neuer siche a justynge at journé in erthe*.
238. 10-11. *no knavys but knyghtes kene of herte*. Although not in *MA*, this or some similar line probably stood in *M*'s original just before *MA* 2882 (*And karede to pat courte as cowardes for euer*) and prevented l. 2882 from being isolated as the only one with *k*-alliteration in the midst of alliterating groups.
238. 11-12. *Be God seyde sir Gawayne this gladys my herte*. In *MA* Gawain swears by Peter, but *M*'s reading is clearly more authentic. 'Only Priamus could conveniently swear by Peter in an alliterative poem—as he did, even while he was still heathen' (*GV*, p. 97).
238. 15. *by twenty thousand*. The corresponding line in *MA* (2888) alliterates on *f*. Hence the fanciful figure of *fourtyty thousande*.
238. 16. *Jubeaunce of Geane*. *MA* (2889): '*Iolyan of Iene*.'
238. 20-1. *at all assemble many Saresyns were destroyed, for the soveraynes of*

Sessoynne were salved for ever. MA's that saluede was neuer makes much better sense: the 'sovereigns of Soissons' are Saracens, and it seems hardly logical to say that they were destroyed because they were 'salved for ever'.

239. 1-4. 'Sir, we have bene thy sowdyars all this seven wynter and now we forsake the for the love of oure lyege lorde Arthure, &c. In *MA* they refuse to fight because their pay is in arrears:

Vs defawtes oure feez of þis foure wyntterres;
Thow arte feble and false and noghte bot faire wordes;
Oure wages are werede owte and þi werre endide,
We may with oure wirchipe weend whethire vs lykes.

239. 5-6. *Fye on you, &c.*, is spoken by the duke; cf. *MA* (2934): 'Fy a debles', saide þe duke, 'the deuell haue þour bones!'

239. 7. *the deuke dressys his Dowchmen. MA* (2940): 'The duke in his schelde and dreches no lengere.' *M* bears out Branscheid's emendation: *The duke dresses in his schelde*. 'Schelde' has also puzzled the critics (cf. Mennicken, op. cit., pp. 54 and 143), and *M's Dowchmen* seems to be a possible substitute.

239. 8. *and to sir Pryamus*. Not in *MA*.

239. 9. *at the gaynyste* (= 'nearest') *in he gurdys. MA* (2949): 'gyrdez in agayne.'

239. 11. *Moysestonde* (= Metz). *MA* (2950): Mees.

239. 20. *inwardly he brente for sorow* is *M's* own phrase. In *MA* Gawain says (2966-8):

'Woo es me', quod Wawayne, 'that I ne weten hade;
I sall wage for that wye all þat I welde,
Bot I be wroken on that wye, that thus has hym wondyde.'

239. 21. *anone Gotelake a good man of armys*. There is no knight of this name in *MA*. He owes his existence to a misreading or misunderstanding of the original text, as the following comparison will show:

MA 2963-5:

The *guyte* was a *gude man*, begynnande of *armes*;
For the charry childe so his chere chawngide,
That the chillande watire on his chekes rynnyde.

M 239. 21-3:

But anone *Gotelake*, a
good man of armys, for
Chastelayne the chylde he
chongyd his mode that
the wete watir wente
doune his chylys.

Gotelake, then, is the M.E. *guyte* (= 'child') adorned with *M's* favourite suffix *lake* (cf. *Outelake*). The word *guyte* (cf. Björkman, op. cit., p. 166) is clearly related to *gyte* (= 'a contemptuous word for a child, a brat'), but whether it has any connexion with *get* (= 'offspring, child') is not certain. It was perhaps too rare in late M.E. to be understood by *M*.

Naturally enough, this is *Gotelake's* only appearance in the *Tale of Arthure and Lucius*. But in writing the *Book of Gareth M* will still remember his name and introduce him (p. 344) as one of the knights taking part in the tourney at the Castle Perilous.

240. 1-2. *Now and thou haddyst ascaped withoutyn scathe, the scorne had bene oures.* Not in *MA* (cf. *GV*, p. 88).

240. 5-8. *sir Pryamus . . . myght.* The subject of *hurleyth and hewyth* in the poem is *oure cheualrous men* (2989-92). *Sir Florence on the other syde dud what he myght* is probably *M*'s addition.

240. 10-12. *M* expands his original as follows:

MA (3000):

M:

Swiche a cheke at a chace escheuede
theym neuer.

For suche a chek oure lordys cheved
by chaunce of that were that they
were so auanced for hit avayled
hem ever.

240. 21-2. *sythen turnys to a tente and tellyth the kynge all the tale truly that day how they travayled.* *MA* (3015):

Tornys tytte to þe tente and to þe kynge telles
All the tale sothely, and how they hade spede.

M's reading seems to show that in the original poem both these lines alliterated on *t*, and that *truly* and *travayled* are more authentic than *MA*'s *sothely* and *spede*. Cf. *GV*, p. 93.

240. 23-4. *And fele of thy foomen ar brought oute of lyff.* On this reading, see *GV*, p. 93.

240. 25. *But Chastelayne thy chylde is chopped of the hede, yette slewe he a cheff knyghte his owne hondys this day.* In *MA* there is only one line corresponding to this (3028): *Bot a childe Chasteleyne myschance es befallen.*

240. 28-241. 10. *but I mervayle muche of that bourely knyght . . . knyght of the Table Rounde.* The episode of the christening of Priamus is peculiar to *M*'s version. While departing from his source, he retains its word-order and cadence: *to becom Crysten and on good beleve, whan he is crystynde and in the fayth beleveys.*

241. 1-2. *W: he macched me sore this day in the mournyng, and had nat his helpe bene that had I founden. C: had not he haue be we shold neuer haue returned.* My emendation (*deth* for *þ*) is based partly on *C* and partly on the assumption that *W*'s reading is the result of the telescoping of *ne* (*bene*) and *de* (*dēpe*) and of the subsequent substitution of *þ* for *þe*.

241. 13. *pyté to se.* *MA* (3043): 'peté for to here.'

241. 15. *Clarysyn (= ? Cherasco < Lat. Clarascum).* *MA* (3045): 'Crasyn.'

241. 15-16. *kneled in their kyrtyls.* *M* has here changed the battlements of a castle into a lady's garment. *MA* (3046) has *knelis down in þe kyrnelles.* 'Kyrnelles' is the Old French *crenelles* (or *kernels*) and refers here to the crenellated, or embattled, towers from which the duchess and her ladies-in-waiting address King Arthur.

241. 17-18. *sey us som good worde and ceryl thy peple.* *MA* (3052): 'Send vs some socoure, and saughte with the peple.'

241. 18-19. *for than shall dye many a soule that grevid the never.* Not in *MA*.

241. 23. *Shall none mysse do you.* *MA* (3057): 'sall no mysse do þow.' No is probably a mistranscription of *nō* = *non*.

241. 25. *thy chyff men in chambir.* *MA*: *þe chaste men* (3059).

242. 2-3. 'But ye shall have lyvelode to leve by as to thyne astate fallys.' Not in *MA*.

242. 5. *for to cese of their sawte*. *MA* (3063): 'for to leue pe assawte.' Cf. *GV*, p. 97.

242. 7-8. *and kneled downe unto the kyng and besought hym of his grace*. Not in *MA*.

242. 11-12. *Than the kyng with his crowne on his hede*. Not in *MA*. *M* was apparently anxious that Arthur should wear his regalia on entering Metz, but it seems likely that the *crowne* was suggested to him by the adjective *crowell* (referring to *captayns and constables* in *MA* 3087).

242. 17. *in Loraïne and Lumbardy*. *MA* (3092): *in Loraïne*. If, as both *MA* and *M* clearly indicate, Arthur is now on his way from Metz to Lucerne, Lorraine would seem to suggest a more likely itinerary than Lombardy.

242. 22. *that Gareth sonne wynys*. *MA* (3104): 'the gareth he wynys.' A curious change, probably due to a misunderstanding of ME. *garett* (= 'keep', 'tower').

242. 26. *the cité of Virvyn*. Writing on the *Text of Malory* (*The Times Literary Supplement*, 27 September 1934), Mr. W. F. Oakeshott makes the following comment on this passage: 'The *Morte Arthure* speaks (l. 3128) of the taking of Combe—i.e. Como. In Caxton's version the town is called Urbino. This is only what Caxton thinks the name of an Italian town ought to sound like, for what Malory wrote was no doubt something very similar to the manuscript reading *Virvyn* (i.e. Verona) Malory's geography is notoriously weak, and this is too good a shot for him. It came directly out of his source.' Mr. Oakeshott has apparently failed to notice that in the corresponding passage *MA* speaks not of *Combe*, but of *pe ceté vnsene*:

MA (3112-14):

Sir Florent and sir Floridas pan fowndes before
With freke men of Fraunce well a fyve hundredreth;

To pe ceté vnsene thay soghte at pe gayneste
And sett an enbuschement, &c

M:

Sir Florence and sir Floridas that day passed with
fyve hundred good men of
armys unto *the cité of Virvyn*. They sought at
the gaynyste and leyde
ther a buyschement.

There is no doubt that 'something very similar to the manuscript reading *Virvyn*' stood in *M*'s own text; but *M*'s *Virvyn* was neither 'Verona' nor 'Urbino': it was simply a misreading of *vnsene* and an example of *M*'s method of coining proper names from any words the meaning of which he failed to grasp.

243. 4-14. *There fledde muche folke . . . that to the cité longis*. Here *M* goes back to a passage which in *MA* follows the capture of Metz (3068-83):

Thare fleede at the ferrere zate folke withowthyn nommbre.

For ferde of sir Florent and hus fers knyghtez, &c.

MA's arrangement is open to criticism. One wonders why the people of Metz who had been promised safety should escape to the woods for fear of meeting Florent and his knights. *M*'s account is more plausible, for at the

siege of Combe, Florent, who was in command of the attack, began by capturing the front gate only, and the townspeople would naturally flee from him through the gate on the other side of the city (cf. *GV*, pp. 89-90).

243. 14-16. *So whan this conquerour com into the cite . . . a knyght of his owne contrey*. This is *M*'s second rendering of *MA* 3084-7. It is slightly more accurate than the first (p. 242, ll. 11-14), but instead of literally reproducing the line *captayns and constables, knewe hym for lorde* (*MA* 3087) he now changes it to *made there a captayne a knyght of his owne contrey*.

243. 20-1. *grete sommys of sylver, syxty horsys well charged*. *MA* (3136): 'grete sommes of golde'. *M*'s 'sylver' gives normal alliteration. Cf. *GV*, p. 97.

243. 24. *for hir londys*. *MA* (3139): 'for his sere londes.'

243. 25. *Pietresaynte* may mean Pietrasanta, but the identification is not certain. The corresponding place-name in *MA* is *Pawnce*. Cf. Branscheid, *Anglia*, vii. 234.

243. 25-6. *Porte Trembyll*. *MA* (3140): 'Pownte Tremble'.

243. 27-244. 1. *make homage unto Arthure all hir lyff tymes*. *MA* (3147) has *Be homagers to Arthure whills his lyffe lastis*, and it was an unlucky guess on Holthausen's part to emend *homagers* to *legemen* (cf. *GV*, p. 93).

244. 2-3. *so to com in and know hym for lorde* corresponds to l. 3149 in *MA*: *He es comen to Combe and knewe hym as lorde*. *Combe* is essential for the alliteration and probably stood in *M*'s original.

244. 4. *whan he tyme semed* = 'when he thought fit.'

244. 8-9. *to the vale of Vysecounte he devysed there to lygge in that vertuouse vale amonge vynys full*. *MA* has neither the 'vale of Vysecounte' nor the 'virtuous vale', but both are borrowed from the following lines which *M* has handled with even less than his usual care:

3167: And one the *vicounte* londes he visez to lenge.

3169: In the *Vertennon vale* the vines imangez.

244. 17-18. *moste governoure undir God for to gyff them lycence*. Not in *MA*.

244. 18. *for syx wekys large*. *MA* (3182-3):

'Bot a seuenyghte daye, to pay ware all semblede
And they shulde sekerlye hym see the sonondaye peraftyre.'

244. 19. *in the cite of Syon that is Rome callyd*. *MA* (3184): 'in the ceté of Rome.'

244. 20-1. *with septime, for sothe, as an Emperoure sholde*. 'For sothe' is not in *MA*, but has to be supplied to complete the line: 'With his ceptre as soueraynge and lorde' (3186). The emendations so far proposed (cf. Mennicken, op. cit., p. 54; Holthausen, *Beiblatt zu Anglia*, 12, p. 236; Björkman, p. 94) are distinctly less satisfactory. *M*'s *sholde* is preferable to *MA*'s *and lorde*, which looks like a contamination, for the same words occur in l. 3184. Cf. *GV*, p. 98.

244. 21. Here *M* omits 21 lines describing the hostages sent to Arthur (*ostage are comyn of ayers full auenaunt awoughte score childrenne*) and the banquet given in honour of the Roman messengers:

All the senatours are sette sere be pam one,
Serfed solely with selcouthe metes (*MA* 3195-6).

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244. 25. *to rule as me lykys. MA* (3215): 'as me beste lykys.' Cf. *GV*, p. 98.
245. 3. *Whan the senatours, &c.* Here *M* abandons his alliterative source.
245. 5-12. *and at the day assigned, as the romaynes me tellys, he was crowned Emperour by the Poopys hondis, with all the royalté in the worlde to welde for ever.* The 'romaynes', as we now know, tells nothing of the kind, and *M*'s reference to it is probably intended to make the spurious account of Arthur's coronation appear authentic.
245. 19-20. *the myghty kyng Claudas* = 'the lands of the mighty king Claudas'.
245. 27-9. *and whan we com into Ingelonde, for to purvey ihe of horse-mete, a fifty thousand quarterly, for to mayntene thy servauntes.* It is possible that a sum has fallen out after *quarterly*.

THE NOBLE TALE OF SIR LAUNCELOT DU LAKE

IN the *Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot* Malory abandons Arthur in favour of his new protagonist, Lancelot du Lake. According to his own admission, he does so because 'in all tournaments, jousts, and deeds of arms, both for life and death', Lancelot surpassed all other knights and 'increased marvellously in worship and honour'. He is unfamiliar with the main theme of the Lancelot Romance, the story of the cart and its elaborate background. He knows that Lancelot rescued Guinevere from the stake, but he thinks that otherwise he 'rested him with play and game'. One of the numerous damsels encountered by Lancelot says: 'It is noised that you love Queen Guinevere.' But Lancelot denies the rumour: 'I may not warn people to speak of me what it pleaseth them;' he appears in Malory's account not in his characteristic role of Guinevere's loyal lover, but as a knight adventurous who lives for 'arms and tournaments, battles and adventures'. Nor does Malory seem to have any idea of the position of the '*Lancelot* proper' in the Arthurian Cycle. Lancelot, he remarks, 'is the fyrste knyght that the Freynsh booke makyth mencion of aftir Kynge Arthure com frome Rome'. He apparently imagines that in the French Arthurian romances the story of the Roman campaign was followed by the adventures of Lancelot. In none of the numerous versions of the French Arthurian Cycle is there anything resembling such an arrangement. The Roman campaign invariably occurs at the very end, in the *Mort Artu*, long after the *Lancelot* proper; the latter constitutes the middle branch of the Cycle, separated from the *Mort Artu* by the *Queste del Saint Graal*.

If, then, at the time when he wrote his *Tale of Sir Launcelot* Malory was unaware of the contents and structure of the French *Lancelot-Grail*, how did he find the material for his story? His *Tale* falls into three distinct sections. In the first Lancelot decides to 'prove himself in strange adventures', and, accompanied by Lionel, starts on his quest of

new experiences. The adventures that follow centre round the redoubtable figure of Tarquyn, the strong knight who captures Lionel while Lancelot is asleep, defeats Ector de Mares, and puts them both 'in a deep dungeon'. In the meantime four queens, one of whom is Morgan le Fay, cast a spell on Lancelot and bring him to a castle (Castel Charyot) where they keep him prisoner. He must choose between death and the prospect of having one of the queens as his paramour. A damsel who brings him his dinner helps him to escape, but makes him promise that 'on Tuesday next coming' he will help her father, King Bagdemagus, at a tournament. On his way to the tournament he has another 'strange adventure': feeling tired, he enters a pavilion and goes to bed. When the owner of the pavilion, Sir Belleus, finds him there they attack each other with swords and Lancelot wounds Sir Belleus 'nigh unto the death'. He succeeds, however, in staunching his opponent's wounds and promises to reward him by making him a knight of the Round Table. Finally Lancelot comes to the tournament and defeats the King of North Wales, the chief enemy of King Bagdemagus, 'and all the knights of his party'. The King and his daughter are overjoyed and give Lancelot 'great gifts' for his services. With his departure from King Bagdemagus ends the first section of the *Tale* (253. 1-264. 5). Its source is found in the third part of the French Romance of Lancelot, represented by numerous MSS. and made accessible to the modern reader by H. O. Sommer's monumental, if inaccurate, edition of the *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (vol. v, pp. 87-102). The French version is, of course, more detailed than the English and approximately twice as long, but the episodes are in the main the same, and until Lancelot's departure from King Bagdemagus the two texts agree fairly closely. Immediately after this Malory proceeds to relate Lancelot's quest of Lionel: how Lancelot killed Lionel's captor, Tarquyn, and released the prisoners, and how to conclude this adventure he assisted a damsel by disposing of another enemy of knighthood, Perys de Foreste Savage, a 'thief' and a 'ravisher of women' who 'distressed all ladies and gentlewomen'. Three days later Lancelot performs another noble

deed. He frees the people of the Castle of Tintagel of the tyranny of two giants whom he dispatches with the greatest of ease, cleaving the head of one and cutting the other in two. The source of these stories (pp. 263-72) is a later section of the Prose *Lancelot*, reproduced in pp. 204-14 of Sommer's vol. v. For the remaining portion of the *Tale* no direct source is available. Lancelot rides into many strange countries and through many 'waters and valleys', rescues Kay from four knights (273-5), again goes riding 'in a grete foreste', overcomes three more knights, Gawtere, Gylmere, and Raynolde (275-7), meets four knights of the Round Table—Sagremore, Ector, Gawain, and Uwain—and defeats them all with one spear (277-8); after riding again 'a great while in a deep forest' he rescues Melyot de Logrys (275-82: the episode is reminiscent of a passage in *Perlesvaus*, 8156-250) and saves his own life by killing Phelot who had framed an elaborate plot to capture him. Then, after a long journey through 'morys and mares', he tries to rescue a lady from Sir Pedyvere who, in spite of Lancelot's warning, cuts off her head, but eventually throws himself on Lancelot's mercy (pp. 284-6). The *Tale* is concluded by Lancelot's return to the court of King Arthur where all those whom he has defeated in battle gather to 'yield themselves' and 'bear record' of his chivalrous deeds.

To account for the composition of this puzzling work Sommer, in vol. iii of his edition of the *Morte Darthur*, resorts to his usual method of multiplying hypothetical sources. He assumes the existence of a modified French version of the Prose *Lancelot* in the same way as he postulates a modified version of the *Merlin*. Needless to say, there is not a shred of evidence in favour of such an assumption. It is based on the mistaken view that 'all that relates to Lancelot in *Le Morte Darthur*', including Books VI and XI and XII, must have come from one source. I have established elsewhere that Books XI and XII are drawn from the Prose *Tristan*,¹ and that there is nothing in either of them that shows any direct influence of the *Lancelot* proper. The other parts of Malory's work which deal with Lancelot's adventures form no coherent whole, and there is no

¹ Cf. my *Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory*, pp. 73-5.

reason whatever to suppose that their source was a 'super Lancelot', distinct from the Vulgate, 'modified and enlarged . . . in the same manner as the *Suite de Merlin*'. The fact that this hypothetical romance receives in Sommer's treatise the well-sounding name of *Suite de Lancelot* does not make it any more real.

A simpler way of looking at the problem would be to credit Malory with a minimum of initiative—as much as is required to turn over some forty or fifty leaves of a 'French book'. Of the three sections into which his *Tale of Sir Lancelot* is divided, the first two are separated in the French Prose *Lancelot* by a passage which in MS. Add. 10293 fills over 215 columns (ff. 284f-320e), and the reason why Malory omitted this large and important passage is perfectly clear: he wanted to give a moderately continuous account of Lancelot's adventures, and to avoid the typical 'cyclic' method of interweaving a variety of different themes. The first section of Malory's *Tale* starts with a Lancelot-Lionel theme, and if Malory had gone on with his French source he would have had to write a few hundred pages before he resumed that theme. What he did instead was extremely simple and yet highly significant of his whole outlook as a novelist; after reproducing the story of the tournament at which Lancelot comes to the rescue of King Bagdemagus he took up his French source *at the nearest point at which the Lancelot-Lionel theme occurred again*. Where he found the third fragment, and why he chose it as a continuation, is less clear; but what is obvious is that, having selected the three fragments of the French source, he made a serious attempt to weld them together into one tale, with a beginning and an ending of its own. In the opening paragraphs he stressed the importance of Lancelot among the other knights of the Round Table and his love of adventure; this at once provided a convenient starting-point. He then proceeded to reproduce the substance of the three fragments he had chosen, smoothing over the transitions from one to the other by making Lancelot ride into forests and valleys during the intervals. When he came to the end of the third fragment he discovered still another way of giving more unity to his *Tale*: he brought to Arthur's

court all Lancelot's victims who had survived his great strokes (Gawain, Uwain, Ector, and Sagremore) and all those whom Lancelot had helped in the course of his travels. In this way the threads of the story were picked up; the three sections of the French *Lancelot* which had never before been combined were made into one 'tale' and aptly concluded by a remark which summed up all Lancelot's heterogeneous exploits: *at that tyme Sir Lancelot had the grettyste name of ony knyght of the worlde and moste he was honoured of hyghe and lowe.*

In compiling this work Malory was still in the early stage of his development; he was already sufficiently independent as a writer to prefer the 'tale' form to the cyclic form, and the episodic short novel to the long and rambling biographical romance. But he had as yet developed no ambition except that of telling a good story, and his originality showed itself far less in his reaction to the matter and manner of his French Book than in occasional additions, such as the description of the food served after Lancelot's victory over Tarquyn (*that venyson was rosted, sodde and bakyn*) and the rather gruesome details of fighting. Where his source was content to use conventional phraseology such as *il donne tel cop de l'espee qu'il l'abat mort a la terre*, Malory would say *claffe his hede and necke unto the throte*. Equally graphic accounts of battles are found throughout the story.¹ It seems as if in writing it Malory was still under the spell of the grim epic battle-scenes which he had reproduced from his alliterative English source in the *Tale of King Arthur and the Emperor Lucius*, and had not yet discovered the distinction between the epic enjoyment of picturesque slaughter and the refined and abstract presentation of battle-scenes in romance.

Some of his tendencies which will become apparent in later works are here found in embryo: he occasionally anticipates the names of characters so as to solve a mystery for the benefit of the less patient reader² and every now and then attempts a realistic explanation of supernatural events. But his most important contribution is a passage which has

¹ Cf. notes 263. 7-10; 263. 11-19; 266. 30-33; 270. 5-6.

² Cf. note 265. 10-11.

no parallel in any of his romances. It is Lancelot's dialogue with the damsel who, while admiring Lancelot for his great bravery and strength, finds one serious fault with him: 'one thing, Sir Knight, methinketh you lack, you that are a knight wifeless'. She advises him to consider marriage seriously, especially with some 'maiden or gentlewoman', in whom Lancelot has so far taken too little interest, 'for', she adds, 'I could never hear say that ever you loved any of no manner of degree, and that is great pity'. She regrets that Lancelot should have set his heart on Guinevere whom he obviously cannot marry, 'wherefore many in this land, of high estate and low, make great sorrow'. Lancelot's reply is as strange as the damsel's complaint. He refuses to marry a 'noble maiden', not because he loves Guinevere, nor because marriage is incompatible with the courtly doctrine of which he is the recognized champion, but because he has other things to do; a wife, he thinks, would be an impediment in his busy life. But he also rejects 'paramours', *for knyghtes that bene adventures sholde nat be advouters nothir lecherous, for than they be nat happy nothir fortunate unto the werrys*; such knights might indeed, by their ladies' 'cursedness', slay better men than they are themselves. And so Lancelot concludes: *he that usyth peramours shall be unhappy, and all thyng unhappy that is aboute them*. It will be remembered that the love intrigue which Chrétien de Troyes had imagined between Lancelot and Guinevere was the most exalted model of courtly romance throughout the Middle Ages. Far from being an impediment to virtue and bravery, it was considered a direct incentive to it. It would not be fair to say that Malory failed to appreciate this, for in writing his *Tale of Lancelot* he simply had no knowledge of the refined courtly philosophy which lay behind his story. He was as ignorant of it as he was of the French Arthurian tradition, and could therefore see nothing inappropriate in presenting in this witty dialogue two conceptions of how a man should live, neither of which had any relation to the courtly doctrine. The problem he raises is whether an 'adventurous man' should remain 'wifeless', a problem well suited to such works as *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage* or the third book of *Pantagruel*, but entirely foreign to the literary

tradition which had produced the story of Lancelot. There is as yet no open conflict in Malory's mind between that tradition and his own morality. But in so far as his *Tale of Lancelot* throws any light on his mind and art, it shows him to be better qualified to write a *Bachelor's Banquet*, or to adapt for English readers a novelette in the style of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, than to attempt a revival of courtly romance. The three detached fragments of the Prose *Lancelot* with which he has had to deal are fortunately concerned with adventures pure and simple, and he can well afford to ignore their background of courtly sentiment. He has told an amusing story, he has amply illustrated the adventurous character of his hero, and he can, with a clear conscience, bring his *Noble Tale* to an end.

It is difficult to say with any certainty which of the extant MSS. of the Prose *Lancelot* should be regarded as the best representative of Malory's 'French Book' for this section of his work, but the evidence of proper names seems to point to MS. Add. 10293 (cf. Malory's *Tintagel* and its various readings in the French MSS.; *Tariguel* in MS. Royal 19 C. xiii; *Tragel* in Royal 20 B. viii; *Tyagel* in Royal 20 D. iv; *Tiagues* in Royal 20 C. vi; *Nagel* in Harl. 6342). The printed edition of 1513 which Sommer used for his study of Malory's treatment of the story (op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 176-90) is distinctly less satisfactory than MS. Add. 10293, and the results of Sommer's investigation have to be revised accordingly. There is in any case room for further inquiry in this direction, and should a lucky discovery bring to light either the exact version Malory used for the first two sections of his *Tale*, or the lost source of the third, a considerable advance would be made in our knowledge of his methods.

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The only existing study of Malory's treatment of the French *Lancelot* is Sommer's chapter on Book VI in his *Studies on the Sources* (op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 176-90). The two fundamental works on the Prose *Lancelot* are F. Lot's *Étude sur le Lancelot en prose* (Paris, 1918) and Ed. Wechsler's *Ueber die verschiedene Redaktionen des Robert de Boron zugeschriebenen Graal-Lancelot Cyklus* (1897), pp. 22-37. As long ago as 1900 Miss Jessie L. Weston

pointed to some analogues in the Prose *Lancelot* to the Pedyvere episode (*The Legend of Sir Launcelot du Lac*, pp. 157-8) and suggested that the story of Meliot de Logres and the Perilous Chapel came from the *Perlesvaus*. This last suggestion has recently been taken up by Professor R. H. Wilson in his article on 'Malory and the Perlesvaus' in *Modern Philology*, vol. xxx (1932), pp. 13-22.

253. 21. *he thought hymself to preve in straunge adventures.* *M* takes up his French Book at a point which corresponds to f. 280 a of MS. Add. 10293: 'Lors demande sez armes et s'arma entre lui et Lyonel.'

253. 27-9. *sir Lyonell aspyed a grete appyll-tre that stooode by an hedge, and seyde, 'Sir,' &c.* *F* (ibid., f. 280 b): 'et osterent lez seles a lor chevaus et lez frains, si les laisserent paistre de l'erbe parmi le bos . . . si se colcherent sor l'erbe desoz l'ombre d'un pommier.'

253. 30-1. *this seven yere I was not so slepy.* There is no such remark in *F*. Weary after a hot day and a sleepless night, Lancelot falls asleep refreshed by 'la froidor et l'eve de l'erbe et la douchoir del vent' (loc. cit.).

254. 3. *three knyghtes.* In *F* the two knights who accompany the damsel 'tel joie faisant' are attacked by a third who carries her away.

254. 14-15; 22-3. *bounde all three knyghtes faste with the raynes of theire owne brydelys, &c.* In *F* the strong knight leaves his victims lying on the ground.

254. 31-255. 12. *And as he had redyn longe in a grete foreste, &c.* In *F* Hector meets a damsel 'montee sor un palefroy qui faisoit merveillous duel'; she laments the fate of Lionel whom Terican, *li sires de cel tertre*, has taken away. Hector asks her how he can find Terican. 'On le puet bien connoistre', she replies, 'a ce qu'il est li graindres chevaliers del monde et porte unes armes noires.'

255. 7 (i). *W*: 'body of the tre.' *C*: 'hole.' Of the original reading—*bole*—*W* has retained the first two letters and *C* the last three.

255. 7 (ii). *hongys a basyn of couper and latyne.* In *F* the basin (*vaissel de plom*) is placed underneath a marble slab. The water from the fountain runs through a silver pipe on to the slab and collects in the basin.

255. 30. *Tarquyn.* *W*'s Traquyn is the result of a faulty expansion of the *ar* abbreviation.

255. 33. *thou wolt be sworne to be my trew presoner.* *C* omits the qualifying adjective *trew* and so alters the sense. In *F* Tarquyn makes Hector promise not to leave the country without his permission (*que vous de chaiens n'isterés mie sans mon congie*). The term *trew prisoner* implies the important distinction between a man who voluntarily gives up his freedom and one who is deprived of it by force.

256. 3. *Tarquyn.* See 255. 30.

256. 19. *four queenys.* In *F* (MS. Add. 10293, f. 281 d) there is only one queen (*une royne qui estoit dame de la terre de Sorestan qui margissoit a Norgales par devers Sorelois*) and two enchantresses, Morgue la fee and Sebile, *les deux femmes del monde qui plus savoient d'enchantemens sans la Dame del Lac*. Typical of *M*'s method is the fact that the queens recognize Lancelot at once, while in *F* they wonder who such a handsome knight

- can be: *la royne dist a ses compaignes que vous onques mais ne veistes nulle si bele cose* (ibid., f. 284 e).
257. 4. *castell Charyot* is *M*'s rendering of *chastel de la Charete* (var.: *charite, chareite, charrette, karete*). Some of the MSS. of the *Prose Lancelot* and the printed edition of 1513 add that the castle was so called 'por ce que Lancelot i passa en charete celui jor que Meleagans enmena la roine Genievre el roialme de Gorre, com li contes vos a devisés autre fois' (MS. Royal 19 B. vii, f. 278 b).
257. 5. *a chambir colde*. In *F* Lancelot is put in a 'cambre ou il n'avoit que un huis et deux fenestres de fer' so that he should not escape, but his imprisonment involves no physical hardships.
257. 6-7. *Be that the enchaunement was paste*. In *F* the spell is broken by the sorceresses: 'lors desfirent lor enchantement' (MS. Add. 10293, f. 281 e).
257. 8-9. *and asked hym what chere*. In *F* the conversation begins with the remark: 'Damoisele . . . par la riens el monde que vous plus amés, dites moi ou jou sui' (ibid., f. 281 f).
257. 19. *withoutte ony comforte*. 'Comforte' should probably be taken here, as in Middle English and Old French, in the purely moral sense. Cf. *F*: 'il se coucha maintenant en un lit qui estoit fais en mi la cambre, si a dormi malvairement toute la nuit, quar il ne fina de penser a lui et a Lyonel.'
257. 20. *thes four quenys*. *F*: *lez trois dames qui l'avoient laiens aporté* (ibid., f. 281 f). Cf. 256. 19.
257. 20-1. *all they byddyng hym good morne, and he them agayne*. Not in *F*.
257. 23-9. *we know well that thou art sir Launcelot du Lake, kyng Banis sonne . . . thou shalt hit love lose for ever, and she thynne*. Not in *F*, where the ladies never mention Lancelot's name.
257. 31-2. *On the quene of Estlonde and the quene of the Oute Iles*, see 226. 13.
258. 4. *as for my lady dame Gwenvere*. In *F* Lancelot refrains from referring to his lady except indirectly: 'Sui jou dont si a vous (= "so much in your power") qu'il convient que je face amie novele ou voelle ou non?'
258. 13-14. *So afir that noone com the damsel unto hym with his dyner and asked hym what chere*. In *F* Lancelot takes no food for three days ('il en perdi le boire et le mangier'). On the fourth day he overhears a conversation of the knights who have just returned from a tournament and the thought of being unable to join them and *achiever les perilleuses aventures* makes him still more unhappy. Hence the damsel's remark, 'Sire, pourcoi demenés vous tel doel?' which *M* translates *what chere?*
258. 18-19. *W*: 'ye wold my promyse'; *C*: 'ye hold me a promyse.' *M* and *X* (the common source of *C* and *W*) probably had *ye wold hold* which *C* reduced to *ye hold*, no doubt because he misunderstood the force of the modal auxiliary *wold* in a conditional clause introduced by *so that*. In *C* the idea of manner in such a clause is always apparent (cf. C. S. Baldwin, *The Inflections and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur of Sir Thomas Malory*, p. 139), whereas from *M*'s point of view *so that* often has a purely conditional sense (cf. p. 266, l. 19). The phrase *ye wold holde* became *ye wold* in *Y* by homœoteleuton and *ye wold* in *W*—possibly through contamination with *ye wold* be two lines above (l. 16).
258. 25. *they sey youre name is sir Launcelot du Lake*. In *F* Lancelot says of

his own accord, *Si puis bien dire que jou ai a non Lancelot del Lac li mescheans* (MS. Add. 10293, f. 282 c).

258. 27-259. 11. *But, sir, and ye wolde promyse me to helpe my fadir on Tewysday nexte comynge, that hath made a turnemente betwyxt hym and the kyng of North Galys, &c.* In *F* there is no connexion between Lancelot's release from the castle of Morgan le Fay and his appearance at the tournament. The damsel who helps him to escape tells him that ten years ago she was betrothed to the grandson of the King of Sorestan (*qui n'avoit pas plus de six ans, et jou estore en l'aage de cinq ans*) who was killed a week before Christmas. The Queen of Sorestan, acting as the damsel's guardian, insists that she should marry 'un sien (the Queen's) frere', to whom she has already given all the lands belonging to the damsel. Lancelot's task is to prevent *ces espousailles*. There is no sequel to this in the fragments which *M* used for his version of the *Tale*. Nor is the next important adventure properly motivated, for Lancelot has no special reason to go to the tournament. Had *M* reproduced his source accurately he would thus have left one adventure without a sequel and another without a motive. What he did instead was to make the second episode a natural outcome of the first: the damsel who delivers Lancelot from captivity becomes in his account the daughter of King Bagdemagus (in *F* she says she is an orphan: *mes peres morut et ma mere ausi*). She sets him free on condition that he will help her father in a tournament on *Tewysday nexte comynge*. Lancelot willingly agrees to this, adding that he knows her father well *for a noble kyng and a good knyghte*. The ingenious device of making the daughter of Bagdemagus deliver Lancelot from Morgan was probably suggested to *M* by the remark 'si trove (Lancelot) la serour Meleagant, *cele qui l'ot geté de la dolerouse prison*' (f. 283 c). Not knowing that this referred to the episode of Guinevere's abduction by Meleagant, whose sister on that occasion had delivered Lancelot from prison, *M* naturally mistook *la dolerouse prison* for Morgan's castle.

259. 9-11. *hereby wythin this ten myle is an abbey of whyght monkys, and there I pray you to abyde me.* In *F* the damsel makes no such arrangement with Lancelot, and there is no mention of the 'abbey of whyght monkys': *elle li prie que il ne l'oublie pas del convenant que il li a en convent*. *M* may well have mistaken *convent* meaning 'agreement' for *couvent*.

259. 15-16. *Than she brought hym oute of twelve lockys.* In *F* the damsel only unlocks the door of Lancelot's room (there is no mention of any other lockys). She then leads him into the orchard and gives him some food.

259. 27. *felle on slepe sadly.* *F*: 's'endort tout maintenant.' *M* may have mistaken *maintenant* for *malvaisement*.

259. 31-260. 37. *toke hym in his armys and began to kysse him. And whan sir Launcelot felie a rough berde kysyng hym he sterte out of bedde lyghly, &c.* In *F*, far from noticing 'a rough beard kissing him', Lancelot mistakes the knight for a 'dame ou damoisele' and takes him in his arms ('si quide bien que ce soit dame ou damoisele, si l'ahert as deus bras'). The knight, however, soon realizes the mistake, suspects Lancelot of being his lady's lover ('li lechierres sa femme'), and flings him on the ground, saying, 'mar me venistes faire honte, et mar vous couchastes avec ma femme en mon paveillon' (MS. Add. 10293, f. 283 a). Before Lancelot has time to recover the knight

- strikes him on the mouth, 'et li sans en saut si qu'il en a le menton sanglent'. Lancelot retaliates by throwing him 'de dessus lui', so that he falls upon a stone. While Lancelot is fetching his sword he escapes into the wood, but Lancelot catches him and cleaves his head to the teeth. In *M* not only does the fight take place in a more orderly fashion, both knights being properly armed, but Lancelot merely wounds his opponent *sore nyghe unto the desh* instead of killing him. This enables *M* to add a dialogue and a happy ending: the knight (whom *M* calls Belleus) and his lady are reconciled with Lancelot who makes amends for his brutal action by promising to make Belleus a knight of the Round Table. It is clearly in order to acquit Lancelot of the charge of brutality that *M* has altered *F*'s account to such an unusual extent.
261. 1. *the day shone*. *F*: 'l'endemain, quant li oisel commencerent a chanter.'
261. 3. *he was taughte to the abbey*. In *F* Lancelot is led to the abbey by the sound of a bell: 's'adrece cele part et trueve une abbaye de noniaus' (f. 283 c).
261. 18. *the kynge toke hym in his armys*. In *F* the king takes no such liberty, but humbly bows to Lancelot: 'et li roys s'umelie moult vers lui et dist qu'il est sez sergans et sez amis.' Lancelot protests: 'Ne me dites mie teuls paroles . . . car nus roys ne doit estre sergans a si povre chevalier comme jou suis, mais sires et commanderes' (f. 283 f).
261. 20-5. *Than sir Launcelot made his complaynte unto the kynge*. . . . 'I shall do hir servyse', &c. Not in *F*.
261. 29-262. 10. 'But, sir, what knyghtes be tho of my lorde kyng Arthurs . . . what maner a knyght I am.' This part of the dialogue may be an elaboration of Lancelot's remark: 'je vous pri . . . que vous ne me fachiés connoistre a nul homme qui de moi demant, quar se jou estoie coneus, tost m'en porroit venir corous.' The reference to Madore de la Porte, Mordred, and Gahalan-tyne (*F*: 'Galehodin') is borrowed from a dialogue between Bagdemagus's daughter and the daughter of the King of North Wales (f. 284 b) just before the opening of the tournament. The stratagem of the white shields is anticipated from a passage which follows their conversation (f. 284 c): 'li roys Baudemagus lor manda qu'il ne venissent au tournoient devant aprés prime, et il envia a Lancelot couvertures blanches et un escu blanc.'
261. 16. *scaffoldys and holes*. On this reading, see *Introduction*, pp. c-ci.
261. 19-21. *nyne score helmys . . . four score helmys*. *M* gives the King of North Wales 180 (*C*: 160) helms, and only 80 to Bagdemagus. These figures are not in *F*, but they were no doubt suggested by the remark that the King of North Wales's party was the stronger of the two: 'plus avoit de gent li roys de Norgales' (f. 284 c). The total number of knights taking part in the tournament varies in the French MSS. from 2,000 in MS. Royal 20 D. iv to 20,000 in MS. Add. 10293.
262. 23-5. *there was slayne of knyghtes at the fyrste recountir twelve knyghtes*, &c. *F* does not say that twelve knights of King Bagdemagus were killed, but that his knights retreated after the first assault: 'En ce qu'elles parloient ensi, si oient le cri lever sour ceus de Gorre qui s'enfuioient' (f. 284 d).
262. 30-1. *And in that thrange he smote downe the kynge of North Galys, and brake his thygh in that falle*. In *F* the King of North Wales is not attacked by Lancelot: he watches the battle, and when he sees Lancelot's encounter with Galehodin ('l'espee descent jus sor le cheval, si qu'il li cope le col par

devant les espalles') he runs away: 'torne en fuies quamque li chevaus le puet porter' (f. 284 f). Cf. 263. 11-19.

263. 1. *hym* probably refers to Madore de la Porte to whom *C* attributes the remark 'Yondir is a shrewde geste' (see p. 262, note 33). The corresponding remark in *F* is made by 'unz vallés' who describes Lancelot as 'uns deables, uns adversiers'.

263. 7-10. *the arson of the sadill brake, and so he drove over the horse tayle, &c.* *F*: 'si le fiert si durement qu'il li met le fer del glaive parmi l'espaule senestre, si l'enpaint bien si qu'il le porte a terre tout enferré' (f. 284 f).

263. 11-19. *Than com in sir Gahalantyne with a grete spere, &c.* *M* elaborates *F*'s account of Lancelot's fight with Gahalantyne: 'et trait l'espee, si en fiert Galehodin en l'escu blanc si durement qu'il en abati jus un grant cantel, et l'espee descent jus sor le cheval, si qu'il li cope le col par devant lez espalles. Si abat le chevalier et le cheval tout en un mont.'

263. 21-6. *he bare down to the erthe syxtene knyghtes . . . the moste party of hem never throoff astir.* This is an expansion of an earlier remark in *F* (f. 284 e): 'il esrace escus de cols et heaumes de testes, si fait tant en poi d'eure que tout s'arestent por lui veoir, quar il n'aconsieut homme, tant soit preus, qu'il ne porte a terre ou mort ou mahaignié.'

263. 29-34. *So eythir party departed unto his owne, &c.* In *F* Lancelot leaves the tournament without stopping at Bagdemagus's castle: 'si se fiert en la forest et s'en vait grant oirre, quar il ne volt estre arrestés de nullui' (f. 284 f).

264. 6-7. *And so sir Launcelot departed, and by adventure he com into the same foreste there he was takyng his slepe before.* With Lancelot's departure from King Bagdemagus must have ended the first fragment of the Prose *Lancelot* used by *M* (MS. Add. 10293, ff. 280 a-284 f). The next fragment must have been of exactly the same length. *M* found a link between them in Lancelot's departure into a forest (*si se fiert en la forest et s'en vait grant oirre*) at the end of the first fragment and in the description of his wanderings at the beginning of the second: 'Or dist li contes que quant Lancelot se fu partis de sez compaignons et que cascuns ot acueli sa voie, uns cha et li autres la, ensi que l'aventure lez mena, qu'il chevalcha tous seus et esra toute jour sans boire et sans mangier, si comme aventure le portoit. Et ensi erra il bien quinze [other MSS.: set] jors tous entiers sans aventure trouver qui a conter face. Et lors pensa qu'il yroit vers la forest ou il avoit perdu Lyonel, quar la par aventure en [MS. Add. 10293, f. 320 e] porroit il tost noveles oïr. Lors s'adrece cele part al mix qu'il puet, et erra tant par sez journees qu'il vint en la forest a heure de prime, et vint droit en cel lieu ou il avoit perdu Lyonel son cousin germain.'

264. 11-27. *know [ye] in this contrey ony adventures nere hande? &c.* In *F* Lancelot asks instead for news of Lionel: '« Jou vais, » fait il, « querant qui noveles me deist d'un chevalier que jou quier. » « Et comment a il non ? » fet elle. « Il a non Lyoniaus, » fet Lancelos' (MS. Add. 10293, f. 320 e). The damsel then tells him that Lionel has been captured by a knight who keeps him in prison, together with some knights of Arthur's court. It is at this point that *M* picks up the dialogue (l. 28): 'he hath in his preson of Arthurs courte good knyghtes thre score and four', &c.

264. 35. *so ye woll* = 'on condition that you will'.
265. 3-4. *he bete on the basyn with the butte of his spere tylle the bottum felle oute*. Not in *F*. The remark is a reminiscence of an earlier passage in *M* combined with a curious misreading of *F*. In saying that Lancelot *bete on the basyn with the butte of his spere* *M* is simply copying his own text: the foster who, in his version, shows Ector the way to Tarquyn's manor tells him, *stryke uppon that basyn with the butte of thy spere*. But the effect of this action as described here—*tylle the bottum felle oute*—is somewhat surprising, and it is not unlikely that *M* failed to understand the French 'et voit la fontaine sourdre par un tuiel d'argent, et caoit en un vaissel de marbre' (f. 320f).
265. 7-9. *than was he ware of a grete knyght that droffe an horse afore hym, and overthwarte the horse lay an armed knyght bounden*. In *F* Turquyn carries the wounded knight (Gareth) on his saddle-bow: 'Si virent un chevalier sordre qui aportoit un chevalier devant soi sour sa sele' (f. 321 a). As a result of an earlier alteration Gareth is in a position to give his own horse to Lancelot after the battle. Cf. 267. 27-8.
265. 10-11. *Than was he ware that hit was sir Gaherys*. In *F* the identity of the wounded knight is not disclosed until later.
265. 29-32. '*And thou be . . . at thys tyme*.' Not in *F*.
266. 8. *two owres and more*. *F*: 'si dure li premiers assaus tant que se li chevaliers ne fust si legiers comme il estoit, a la grant planté de sanc qu'il ot perdu mors fust sans recouvrier' (f. 321 e). Cf. 267. 14.
266. 17-18. *and for thy love I woll delyver all the prisoners that I have*. Not in *F*.
266. 30-3. *I have slayne an hondred good knyghtes, &c.* Not in *F*.
267. 5-6. *kyng Bannys son of Benwyke, and verry knyght of the Table Rounde*. Not in *F*.
267. 11; 13. *as two wylde bullys; they felle bothe on their nosys* (*C*: 'ouer theyr noses'). Not in *F*.
267. 14. *two owres and more*. *F*: 'tant longement.' Cf. 266. 8.
267. 27-8. '*Fayre sir, seyde this wounded knyghtes take my horse, and than lette me go into this maner and delyver all thes presoners*.' In *F* the damsel says instead: 'Cils chevaliers navrés les desprisonnera bien.' In *C* it is the damsel who gives Lancelot the horse belonging to the wounded knight. If there is no mention of the horse in *F* it is because the wounded knight in *F* has none: he has been brought by Terican on his own saddle-bow (*devant soi sour sa sele*), not, as in *M*, tied to another horse (265. 7-8): 'than was he ware of a grete knyght that droffe an horse afore hym, and overthwarte the horse lay an armed knyght bounden.'
267. 31-268. 20. '*Nay, fayre lorde . . . to save my promyse*.' This part of the dialogue is not in *F*, but Lancelot's speech is an expansion of the remark: 'Ore alés . . . laiens et getés vos compaignonz de la prison ou il sont, et tous lez autres des estranges terres, dont il y a grant planté. Et jou irai avec ceste damoisele la ou elle me voldra mener, quar jou li ai acreanté' (f. 321 f).
268. 23-4. *Gaherys threw the porter unto the grounde and toke the keyes from hym*. In *F* the *varlet* refuses to show the way to the prison. But as Gaheris

thrusts him down and threatens to kill him he gives way and leads Gaheris 'la ou li chevalier estoient en prison'.

268. 27-30. *they thanked hym. . . 'Not so, syrs.'* Not in *F*.

269. 1-2. *he prayeth you to abyde hym at the courte of kynge Arthure.* Not in *F*. In a later passage, however, Gaheris tells the knights who have been set free by Lancelot to come on All Saints' Day to the 'Chastel de Trespas'.

269. 7-16. This paragraph corresponds to a long passage in *F*. First, Gareth (Gaheriet) gives an account of a tournament and incidentally remarks that Lancelot is displeased with Hector's habit of effacing himself on all important occasions, as if he were ashamed of being Lancelot's brother. Hector replies blushing that his shyness should not be mistaken for pride. A whole week goes by while the knights are resting. At the end of this time the Count of Parc ('li quens del Parc'), who lives nearby, visits the knights, discovers that they have lost their horses (in *M* *every knyght founde hys owne horse*), and 'fait venir a cascun . . . boin cheval'. The knights of the Round Table give him Turquyn's castle as a reward, 'et tout le manoir, si comme il estoit fremés'. The foster who in *M* arrives with *four horsys lade with fatte venyson* plays the same part as *F*'s 'trois varillés qui avoient deux somniers cargiés de venison' (f. 322 e), but *M* adds, with some relish, that *that venyson was roasted, sodde and bakyn*.

269. 21-4; 34-6. *other lyeth by hem.* In *F* the 'wicked knight' has no such custom. He is merely a robber and a horse-thief. *M* seems to have mistaken the French word *vilonnie* for 'violence' and so given Lancelot the opportunity of chastizing the knight for his immoral attitude to women: 'What? is he . . . a ravyssher of women? . . . He doth shame unto the Order of Knyght-hode, and contrary to his othe.'

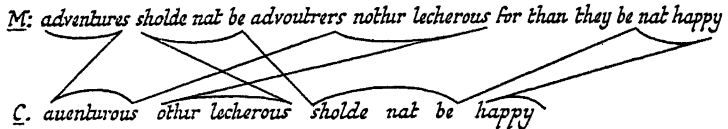
270. 5-8. *claffe his hede and necke unto the throte.* In *F* the description of the knight's death has none of *M*'s picturesque details: 'Lancelos descent del cheval, si li esrache le heaume de la teste et dist qu'il l'occira s'il ne se rent. Et cils est si angoisseus qu'il ne li puet respondre un seul mot. Et Lancelos qui n'ot talent de plus demorer, li donne tel cop de l'espee qu'il l'abat mort a la terre' (f. 323 a-b).

270. 12. *Perys de Foreste Savage.* The name is not given in *F*, but *M* seems to have coined it from *F*'s description: 'chevalier qui chi prés est manans en ceste forest qui sert d'une malvaïse coustume dont tous li mons le deveroit blasmer' (f. 322 f).

270. 15-271. 4. The damsel's speech and Lancelot's reply are among *M*'s most important additions to the Lancelot story. On their significance, see above, pp. 1402-4.

270. 34-6. *C's reading—knyghtes that ben auenturous or lecherous shal not be happy ne fortunate unto werryys—*makes no sense: 'auenturous' is a term of praise from Lancelot's standpoint, while 'lecherous' (= 'dissolute') is clearly a term of abuse, and to say that those who are *either brave or dissolute* will be unsuccessful in fighting is at best incongruous. *W* shows that this is the result of a series of scribal errors. *M's* reading was: *knyghtes that bene adventures* (= 'adventurous', 'brave') *sholde nat be advoutrers* (= 'adulterers', from Old French 'avoutre', 'aoutre') *nothir lecherous, for than they be nat happy nother fortunate unto the werryys.* The first error must have been the

omission of *sholde nat be advouters*, due to the similarity between *adventures* and *advouters*. The first part of the sentence was then reduced to *knyghtes that bene adventures (n)othur lecherous*. Having reached the word *lecherous* the scribe (or Caxton) committed a 'duplication': misled by the likeness of the endings of *lecherous* and *adventures* he went back to *adventures* and reproduced the three words that followed, namely, *sholde nat be*. This caused another homœoteleuton: *nat be* looked very much like *be nat*, and the scribe (or Caxton) went straight from *nat be* to *be not happy*, leaving out all that occurred between them. The process may be represented as follows:

M: adventures sholde nat be advouters nothur lecherous for than they be nat happy

C: adventures othur lecherous sholde nat be happy

271. 8-11. *and there sterte uppon hym suddeynly a passyng foule carle, &c.* In *F* 'uns vilains lais et hideus' seizes the reins of Lancelot's horse and says, 'cils chevaus est miens pour le passage!' This accounts for *M*'s use of the word *lycence*. But he omits the legal argument: 'Lancelot dist qu'il ne descendra mie, *quar il ne doit ne passage ne coustume, quar il est frans homs et tout li chevalier del monde aussi*' (MS. Add. 10293, f. 323 e). In *M* his only plea is that he *may not ryde besyde*; a simple statement of fact is substituted for a point of law.

271. 15. In *F* the churl is not armed. On the origin of the *grete club shodde with iron*, see 271. 30-2.

271. 18-21. *at the ende of the brydge was a fayre vyllage, &c.* In *F* Lancelot enters a castle (cf. *M*, l. 21) where an old man says to him: 'si en connoistrés encore anuit vostre folie.' The people of the castle repeat the warning: 'Sire chevaliers, hastés vous, quar vous alés a vostre mort.' No sooner has Lancelot reached the 'maistre tour' and tied his horse to an elm-tree than a 'vaillés' drops the portcullis behind him and cries: 'Sire chevaliers, or vous avons nous por no[stre] portier que vous avés ocis.' *M* has telescoped these three remarks: 'Sir knyght, a worse dede duddyst thou never for thyself, for thou haste slayne the cheyff porter of oure castell.'

271. 30-272. 29. *Anone withall there com-uppon hym two grete gyauntis, &c.* An explanation of this is given in *F* by the prisoners who say that the duke of Kahenin (*var.* Senyns, Conanins, Covirains, Cornuaille, Tomar) originally gave his castle to the two giants for four years as a reward for having rescued him from prison: 'Et par la force qu'il sentoient en eus ne se voloient il nient autrement armer que vous (= Lancelot) veistes. Si vous en est ore moult très bien avenu de ce que vous lez avés ocis, quar li castiaus est vestres.' They then say that the castle is called Tinaguel (*not* Tintagel, as in *M*), and there is naturally no reference to either Igrayne or Uther Pendragon. Cf. 272. 4-6 and 272. 27-32.

271. 30-2. *two grete gyauntis . . . with two horryble clubbys in their hondys.* *F*: 'deus jaiaens grans et merveilleus . . . et avoient cascuns une espee en sa

main boine' (f. 323f). Any battle with giants naturally reminds *M* of Arthur's fight with the giant in the *Noble Tale of Arthur and Lucius*. He reproduces a whole page of it in describing Marhalte's encounter with Taulas. In the present instance he is content to borrow one characteristic feature of Arthur's adventure, the giant's grim weapon. For the sword with which the giants attack Lancelot in *F* he substitutes *horrible clubbys*, remembering as he does that in the Arthur story the king is attacked by a giant holding a *clubbe in his honde all of clene iron* (p. 203, l. 4), and arms the dwarf with a *grete club shodde with iron*. Cf. 271. 15 and 271. 37.

271. 37. *clawe hym to the navyll*. *F*: 'li fist la teste voler jus des espaulles.' *M*'s description of the giant's death is probably another reminiscence of his *Arthur and Lucius*, where a giant having *slytte* the duchess of Brittany *unto the navyll* (p. 201, ll. 6-7) is attacked by Arthur who cuts *his baly in sundir* (p. 203, l. 17).

272. 2. *three score of ladyes and damesels*. *F*: 'dames et damoiseles et chevalier.'
272. 4-6. *the moste party of us have bene here this seven yere prisoners, and we have worched all maner of sylke workys for oure mete*. Instead of telling Lancelot how long they were imprisoned and what they did for their living the prisoners in *F* explain to him how the castle fell into the two giants' hands: its original owner, Kahenyn (*li dus Kahenins*), had given it to one of the giants for four years as a reward for having rescued him from prison (cf. 271. 30-272. 29). The remark that the prisoners had to do all *maner of sylke workes* to earn their food is reminiscent of several other passages in which *M* has deliberately added details drawn from real life (cf. my *Malory*, pp. 49-50), but the closest parallel to it is found in the famous complaint of the imprisoned 'puceles' in Chrétien's *Yvain* (5297-303):

... ja mes de ceanz n'istrans.
Toz jorz mes de soie overrons,
Ne ja n'an serons miauz vestues.
Toz jorz serons povres et nues
Et toz jorz fain et soif avrons;
Ja tant gaeignier ne savrons,
Que miauz an aliens a mangier.

272. 20-6. 'Now may ye sey,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'unto your frendys . . . I wolde he ressayved hit as is his ryght.' In *F* Lancelot accepts the prisoners' offer of allegiance and says that he will call upon them to do him homage *quand il voldra qu'il le facent*, but does not give them *what tresoure that there is in this castel*. Nor does he suggest that the castle should be restored to its rightful owner.

272. 27-32. *the name of this castell is called Tyntagyll . . . I understonde to whom this castel longith*. In *F* the castle is called *Tinaguel* (var. Tariguel, Tragel, Tyagel, Tiagues, Naguel). *M* has changed it to Tintagel and so identified it with the castle of Igrayne's husband.

273. 24. *as ye woll have my helpe* = 'if you wish me to help you.'

273. 33 ff. At this point all agreement between *M* and the extant versions of the French Prose *Lancelot* comes to an end, and the remaining portion of his *Tale of Lancelot* is only partly traceable to known French texts.

M probably found it in a fragment of the French Cycle, identical in size to each of those he had used for the earlier sections of his *Tale*. To make the transition from one fragment to another appear natural he resorts once more to the convenient device of making Lancelot wander for several days through 'many countries': *and than he mounted uppon his horse and rode into many stronge countreys and thorow many watyrs and valeyes*. This is in fact an expansion of what he found in *F* at the end of the second fragment: 'atant s'en entre Lancelot en la forest et chevauche tot le jour tant qu'il vint en une valee' (MS. Add. 10293, f. 324 d). *M* adds many *stronge countreies* and *many watyrs* so as to take Lancelot far away from the place he has just visited and make him arrive *by fortune* at the scene of his next adventure.

278. 26-282. 11. *And than was he ware of an olde maner. . . And therewith they departed*. On the provenance of this episode, see R. H. Wilson, 'Malory and the "Perlesvaus"', in *Modern Philology*, vol. xxx, pp. 13-22.

279. 24-8. *and there he sholde fynde a swerde and a bloody cloth that the woundid knyght was lapped in, &c.* The nearest known parallel to this is the following passage in *Perlesvaus* (ed. Nitze and Jenkins, vol. i, p. 340): 'Il le covendra aler en la Chapele Perilleuse au plus tost que il porra, e trovera la un chevalier enseveli, qui gist enmi la chapele en un sarqueu; si prendra du drap de quoi il est enseveli, e une espee qui est dejoste lui eu sarqueu, si la m'aportera au Chastel Perilleus; et qant il avra la esté, si revendra au chastel ou il ocist le lion en la terre ou il a .iij. gripes, si m'aportera la teste de l'une au Chastel Perilleux; car uns chevaliers i gist malades qui ne puet estre gariz autrement.'

279. 31. *sir Melyot de Logyrs*. The first reference in *M*'s works to Melyot (Meliot) de Logyrs (Logurs) occurs in the *Tale of King Arthur* (p. 116), probably borrowed by a scribe from this passage. As Professor R. H. Wilson points out (op. cit., pp. 17-18), Meliot 'is a highly important personage in the *Perlesvaus*, but is otherwise unknown to Arthurian romance', and it is therefore likely that *M* first came across it in reading the *Perlesvaus* fragment contained in the source of the last section of his *Tale of Sir Launcelot*.

280. 9-10. *he sawe by hym there stonde a thirty grete knyghtes, more by a yerde than any man that ever he had sene*. Cf. *Perlesvaus* (op. cit., p. 343): 'e li senbla q'il veïst gent environ qui parloient bas les uns as autres, mes il ne pooit entendre q'il disoient. Il nes pooit mie veoir en apert, mes il li senbloient estre molt grant.'

280. 19-27. *And there he sawe no lyght but a dymme lampe brennyng . . . and hyed hym oute of the chapell*. Cf. *Perlesvaus* (op. cit., pp. 343-4): 'e entra la dedenz ou il faisoit molt oscure, car il n'i avoit luor que d'une seule lanpe, qui clarté i rendoit molt oscurement. Il voit le sarqueu enmi la chapele, ou li chevaliers gisoit. . . Il prent l'espee qui dejoste lui gisoit, e commence le suaie a descoustre; puis prist le chevalier par le chief por haucier contremont, si le trova si pesant e si malostru que a grant paine le pot il remuer. Il trencha la moitié du drap de quoi il ert enseveliz, e li sarqex commença a croistre si tres durement que ce senbloit que la chapele chaïst. Qant il ot pris del drap e l'espee, si reclot le sarqueu tantost. Après vient vers l'uis de la chapele.' It is difficult to say how far the differences between this account and *M*'s are due to deliberate alterations on his part, but in one respect his

version seems corrupt: Lancelot cuts the cloth *before* he has picked up the sword, whereas in the *Perlesvaus* the reverse happens and the sword is used to cut the cloth.

280. 27-34. *all the knyghtes spake to hym with grymly voyces, &c.* In the *Perlesvaus* Lancelot sees on leaving the chapel 'granz chevaliers e orribles, e sont aparellié autresi conme de conbatre, e li est avis q'il le gaitent e espient' (op. cit., p. 344). A damsel then appears, tells the knights not to move until she has discovered the intruder's name, and orders Lancelot to put down the sword: 'metez jus l'espee e ce que vos avez pris del mort chevalier.' It is not clear whether this remark has been duplicated in *M*, or whether he has preserved the original version which has been telescoped in the *Perlesvaus*.

281. 2-3. *and thou dyddyste leve that swerde quene Gwenyvere sholde thou never se.* There is no such threat in the *Perlesvaus*: 'Se vos ne l'eüssiez (= "l'espee") devers vos, vos ne partissoiz mie de çaienz a vostre volenté, ançois eusse tot mon plesir de vos, e si vos en feïsse porter en mon chastel, donc jamés ne vos metsoiz por nul pooir, si fusse quite de la garde [de] ceste chapele e de venir ça dedenz en itel maniere com g'i vieg sovent. Mes ore sui je engigee, car nus ne vos puet mal fere ne retenir qui ça dedenz soit, tant conme vos aiez l'espee' (op. cit., p. 345).

281. 5-9. *I requyre the to kysse me but onys . . . thy lyff dayes had be done.* This part of the dialogue is almost certainly one of *M*'s additions. It is difficult to imagine anything resembling it in the context of the original Chapel Perilous episode.

281. 12-14. *at that tyme he fought with this knyght that lyeth dede, &c.* Cf. *Perlesvaus* (op. cit., p. 343): 'Il ot a non Anurez li Bastarz . . . si n'avoit que un braz e une main, e li autres fu trenchiez a un chastel que Monsaignor Gavain dona a Meliot de Logres, qant il le secorut envers ce chevalier qui gist eu sargeu.' *M* apparently misunderstands this to mean that the knight's arm was cut off by Gawain. In another passage (op. cit., p. 324) *Perlesvaus* clearly states that this was done by Arthur during a battle in which both he and Gawain were attacked by Anurez li Bastarz.

281. 15-24. *'And, sir Launcelot . . . youre subtile craftys.'* There is no suggestion in the *Perlesvaus* that the damsel was prompted to act as she did by her unrequited love for Lancelot. She is the Proud Damsel—l'*Orgeilleuse Pucele*—who wishes to get into her power the three best knights in the world, Gawain, Lancelot, and Perceval, behead them, and place them in the three rich coffins she has prepared. Her motives are not clear, but there is no reason to suppose that she had any such feelings as those with which *M* credits her.

281. 29-282. 5. *And anone sir Launcelot . . . an holer man in his lyff was he never.* The story of the healing of Sir Meliot is told in the *Perlesvaus* in a very similar way, but the following two details in *M* are not traceable to the extant French text: 'he was passynge paale as the erthe'; Lancelot first 'towchyd his woundys with sir Gylbardys swerde', and then 'wyped his woundys with a parte of the bloody cloth that sir Gylbarde was wrapped in' (*Perlesvaus*: 'Lanceloz e la damoisele i atochierent l'espee e le suaire').

283. 35. *W: rowgh spyke; C: rounsepyk.* C's reading is clearly corrupt, in

spite of Sommer's ingenious attempt to interpret it (op. cit., vol. iii, p. 218) as meaning 'a branch with others attached to it'.

284. 10. *for drede of more resseize* makes excellent sense, for *reset*, *receyt*, *receit(e)* are all legitimate Middle English forms of the Anglo-Norman *receite*, meaning 'place of refuge', 'retreat'. *C*'s reading (*resorte*) is a deliberate modernization.

284. 16–286. 2. *he sey a knyght charyng a lady . . . with the lady dede and the hede togydir*. The only known parallel to this episode in the French romances is found in the Prose *Lancelot* (*Vulgate Version*, ed. Sommer, vol. v, pp. 160–2). Lancelot finds a knight holding in one hand 'une damoisele qui estoit toute nue en sa chemise, si l'aloit cils batant et trainant par lez treces'. Asked by Lancelot to spare the lady, the knight 'le regarde en travers' and curses him, and as soon as Lancelot threatens to punish him cuts off the damsel's head and flings it into Lancelot's face. After a breathless pursuit (the knight escapes to a castle, and as Lancelot is riding after him through the gate the people of the castle let the portcullis drop on him and cut his horse in two) Lancelot overcomes the knight who then cries for mercy. Reluctantly Lancelot 'en prent la foy' and tells the knight to carry the damsel's body to Arthur's court:

«Tu t'en iras orendroit la ou tu as la damoisele ochise, si prenderas la teste et le cors et le meteras devant toi sour le col de ton cheval et le porteras a la cort le roy Artus. Et quant tu seras la venus, si te presenteras a madame la royne et as autres dames, et lors connisteras ton mesfait.»

It is impossible to tell in what form this story reached *M* and how far the features not traceable to the extant French version (the first dialogue and the conclusion) are original, but at this comparatively early stage of *M*'s work it seems difficult to credit him with the invention of so much circumstantial detail.

286. 13–287. 27. *This oth . . . hyghe and low*. The conclusion of Lancelot's adventures is most probably apocryphal. It was *M*'s custom to add a happy ending, whatever the nature of the story, and often, when he borrowed isolated episodes from his source, the ending had to be invented. In the present instance he simply brings to Arthur's court all Lancelot's victims who have survived his strokes (Gawain, Uwain, Ector, and Sagremor) and all those whom he has helped in the course of his travels. In this way the three separate fragments which he used are made into one 'tale', with an ending well suited to all. *M*'s reference to the French book—as *hit tellyth in the Frenshe booke*—is an example of a device which he shares with many medieval writers, that of concealing his originality by alleging non-existent sources.

THE TALE OF SIR GARETH OF ORKENEY

THE *Book of Gareth* is to the critic Malory's most puzzling production. Although its French source is entirely unknown it is safe to assume that such a source existed and that it was built on the familiar pattern of the thirteenth-century prose novel: a knightly quest successfully brought to its conclusion by a young hero and followed by a brilliant tournament. Practically each important episode of the story has a parallel in medieval French romance. Points of similarity with Renaud de Beaujeu's *Guinglain* and its prose version by Claude Patin¹ have already been noticed by critics; in both stories the plot hinges on an expedition the object of which is to rescue a lady. But some of the circumstances of the expedition are reminiscent of another French story, that of *La Cotte Mal Taillée*, related in the French Prose *Tristan*: both La Cotte (or Brunor) and Gareth are young noblemen who conceal their high birth and begin their career in a humble way. They are both ridiculed by Kay who gives them nicknames, 'Beaumains' to Gareth and 'La Cotte Mal Taillée' to Brunor. Then in both stories a lady in distress comes to Arthur's court to ask for help against a redoubtable knight who holds her mistress in captivity (in the *Gareth* the lady's mistress is her sister). The young man obtains Arthur's permission to undertake the adventure, but for a long time the lady shows nothing but contempt for him; she scorns his attempts at fighting on her behalf and rebukes him in the rudest possible fashion: '*Chaitis, que feras tu? Maleureux et mal senez, por quoi ne t'en retournes tu tant com tu as le loisir? Fui t'en a certes, beste fole, avant que tu soies retenuz, tant com tu le pues fere.*' Lady Linet repeats this almost word for word. Finally, in both stories the lady begins to suspect that her champion is a man of high birth. Needless to add, the ending is a happy one: the young hero marries the lady he has rescued.

Gareth's other adventures are a curious mixture of

¹ Cf. *Romania*, vol. xv, pp. 22-4; R. H. Wilson, 'The "Fair Unknown" in Malory', *PMLA*, vol. lviii, no. 1, part 1 (March 1939).

literary reminiscences, among which the romances of Chrétien de Troyes figure prominently. In Chrétien's *Erec* the hero, like Gareth, comes to a castle owned by a redoubtable knight and sees *une merveille* which, as Chrétien puts it, *poïst feire grant peor au plus hardi conbator*:

*Car devant aus sor peus aguz
Avoit hiaumes luisanz et clers,
Et s'avoit dessoz les cerclers
Teste d'ome dessoz chascun.* (*Erec*, 5780-3.)

Similarly Gareth 'aspyed on grete trees, as he rode, how there hynge full goodly armed knyghtes by the necke, and their shyldis about their neckys' (p. 319). The reason why this cruel 'custom' was used is much the same in both accounts: in the *Gareth* it is because the Red Knight loved a lady whose brothers had been killed by King Arthur's knights, and the lady had made him promise 'to laboure in armys dayly' until he had found one of them and put to death all those whom he defeated in combat (p. 325). In the *Erec* the hero's adversary, Mabonagrains, makes a similar promise to his beloved:

*Que ja mès de ceanz n'istroie
Tant que chevaliers i venist
Qui par armes me conqueist.* (*Ibid.*, 6076-8.)

Like Malory's 'Red Knight of the Red Lands', Chrétien's Mabonagrains wears red armour, and his strength abates at noon. Lastly, in both stories the defeat of the knight guarding the entrance to the castle brings about his deliverance. In the poem he says to his victor:

*Mout avez an grant joie mise
La cort mon oncle et mes amis,
Qu'or serai fors de ceanz mis.*

Just as this is followed by the *Joie de la Cort*, so Gareth's victory over Ironside puts an end to the captivity of the people of the castle.

When, after his victory, Gareth sees his beloved she sends him away: 'For as yet thou shalt nat have holy my love unto the tyme that thou be called one of the numbir of the worthy knyghtes. And therefore go and laboure in

worshyp this twelve-monthe, and than ye shall hyre newe tydyngis' (p. 327). This is a somewhat humanized version of Guinevere's reply to Lancelot in Chrétien's *Charrete* (3963-4):

*'Moi, sire? Moi ne puet il pleire,
De son veoir n'ai je que feire.'*

Guinevere dismisses Lancelot without a word of gratitude for what he has done:

*Et Lanceloz jusqu'a l'entree
Des iaux et del cuer la convoie,
Mes as iaux fu corte la voie,
Que trop estoit la chanbre pres.¹* (3988-91.)

Lady Lionesse has a kinder heart: she comforts her knight by saying that his 'grete travayle' and his 'good love' will not be lost, and that 'a twelve-monthe woll sone be done'; but the two scenes are none the less similar in outline.

There is at least one important analogy between the *Gareth* and Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*: like Gareth, Gauvain comes to a castle and falls in love with the lord's sister, but their tryst is interrupted by a 'vavassor' whom Gauvain challenges to a combat and overcomes. Finally, the fact that Gareth's adversary has a replaceable head is paralleled in another well-known romance, *La Mule sans frein* (304-633).²

Enough has been said to show that there are 'analogues' to the various incidents of the *Book of Gareth* in earlier literature;³ what now remains to be seen is whether Malory put these incidents together and made Gareth their protagonist, or whether the story had been in existence before his time. In an article published some years ago⁴ I pointed out that Malory's Gareth bears a striking resemblance to one of the minor characters in the French Prose *Lancelot*, Gauvain's youngest brother, Gaheret (*var.* Gaheriet or Gaheries, often confused with Guerrhes), of whom the French prose-writer says: *Si fu boins chevaliers, et preus et*

¹ Similarly Guinglain on his return is forbidden to enter the castle.

² See note 333. 25-335. 34.

³ For further examples, see R. H. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-17.

⁴ 'A Romance of Gaheret', *Medium Ævum*, i. 3 (Dec 1932), pp. 157-67.

*emprendans, si ne fina onques en tous lez jours de sa vie d'aquerre chevalerie et aventures, et il fu biaux de tous membres et ot a merveilles biau chief, et cil se tint plus cointement tous jourz que nus de sez freres.*¹ Gaheret's two outstanding features, according to this description, are his beauty and his modesty; and in another passage the prose writer adds that in spite of his *hautes proueces* Gaheret never boasted of them: *onques n'en dist nulle*. Malory's Gareth is likewise 'the goodlyest yonge man and the fayreste that ever they sawe; and he was large and longe and brode in the shuldyrs, well-vysaged, and the largyst and the fayreste-handid that ever man sye'. His modesty is amply illustrated by his behaviour with Lady Linet, for in spite of her insults, which he bears with good grace, he refuses to disclose his noble origin.

But the most striking point of resemblance between Gareth and Gaheret is contained in a remark in the Prose *Lancelot* which has not hitherto been brought to bear upon our problem. In MS. Add. 10293 Gaheret is described as *li plus gratieus de touz les freres; il fut assez plains de chevalerie et hardis et legiers, et biaux et gens*. He had only one drawback: OT LE BRACH DESTRE PLUS LONC QUE L'AUTRE.²

Now the most puzzling feature of Malory's account is the nickname *Beaumains* given to the young hero by Kay. Two theories have so far been suggested: one, which goes back to Kittredge's article on 'Who Was Sir Thomas Malory?', connects Gareth's sobriquet with the name of Malory's patron, Richard Beauchamp, in whose retinue he was supposed to have served in his youth;³ the other has recently been propounded by Professor R. S. Loomis⁴ who ingeniously equates Beaumains with Gauvain: the initial G, he says, could easily have become B, and the u could have been misread as m. Hence *Beaumains* or *Beauuains* could be a derivative of *Gauvains*. The fact that Beaumains and Gawain give each other great strokes is, according to Professor Loomis, merely an example of the 'inherent

¹ MS. Add. 10293, f. 250^r, col. 2.

² In this passage the name of Gaheret (Gaheries) is used erroneously for that of Guerrhes, his brother. But as the confusion is common to nearly all MSS. it does not affect the argument. See note 340. 20.

³ See note 348. 5-10.

⁴ *PMLA*, vol. lv, no. 2, pp. 656 ff. Other points raised by Professor Loomis are dealt with in notes 319. 34-326. 7 and 333. 25-335. 34.

absurdity' of romantic fiction: 'In the evolution of romance', he affirms, 'many strange things are possible.' However true this may be, it would be a pity if the irrational quality of romance were to prejudice us against a realistic view of it. What has never yet been explained is why the nickname was attached to Gareth in *mockery*. 'Sir Kay', says Gareth's mother, the Queen of Orkeney, 'dud mok and scorne hym and gaff hym to name Bewmaynes. . . . Yet', she adds, '*Sir Kay named hym more ryghteously than he wende, for I dare sey he is as fayre an handid man and wel disposed, an he be on lyve, as ony lyvyng*.'¹ The obvious way to account for these remarks and for Gareth's nickname is to equate Gareth with the French Gaheret *qui ot le brach destre plus long que l'autre*. For it will then become clear that all the Queen does in protesting against the nickname is to turn the tables on Kay: he thought he would hurt the young knight by reminding him that he had one arm longer than the other; in reality *il ne croyait pas si bien dire*, for the nickname, ironical though it may sound if taken literally, is true of Gareth metaphorically; he is *fayre-handid* in the moral sense, and even 'largest-handid', for he is the most generous man that ever lived.

If, then, the hero's nickname² and the Queen of Orkeney's comments only make sense in the context of the Gaheret passages, the story of Beaumains as a whole must be part of the story of Gaheret as it existed in the French cyclic tradition. Further evidence of this is found in the fact that some of the adventures which befall Beaumains are recognizable imitations of the Gaheret episodes in the Prose *Lancelot*.³ Malory's source must have contained all these as well as a number of motifs which do not occur in the *Lancelot*, e.g. the 'disguised nobleman' mocked by Kay and rebuked by the lady for whom he is fighting, the *Joie de la Cort* motif, the dismissal of the victorious champion by a haughty and ambitious lady, the love affair interrupted by an intruder

¹ p. 340.

² The nickname is not likely to have occurred in the same form in the French; but even if Malory coined it himself it must have been suggested to him by some passage similar to the one just quoted.

³ See notes 300. 23-301. 5; 308 34; 328. 5-331. 14, and *Medium Aevum*, i. 3, pp. 160-1.

with a replaceable head, and finally a tournament at which the hero adopts a different disguise each day. All these themes must have reached Malory through some French 'romance of Gaheret' the specific form and character of which is entirely unknown to-day except through Malory's adaptation.

One feature of that work, clearly apparent from Malory's version, is that it must have been associated with the French Prose *Tristan*, that huge Arthurian compilation which is one of the earliest and best examples of a consistent use of a 'story in a story'. The traditional love-story of Tristan and Iseult forms an infinitesimal part of it. It is lost in a mass of interpolations. The most important and probably the earliest of these is an enlarged version of the *Quest of the Holy Grail*. Minor stories such as the adventures and battles of Palamède, Lamorak, Blioberis, and Brunor (the latter forming a long biographical romance) are also among the episodes added at an early stage. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries further additions were made. There are two fifteenth-century manuscripts (Bibl. Nat. fr. 99 and Chantilly 316) which contain, besides the material previously accumulated, long accounts of the life and adventures of Alexander the Orphan and of the great tournament at Surluse, neither of which has any connexion with the plot of the *Tristan*. But all these interpolations have one common characteristic: they use the personnel of the Tristan story proper. Their plots are entirely irrelevant to the romance itself, but the characters of the *Queste*, of *Alexandre li Orphelin*, and of *La Cotte Mal Taillée* are the same as those of the *Tristan*, except that in each case a new protagonist is introduced: Galahad in the *Queste*, Brunor in *La Cotte*, and Alexander in the biographical romance bearing his name. The same is true of Malory's *Gareth*: apart from the protagonist, the characters of the story belong to the Prose *Tristan*. These are: Tristan himself, Dinadan, Dinas, Epinogris, Lamorak, Palomides, Sadok, and Safere. Dinadan is one of Tristram's closest friends, and Dinas an important figure both in the Prose Romance and in the older Tristan texts. Lamorak is the 'third best knight in the world', second only to Lancelot and Tristram, and Palomides

is Tristram's unsuccessful rival in love. Some of the *Tristan* characters are introduced in a thin disguise: thus the 'Browne Knight Withoute Pyté' is obviously identical with Breunis Saunte (or Saunce) Pyté of the Tristram books, 'Browne' being an adaptation of the original name of the knight to the general scheme of the Gareth story where so many knights are named after their colours.

Another striking point of similarity between Malory's *Gareth* and the Prose *Tristan* is the treatment of the character of Gawain. While in the *Merlin*, the *Lancelot*, and the *Mort Artu* Gawain is a noble, generous, and valiant knight¹—indeed, a real embodiment of courtesy and bravery—in the French Prose *Tristan* he appears as a vindictive criminal, guilty of several offences and noted for his cruelty.² Malory does not attempt to reconcile these two conceptions of Gawain's character: he blindly accepts the verdict of each of his sources and so produces a picture full of inconsistencies and contradictions. As long as he follows the *Merlin* and the *Lancelot* he makes Gawain appear as a true champion of knightly virtue, of Christianity, and of the lofty ideals of the Round Table. On one occasion, it is true—in the story of *Torre and Pellynor*—Gawain inadvertently kills a lady; but he is deeply grieved by this accident and swears 'upon the four Evangelystes that he shold never be ageynst lady ne gentilwoman but yf he fought for a lady, and his adversary fought for another'. In the *Tristram* section, on the other hand, Malory relentlessly degrades Gawain, as does the French *Tristan*, only to restore him to fame in the *Morte Arthur*, again in accordance with his source, the French *Mort Artu*. If, therefore, he passes condemnation on Gawain in the Gareth story and declares that Gawain was by nature 'vengeable and where he hated he wolde be avenged with murther', it is obvious that he is using an anti-Gawain source, in other words, a branch of the Prose *Tristan*.

This branch may have been detached from the body of the *Tristan* romance before it reached Malory. But even

¹ Not in the *Queste del Saint Graal* where he is condemned on religious grounds; what was virtue in the *Lancelot* becomes a sin in the *Queste*.

² Cf. E. Loseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan*, §§ 37, 184, 259, 299 a, 421, 437, 450, 474, 558, 630, 631 *et passim*.

if it had not yet become a self-contained narrative¹ it was the type of work which Malory himself endeavoured, with varying degrees of success, to shape out of his long-winded cyclic sources, and for this reason alone it must have been much after his own heart.² Nor were its narrative qualities its only attraction for him. While dispensing with the subtleties of the courtly code, the French *Gaheret* propounded the theory that 'a man of low birth cannot defeat a nobleman except by accident or by guile', and so championed the claims of knighthood as an aristocratic institution. For once Malory found himself in harmony with his French model; he was clearly content to follow it, adding occasionally a touch of subtle humour or a spirited dialogue, not as an antidote, but as a suitable contribution to the French tale. And so his work may well be said to belong to the French narrative literature of the late Middle Ages—to that rapidly shrinking tradition which treated chivalry as something inherent in rank and breeding and firmly refused to yield to the threats of the most formidable 'kitchen-knaves'.

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¹ Professor R. H. Wilson (op. cit., pp. 5-6) prefers to believe in 'an independent romance influenced by the *Tristan*, whether or not the term "branch" would be appropriate to it'. I see no impropriety in the term since the work has all the characteristics of the other 'branches' and shows otherwise no influence of the *Prose Tristan*.

² See *Introduction*, pp. lv-lviii.

300. 23-301. 5. *So ryght thus as they rode in the wood . . . for his good dedis.*

This episode has a close parallel in the Prose *Lancelot*. Gaheret meets six knights, *dont li trois menoient un chevalier batant tout nu en sa chemise, et li avoient lez mains loies derriere le dos*. The other three knights are in charge of a lady whom they treat in like manner. Gaheret defies the first three knights. One of them attacks him *si qu'il li perce l'escu et li glaives vole en pieces*, but Gaheret soon gets the upper hand:

'Gaheriet le fiert haut, si qu'il lui caupe la gorge aussi comme d'un rasoir, et chil chiet mors. Et il laisse corre as autres, si fiert si le premier que il encontre qu, il li mist le glaive par mi l'espaulle senestre. Si l'enpant si durement qu'il l'abat a terre tout enferré' (*The Vulgate Version*, &c., vol. v, p. 40).

The third knight then escapes, and Gaheret releases the captive (Brandiles) who tells him how he was caught: having found shelter for the night in a pavilion, he was attacked by its owner and a fight ensued during which Brandiles killed his assailant; three of the latter's relatives then seized him, tied his hands behind his back, and rushed him away, while three other knights captured Brandiles's lady. M adds the unfortunate knight's messenger, substitutes the six 'thieves' for the six knights, and instead of dividing them into two groups leaves all the six in charge of one captive, with the result that three strong men instead of one run away when they see the young knight defeat their companions. Otherwise, apart from the usual condensation in *M*, the two accounts agree in every important detail.

305. 5-308. 13. *Thus as they rode. . . So than departed the Grene Knyght.*

These pages offer a *prima facie* parallel to the central episode of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and Professor R. S. Loomis sees in them a confirmation of his theory that Beaumains is a 'Celtic Gawain': in both accounts the hero deals a parous blow to a Green Knight, and in both he eventually accepts the Green Knight's hospitality. But no Celtic ancestor is needed to explain these two traits. It is part of *M*'s design to distinguish his protagonist's opponents by their colours, and the Green Knight comes quite naturally after the Blue and the Black Knights and before the Red Knight of the Red Lands. As to the hospitality offered to the vanquished opponent, it is simply one of the commonplaces of Arthurian fiction.

306. 17. *in thy daunger* = 'under an obligation to you.' On similar meanings of *daunger*, see C. S. Lewis, *Allegory of Love*, pp. 364-6.

308. 3. *my body* = 'myself'. Puzzled by this phrase (more common in Old French¹ than in Middle English), *C* substitutes the personal pronoun: 'I and these thyrtty knyghtes.'

308. 18 (i). *W: as wyght as sir Launcelot; C: as wyghte as euer was Wade or Launcelot*. On the legend of Wade, see my note in *Medium Aevum*, vol. iii, pp. 135-6. The phrase *ware thou wyghttere than Wade* occurs in l. 964 of the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, but not in the corresponding passage of *M*'s rendering of it (see p. 200). The comparison was sufficiently common at the time for *C* to have added it of his own accord.

308. 18 (ii). *sir Tristrans*. This reference to Tristram and his eventual

¹ Cf. *Chanson de Roland*, 892: 'Jo conduirai mun cors en Rencevals.'

appearance at the tournament of Lady Lioness (see pp. 347-50) would be puzzling if *M*'s romances were to be read as a continuous narrative in the order in which they appear in the two extant texts, for Tristram's birth is not related until p. 372. If, however, each of the eight romances is considered as a separate work *M* can be acquitted of the charge of inconsistency. See *Introduction*, p. xxxii.

308. 34. *saw . . . a dwarf*. A dwarf is also mentioned in the corresponding place in one of Gaheret's adventures: *li nains ert el chemin qui dist a Gaheret: «Sire chevaliers, aquier vous convient de la coustume qui chi est»* (*Vulgate Version*, vol. v, p. 37). Cf. 328. 5-331. 14.

312. 14. *sauff all only* (= 'merely') *this passage* = 'except this one passage.'

316. 6; 25. *or with sir Trystrams, &c.* Cf. 308. 8 (ii).

319. 34-326. 7. *And whan they come nere the sege . . . that they myght do.*

There is a clear resemblance between this passage and the *Joie de la cour* episode in Chrétien's *Erec*, but there is no reason to attribute either to a Celtic tradition.¹ Wendelin Foerster describes Chrétien's story as a variation on a well-known theme of a maiden rescued from a giant—'also ein Stoff, der mit den Kelten seinem Ursprung nach nichts zu tun hat'. He further points out that Chrétien made use of this same motif in his *Ivain*, 'wo er, mit dem Witwenmotiv zusammengescheisst, die Grundfabel des Löwenritters liefert und im demselben Roman nochmals verwendet wird im Schloss der *pesme aventure*'.² Professor Loomis points out that some traits of the episode are also found in the *Atre Perilleux*,³ where Gauvain encounters a knight bearing red arms and possessing the strength of three knights; but the grisly exhibition of the heads of the knights slain by the red champion and the important detail of the blowing of the horn are peculiar to *M* and Chrétien, while all the similarities that there are between *M* and the *Atre Perilleux* can be explained by Chrétien's influence upon the latter and by *M*'s use of a French prose romance partly modelled upon Chrétien's poem. There is therefore no need to imagine a common 'pre-Chrétien' ancestor for Beaumains and Gauvain, still less a Celtic one.

322. 3. *thou to love that loveth nat the is but grete foly.* No protagonist of a French romance of chivalry could have said this, and it is safe to assume that the maxim is *M*'s own.

324. 6. *smote hym with[in the honde] that.* One of the copyists who preceded *W* must have gone straight from the *th* in *with* to the *th* in *that*. *W* was apparently puzzled by the reading he found in his original, and after having reproduced it as it stood expuncted *with* to restore sense.

328. 5-331. 14. *And than she called unto hir . . . adventures for thy sake.* In the Prose *Lancelot* the dwarf plays a similar part, but instead of being stolen he is punished by the lord of the pavilion, his master, for having offered hospitality to Gaheret and his lady. Gaheret *en fu moult corochiés, lors coert a sez armes et s'en arme maintenant. Et quant il est armés, si li coert si viguerusement, et cil torne en fuies qui moult a grant paour.* Gaheret threatens to kill the knight if he does not make amends to the dwarf, and the

¹ Cf. R. S. Loomis, op. cit.

² Kristian von Troyes, *Erec und Enide*, herausgegeben von Wendelin Foerster, Halle, 1909, p. xxxii.

³ Ed. Woldge, ll. 1513-1627 and 2070-462.

knight solemnly promises to do so *si hautement comme il meismes le savra deviser* (*Vulgate Version*, vol. v, p. 42).

329. 33-6. *W*: [*The dwarf*]: As for that, be as be may

[*Gryngamoure*]: Nay . . . as for that thretyng we woll go to dynere

C: [*Gryngamoure*]: As for that thretyng . . . be it as it be may. We wille goo to dyner.

C may seem more coherent, but *W* is more subtle. The dwarf warns Gryngamoure of the risk he runs by antagonizing Gareth, who will 'do harme or that he be stynted'; but, he adds, *as for that* (= 'as far as that goes') 'be that as it may'. The prospect of Gryngamoure being punished is obviously pleasing to him. Gryngamoure replies, 'No, and to show you how little I fear the threat, we shall go to dinner.' *As for that thretyng* in Gryngamoure's mouth means 'for all those threats'. The same phrase is thus used by the two speakers in two different senses—a not uncommon device in comic dialogue.

331. 20-1. *sir Gareth thought many times: 'Jesu, wolde that the lady of this Castell Perelus were so fayre as she is!'* This implies that Gareth has not seen Lady Lyones before. And yet, according to *M*'s own account, he has seen her both before and after his battle with the Red Knight. On both occasions he was impressed by her great beauty ('she besemyth afarre the fayryst lady that ever I loked uppon'), and before he left the castle he told her that he had 'bought her love with part of the best blood within his body' (p. 327, ll. 15-16). The fact that he failed to recognize her at the feast given in his honour by Gryngamoure seems to suggest that *M* has omitted some link in the narrative, a mention of some 'enchantement' by means of which Lady Lyones could have changed her appearance so as to test Gareth's love for her. The magic ring she gives Gareth just before the tournament may have served this purpose: 'for that ryng', she says, 'encresyth my beawté muche more than hit is of myself' (p. 345, ll. 17-18). Cf. also p. 332, ll. 25-9.

333. 25-335. 34. *sawe an armed knyght with many lyghtes aboute hym . . . and put them to the body in the syght of hem all.* The episode of the knight with a replaceable head has several parallels in medieval narrative poetry. In *La Mule sans Frein* Gauvain is summoned by a damsel to go to her sister's castle. He has many adventures on the way, including two encounters with an opponent carrying an axe and a replaceable head (*La Damoiselle a la Mule*, ed. B. Orlowski, ll. 304-633); in Chrétien's *Conte del Graal* the same character has a love affair with the sister of the King of Escavalon and is interrupted by men bearing axes (*Conte del Graal*, ed. Hilka, ll. 5703-6215); in the *Chevalier à l'Espee* (ed. Armstrong) he falls in love with the daughter of the lord of another castle, but their tryst is interrupted by a flying sword. Each of these stories has something in common with *M*, and they all seem to point to the existence of a traditional theme associated with the name of Gauvain and, at a much later date, with that of Gaheret. But there is no reason to think with Professor Loomis that this theme belongs to an early Celtic tradition.¹ The fact that Gareth saw an armed knight 'with many

¹ Op. cit., pp. 661-2.

- lyghtes aboute hym' recalls a familiar Arthurian situation rather than 'the original Irish feature of the light emanating from the knight with the axe'.
336. 29-30. *the kyng was at Carlyon for there was the feste holde*. C's reading—the *kyng wente oute of Carlyon for there was the feest*—reproduced by all modern editors, is meaningless. It is probably the result of a series of errors, e.g. *was at* > *went out* > *went out of*.
336. 34-337. 1. *I am called the Rede Knyght of the Rede Laundis, but my name is*, &c. 'I am called' introduces Ironside's nickname, and 'my name' his real name. C and all modern editors print *my name* in both cases.
338. 5. *his bretherne* (C: 'his broder'). Since only one of the brothers is present in addition to Ironside and Persaunte (Perarde, the Black Knight, was killed by Beaumains earlier on), W's reading is less satisfactory than C's, but the mistake may well have occurred in M's own manuscript.
340. 15-16. *ever sytthen he was growyn he was [mervaylously wytted, and ever he was] feythfull and trew of his promyse*. Without the words which W lost through a homoteleuton the sentence would make far less satisfactory sense. The Queen is prepared to believe Arthur's story of Gareth's clever handling of the situation, not because she knows him to be 'faithful and true to his promise', but because he is 'marvellously witted'.
340. 20. C's *and wel disposed* is confirmed by two passages in the French Prose *Lancelot* referring to Gaheret (confused as usual with Guerries): (1) 'chou fu li plus gratieus de tous lez freres . . . il fu li plus amesurés de tous, et li plus desrees quant il fu courouciés, et si fu li mains enparlés dez autres (MS. Add. 10293, f. 250^r, col. 2); (2) 'il fu biaux de tous membres et ot a merveilles biau chief et cil se tint plus cointement tous jorz que nus de sez freres' (ibid.).
341. 22-4. W: *And yf so be that he be a wedded man that wyntes the degré he shall have a coronall of golde*. C: *And yf soo be that he be a wedded man that his wyf shall [sic] the degré and a coronal of gold*. The sudden appearance of the prize-winner's wife in C is due, I think, to a misreading of 'wýnes' for 'wyves'. Having interpreted this as genitive, C had to rearrange the rest of the sentence and inadvertently curtailed the verb (*shall have*). But neither he nor any modern editor of the text seems to have realized that whatever presents the knight's wife could have received at a tournament the 'degree' could only have been awarded to the knight himself.
342. 35. *seyde sir [Ironsyde]*. But for the emendation Gareth would address this remark to himself.
343. 32. C's *Dynadas the Seneschal* is a conflation of two names well known to readers of the French Prose *Tristan*: 'Dinas le Sénéchal' and 'Dinadan'.
344. 27. *sir Gotlake*. On the origin of this name, see 239. 21.
345. 17-18. *that ryng encresyth my beawte muche more than hit is of myself*. C: 'of hym self'. Modern editors have emended C's *of hym self* to *itself* and taken the sentence to mean: 'this ring makes me more beautiful than it is in itself'. What M meant was that it gave the lady more beauty than she possessed 'of herself'. On the magic qualities of the ring, see 331. 20-1.
346. 28-31. *and there [encountryd sir Percivale . . . eyther of hem] smote downe othir*. W's reading of this passage is an example of a 'combined error'. The first mistranscription occurred when a scribe jumped from *and* in line

28 to *and* in the next line and copied the next word, *eyther*; as he was preparing to go on from that point and looked back at his original in order to find the word *eyther*, his eyes fell on *eyther* in the following line (30) and he wrote down whatever came immediately after (*of hem smote, &c.*). The result was *and eyther of hem smote downe othir*. But in this form the sentence had four subjects (Carados, Terquyne, Percivale, and Lamerak) instead of two (Terquyne and Lamerak), and *eyther* no longer made sense. Realizing the difficulty, and anxious to restore sense, the next scribe changed *and eyther of hem smote downe othir* to *and there they smote downe eche othir* and so produced the reading found in *W*.

347. 20-1. *than com into the felde sir Perimones the Grene Knyght, sir Persauntis brothir*. Perimones is the name of the Red Knight who does not come into the lists till later (cf. p. 336, ll. 16-17: 'the Rede Knyghtes name was sir Perymones'), while the Green Knight is Partholype, or Pertolype, who has already appeared and defeated Lionel (p. 347, ll. 14-17). *Perimones the Grene Knyght* is, then, a spurious character, a mixture of *Perimones* the Red Knight and Pertolype the Green Knight.

348. 5-10. *he mervayled what knyght he was . . . no redy cognysshauns of hym*. This passage has led Kittredge and Schofield to suppose that in describing Sir Gareth's exploits *M* had in mind Richard Beauchamp's 'newe poynt of chevalry' at a tournament at Calais where, styling himself alternately as the 'Green Knight' and 'le Chevalier Attendant', he sent three successive challenges to the French court and, wearing each time a different armour, met three French knights and defeated them all (cf. John Rous, *Life of Richard, Earl of Warwick*, as printed by Strutt, *Horda Angel Cynnan*, ii. 126). On the third day he 'came in face open', just as Gareth, having left the magic ring with the dwarf, appears at the end of the tournament without any disguise. The analogy was relevant as long as it was thought that in 1417—date at which Warwick's romantic adventure is supposed to have taken place—Malory was in Warwick's retinue; but it loses much of its interest if the author's experiences at Calais are put, as they almost certainly have to be in the light of a recent reinterpretation of the records, twenty years later (see *Introduction*, p. xvi). Even apart from this difficulty, such resemblance as there is between Gareth and Warwick 'is more naturally and simply accounted for by the fact that a tournament in which a hero adopts a different disguise on each of the three days is one of the earliest and most familiar motifs of Arthurian romance. Richard Beauchamp, like his near-contemporaries, the Maréchal de Boucicaut and Jacques de Lalaing, was playing at being an Arthurian knight; no wonder that his performances exhibit a remote likeness to those of Malory's hero' (R. S. Loomis, 'Malory's Beaumains', *PLMA*, vol. liv, p. 657).

351. 3. *W*: *by his horse*. *C*: *by his here*. Previous editors have transcribed *C*'s reading as if it meant *by his hair*, not realizing that *here* is a mere misprint for *horse*.

351. 24-5. *W*: *ye wolde have smyttyn me*. *C*: *ye wolde not have stryken me*. Either reading is possible.

352. 2. *W*: *rode wyghtly into the castell*. *C*: *rode lyghtly in to the forest*. *C*'s reading seems preferable on grounds of sense, (*a*) because later on in both

texts Gareth rides 'longe in that foreste' (l. 25), and (b) because had Gareth been inside the castle he would not have had to look for 'herborowe'. But as the error may have occurred in *M* I have refrained from correcting it.

352. 32-4. It is possible to punctuate this as follows: '*Thou gettyste no lodgyng here, fayre sir.*' '*Sey not so,*' &c. But this would not be as consistent with the statement that 'the porter answerde *ungoodly* agayne'.

353. 24. *deuke de la Rouse*. W. H. Schofield (*Chivalry in English Literature*, p. 284) thought that this was a personal reminiscence. John Rous, chantry-priest and antiquary, lived from 1411 to 1492. His biography of Warwick contains some interesting parallels to *M*'s story of Gareth; the most striking of these is the description of Warwick's 'new point of chivalry' at a tourney when he appeared on three successive days, unknown, in different armour (see 348. 5-10). Schofield suggested that *M*'s source was perhaps 'a favourite in the family of Rous'. 'We remember', he adds, 'how the story of *Pontius* was revised to suit the family of La Tour Landry.' Far-fetched though this explanation may appear, it is fair to point out that the Duke de la Rouse is the only one of Gareth's opponents to whom he is ready to yield without battle. The battle is eventually forced upon him, and Rouse is defeated like every one else, but Gareth's exceptional treatment of the duke may not be altogether unconnected with *M*'s feelings for John Rous.

355. 14-24. The '*Browne Knyght Wythoute Pyté*' is clearly identical with 'Breunis saunce Pyté' and therefore belongs to the group of 'Tristan' knights. *M* makes him die at the hands of Gareth who 'smote hym thorow the body, that he overthrewe to the grounde sterke dede', but in the *Tristram* books Breunis appears again as 'the perelust knyght that now lyvyth'. This corroborates the view that *M* had not intended his romances to be arranged and read in the order in which they appear in *C* and in *W*. Cf. 308. 18 (ii).

355. 31-2. *they made hym good chere, for they myght none other do, for they were but poore* = 'Poor as they were, they could do no more than make him good cheer.'

356. 6-23. '*Abyde, sir knyght*' . . . *he yelded hym*. See 353. 24.

360. 6-7. '*What, nevew?*' *seyde the kyng*, '*Is the wynde in that dore?*' This, to my knowledge, is the earliest example on record of the phrase *Is the wind in that door?* meaning 'Is the wind in that quarter?', 'Is that the tendency of affairs?' (Cf. *Oxford Eng. Dict.*, s.v. 'door', 6 c.) It is used here in the same sense as in Falstaff's remark in the First Part of *Henry IV* (Act III, scene iii): 'How now, lad! Is the wind in that door, i' faith? Must we all march?'

360. 33-6. *For evir aftir sir Gareth had aspyed sir Gawaynes conductions . . . avenged with murther*. In the Prose *Lancelot* Gareth never ceases to be fond of Gawain: 'Il ama plus monseignor Gauvain que tous les autres' (i.e. his other brothers). But in *M*'s immediate source, which in all likelihood was a branch of the Prose *Tristan*, the character of Gawain must have undergone a complete change (see above, p. 1423), and *M* did not think it fit to depart from his source for the sake of being consistent with his own remarks in his earlier books. Throughout his work he either praised or condemned Gawain according as he used a 'pro-Gawain' or an 'anti-Gawain' source. The former category includes all his known sources other than the Prose *Tristan* and the

Queste del Saint Graal. Cf. my article in *Medium Aevum* ("The Romance of Gaheret"), vol. 1, pp. 163-5.

361. 10-11. *sir Aggravayne kynge Arthure made to wedde, &c.* This type of happy ending is clearly alien to the French Arthurian Cycle, and there is every reason to believe that *M* is the sole author of the rest of the story.

362. 24. *as the Freynsh boke seyth*. This reference is probably as untruthful as most such references; the object of in laying down the rule *that none that wedded sholde juste* is simply to shorten the description of the tournament.

363. 6-9. Cf. 688. 6-10.

363. 11-17. *And thus sir Gareth of Orkeney was a noble knyght, that wedded dame Lyonesse, &c.* Cf. 361. 10-11.

363. 18-20. *And I pray you all that redyth this tale to pray for hym that this wrote, &c.* On the significance of this colophon, see *Introduction*, pp. xiv-xv.

THE BOOK OF SIR TRISTRAM DE LYONES

THE French Prose Romance of Tristan, written about the year 1230 and preserved in some fifty manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, owed its immense popularity to the way in which it combined a traditional theme with a fashionable setting. It brought the story of Tristan and Iseult, as it had been told by twelfth-century poets, within the framework of the thirteenth-century Arthurian Cycle; and while it thus added to the poetical tradition of Tristan a vast amount of fresh material, it also shifted the emphasis from the original story of tragic love to the protagonist's adventures in the service of the Round Table. A large part of this unwieldy composition consists of descriptions of tournaments, battles, and quests; knight-errantry is its inspiration and its *raison d'être*, and just as the life of a knight-errant is a succession of seemingly disconnected experiences designed to exhibit and test his valour, strength, and gallantry, so the Prose *Tristan* is essentially a long series of seemingly disjointed episodes centring round the figure of a great knight who embodies all the traditional virtues of Arthur's fellowship.

It is significant of Malory's reaction to this romance that while his version of it is about six times shorter, the 'reduction' is not purely mechanical: the English author clearly aims at some degree of simplification within the material which he retains. He begins *in medias res*, with an account of the hero's birth, which in the French is preceded by a long description of Tristan's ancestry starting from the first century of our era, and he stops when he thinks he has reached the natural denouement: Tristram and Isode are happily settled in Joyous Gard, Tristram earns universal recognition as Lancelot's equal, and Palomides, the unfortunate Saracen whose love for Isode darkens some of the pages of this 'joyous book', is christened and reconciled to his fate. 'Here endeth the second book of Tristram, and here is no rehearsal of the third book.' The 'third book', which Malory saw before him when he wrote these lines,

contained an unnecessarily long version of the *Quest of the Holy Grail* combined with some more adventures of Tristram and other knights. Malory suppressed it all, and so not only shortened the story, but gave it what he thought was a more suitable ending. To guide the reader through the maze of adventures which he could not suppress he indicated here and there the main divisions of the narrative, and by following the *explicit*s and the *incipit*s in the Winchester MS. it is possible to split the whole work into a number of well-defined sections. Within each section Malory was, of course, at the mercy of his original: he could not alter its fundamental character. For all his efforts to 'reduce' and organize his material, the composition as a whole remains substantially the same. What is apparent to the reader unfamiliar with Malory's source is precisely what he liked least; the seemingly indiscriminate accumulation of adventures which he inherited from the French strikes one at first sight much more forcibly than his additions and alterations. To discover his own attitude to the story it is essential, therefore, to see his work as it appears against the background of the much more voluminous French Prose *Tristan* and compare them line by line.

In the following pages I have endeavoured to give the main results of such a comparison and little would be gained here by an attempt at a summary. Only a few points stand out sufficiently clearly to bear generalization.¹ First, there is evidence to show that in the English author's view there was room for more romantic sentiment. He supplied from his own invention several highly emotional passages such as the farewell scene before Tristram's departure from Ireland (p. 502) and the recognition scene in the garden. Isode 'felle downe in a swoune, and so lay a grete whyle. And whan she myght speke she seyde, "A, my lorde, sir Trystram! Blessed be God ye have your lyff."' She is prepared to part with him to save him from Mark's vengeance: 'For Goddys sake, myne owne lorde, graunte kynge Marke hys wyll, and than draw you unto the courte of kynge Arthure, for there ar ye beloved. And ever whan I may I shall sende unto you, and whan ye lyste ye may com unto

¹ For a more detailed account, see my *Roman de Tristan*, part ii (*Le Remaniement*).

me, and at all tymes early and late I woll be at youre commaundement, to lyve as poore a lyff as ever ded quyene or lady.' It is, of course, possible to set against these passages a number of equally moving scenes which Malory mercilessly cut out. In describing the days when the lovers were free from suspicion and restraint the French prose-writer says: 'Oncques mes ne furent tant aise com si sont orendroit, car, quant il vont ore recordant les maux et les paines que chascun a souffert endroit soi, et il se voient ensemble, que il poent fere toute lor volenté, il dient que il fussent buer nés s'il peussent toz jor mes vivre et mener tel joie et tel faste.' Malory writes instead: 'Than sir Trystram used dayly and nyghtley to go to quene Isolde whan he myght.' Elsewhere the only word he uses to describe the peace and happiness of his heroes is 'cheer': 'so he had all the chere that she myghte make hym'; or again: 'bycause sir Tristram had such chere and rychnesse and other pleasaunce . . . allmoost he hadde forsaken La Beale Isode.' Short remarks and phrases such as these often take the place of long monologues, and a number of lyrical speeches are omitted altogether.¹ The reason for this is not far to seek. While anxious to reintroduce sentiment, Malory was not always in sympathy with the kind of sentiment he found in his sources, and in so far as these retained something of the original courtly lyricism he could not even understand them: he was too much a man of his own time. His archaism did not go beyond the attempt to record the 'noble and gentle deeds' of Arthurian knights, and he was clearly unable to appreciate whatever his sources may have preserved of the more authentic form of *courtoisie*.

Naturally enough, he was still less in a position to grasp the pre-courtly ideas underlying the earliest *Tristan* poems. The great tragic conception of the legend had been abandoned by the French prose-writer, and Malory had no means of knowing it. But it is most unlikely that he would have favoured it even had he known it from first hand. With the notable exception of the episode of Tristan's madness, which is probably his finest and most subtle contribution to the story,² he insists on making his heroes uniformly happy and,

¹ See notes 592. 4-14 and 779. 16-18.

² See note 495. 8-501. 10.

like the French prose-writer, builds their happiness on a wholesale condemnation of their enemies. He would hardly have understood the attitude of Bérout, to whom Mark was almost a likeable character and the love motif a tragic issue which no human power could solve. The prose version with its clear-cut division of characters into heroes and villains, and the natural tendency to make the heroes happy and the villains miserable, was on the whole much after his own heart. His strong sense of the value of chivalry as the noblest human institution helped to enhance this attitude. There are numerous passages in his work stressing the chivalric temper of his characters and insisting on the advantages of being a 'true knight'. Phrases such as 'he was a true knight' or 'the High Order of Knighthood' are too common to be quoted, but it is important to note that they are in most cases absent from his source and that he uses them in order to support the view, clearly expressed in the French Prose *Tristan*, that Tristram's love for Isode was fully justified because Tristram was a true knight and Mark an enemy of knighthood. Mark, says Lamorak, 'is a grete enemy to all good knyghtes, and that proveth wel, for he hath chaced oute of that contrey sir Trystram, that is the worshipfullest knight that now is living, and all knyghtes speak of him worship. And for jealousnes of his queen he hath chaced him out of his countrey.' Since 'all that the noble sir Tristram does is through clean knight-hood' he remains above reproach, and there can be no opposition between the claims of chivalry and Tristram's allegiance to Isode: Tristram's first duty is to knighthood, and his fidelity to Isode only serves as an occasional illustration of his chivalrous conduct. When he and Isode are on their way to Cornwall he hears of Lancelot's exploits and exclaims: 'Alas! . . . and I had nat this messayge in hande with this fayre lady, truly I wolde never stynte or I had founde sir Launcelot!' (p. 419, ll. 11-13). The 'message' is the task of bringing Isode to Cornwall. But for this, Tristram would have gone in search of Lancelot, leaving all else behind. It does not seem to matter to him that he would also have had to leave Isode: his first concern is chivalry, not Isode, and both the French prose-writer and

Malory are equally willing to disregard the fact that only a short while ago the lovers drank the love potion, and that 'when that drynke was in their bodyes they loved aythir other so well that never hir love departed'. In the original Tristan story the potion was so made that it was impossible for the lovers to part once they had drunk it: if, says Eilhart, they had parted for a day they would have fallen ill; if for a week they would have died.¹ No such quality is ascribed to it in the Prose Romance; nor is love ever allowed to interfere with the customs of knight-errantry. Tristram devotes his whole life to knightly adventures which take him far away from Isode, and never regards this as a hardship. For, as a true knight-errant, what he really values is not the presence of his beloved, nor the joy of sharing every moment of his life with her, but the high privilege of fighting in her name. It is this aspect of the story that Malory endeavours to emphasize: he wants Tristram to be more consistently and more deliberately concerned with knighthood than was his French prototype, and to look upon the 'service of love' as yet another form of his self-assertion as a champion of the 'high order'.

There was, however, an obstacle in Malory's way: his source belonged to a period when chivalry was no longer taken quite seriously by all concerned, and a comic relief was sometimes needed to make it bearable. I have described elsewhere the character of Dinadan, the 'scoffer and japer', who in the late or 'Second' Version of the Prose *Tristan* sets himself the task of showing the absurdity of the knightly code of behaviour.² Dinadan is perhaps the most human, if not the most attractive character in the French Romance, and there is nothing more refreshing in Arthurian literature than the gentle irony of this companion of Tristram 'qui cherche le sens du monde, mais point n'en peut trouver'. He seems to have dropped almost by accident into the mad kingdom of Arthur where people never greet each other except with the point of a spear and never seem to look for anything they have a reasonable chance of finding. He is at a loss to understand why everybody should long for the

¹ Cf. Eilhart von Oberge, ed. Lichtenstein, ll. 2288-300.

² Cf. my *Études sur le Tristan en prose*, p. 29, and my *Roman de Tristan*, pp. 134-7.



V. The love potion and the burial of Tristan and Iseult (MS. B. N. Fr. 103)

unattainable favours of haughty ladies when real human love is such a simple and enjoyable thing, when it can make anyone 'gai, riant et envoisié' as long as one does not ask too much of it. Nor can he grasp the significance of the rigid customs governing the life of a knight-errant and constantly forcing him to face danger; if only cowards are allowed to live happily Dinadan is prepared to be a coward, and if the observance of knightly customs means falling from one's horse and suffering other hardships he would much rather give up chivalry once and for all. And it exasperates him to find that other knights are incapable of understanding this simple remark of his: 'ma couardise me fet vivre, et vostre hardement vos fet orendroit estre a pié.'¹

It is instructive to see how many such passages Malory deleted, and how much he shortened those which he could not delete.² But it is perhaps no less significant that much as he resented Dinadan's criticisms of chivalry he was unable to make them innocuous. Dinadan is still very much the same in Malory as he is in the French; he has fewer opportunities of 'scoffing', but he says enough to make one doubt the usefulness of chivalry as an institution. Here, as elsewhere, all that Malory really succeeds in doing is to reveal from time to time his own attitude to the story and the inevitable conflict between himself and his French book.

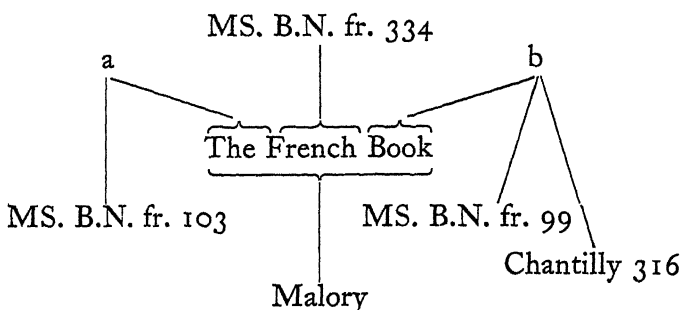
The content of Malory's immediate source is found in four MSS. of the Prose Romance. These are: B.N. fr. 103, 334, 99, and Chantilly 316 (this last is almost identical with B.N. fr. 99). From the beginning of the story to p. 512 Malory agrees most closely with 103; from p. 512 to p. 615 the nearest French version is found in 334, and from p. 615 to the end in 99 and Chantilly 316.³ His immediate source was probably a single work which followed alternately each of the three versions (see *Roman de Tristan*, pp. 81-6).

¹ MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 334^r, col. 2.

² See notes 503. 9-508. 10; 524. 5-6; 595. 6-7; 604. 29-605. 15; 614. 20; 615. 11-17; 659. 33-660. 2; 693. 33-5; 703. 7; 704. 1; 758. 3-4.

³ Such at least is the result of my earlier inquiry. I have given an account of it separately for each Section of the *Commentary* under the heading of *Sources*. Some of the conclusions stated therein are based on my *Roman de Tristan et Iseut* (1925), but in Sections VI, VIII, IX, X, XII, and XIII fresh material has been added.

Their relation to one another and to Malory may be expressed as follows:



My original intention was to reproduce *in extenso* my collation of Malory's text with the available versions of his 'French Book', but I soon realized that by so doing I should run the risk of making this part of the *Commentary* too bulky for publication and too unwieldy to be of any real use to the reader even if made available in printed form. I therefore resigned myself to the necessity of producing a selection of comments on the text, omitting all that did not seem important enough for inclusion in an account of Malory's workmanship.

I give below a list of words, phrases, and passages which do not occur in *F* and are not otherwise recorded here. The figures in heavy type refer to pages and lines:¹

387. 20-1 as hit had bene a bryght angell. **388. 14-16** that ye (= Palomides) forsake my lady, La Beale Isode, and in no maner of wyse that ye draw no more to hir. **389. 23-4** within a foote and an halff. **392. 18-19** [Tristram] gaff hir a rynge and she gaff hym another. **394. 6, 17-18** [Mark] toke two knyghtes of his counceyle with hym; he (= Tristram) ran to the one knyght and effte to the tothir and smote hem to the colde erthe that they lay styлле. **396. 15-16** he that hath a prevy hurte is loth to have a shame outewarde. **399. 22-3** be your feyth and trouthe that ye owghe to the hyghe Order of Knyghthode.

400. 22 lyke thundir. **405. 11** by the thirde day. **407. 23-5** uppon this conduction, that . . . ye shall swere unto me that ye ar in the ryght. **408. 24-8** 'Fayre dere brother,' seyde he, 'remembir of what kynne

¹ Any list of this kind is, of course, subject to correction as long as it is based not on the 'French Book' itself but on its derivatives.

we be com of . . . rathir, brothir, suffir deth than to be shamed. 409. 8-9 though my horse hath fayled . . . the erthe woll nat fayle me. 411. 21 and I dud so I were shamed for ever in this worlde. 413. 4, 6 and a lady; and to the lady. 414. 1 all the astatis and comyns of that lordshyp. 419. 11-13 'Alas!' seyde sir Trystrames, 'and I had nat this messayge in hande with this fayre lady, truly I wolde never stynte or I had founde sir Launcelot.' 425. 9-11 Palomydes is but a dede man bycause that he is nat crystened . . . be loth that he sholde dye a Sarezen. 430. 26-8 many knyghtes made their avowe that and ever they mette wyth Morgan le Fay they wolde shew her shorte cortesy. 441. 31 the coste of Walys. 444. 14 the fifth day aftir. 444. 19 fyve hondred. 467. 28-468. 2 a lettir unto sir Launcelot, excusynge hym (= Tristram) of the weddyng of Isode le Blaunche Maynes, and seyde in the lettir, as he was a trew knyght, he had never ado fleyschly with Isode le Blaunche Maynys, &c. 470. 27 within two myle. 473. 10-11 two owres and more. 473. 15-19 'Now may ye se,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that he ys a noble knyght, for to considir hys fyrste batayle and his grevous woundis,' &c. 474. 19 lyke too bullis. 475. 11-14 sir Launcelot wolde have gyvyn hym all thys fortresse and the brydges. 'Nay, sir,' seyde La Cote Male Tayle I woll not have sir Plenoryus lyvelode. 486. 22 as hit had bene thundir. 486. 26 as wylde borys. 493. 23-4 sir Trystrams founde the lettir that sir Kayhydys sente unto La Beall Isode. 496. 17 a quarter off a yere.

502. 35 to the dethe. 525. 30-1 as a greyhounde amonge conyes. 526. 15 as wylde swyne. 531. 32 as thundir. 546. 13-14 I am full lothe to have ado with ony of the knyghtes of the Rounde Table. 549. 14, 16 'I am a kynge anoynted'; 'thou arte a kynge anoynted with creyme.' 550. 14-15 'Hard hit ys to take oute off the fleysse that ys bredde in the boone.' 553. 20 as the thundir. 556. 22 the deepe drawghtes of dethe drawith to my harte. 580. 3-8 for he (= Mark) is a grete enemy to all good knyghtes. And that prevyth well, for he hath chased oute of that contrey sir Trystram that is the worshypfullist knyght that now is lyvyng, and all knyghtes spekyth of hym worship; and for the jeleousnes of his quene he hath chaced hym oute of his contrey. 584. 21-4 in no wyse wolde that knyght telle hys name, but ever sir Dynadan thought he sholde know hym by his shyld that he sholde be sir Torre. 593. 6-8 and all was bycause sir Bersules and I wolde nat consente by treason to sle the noble knyght sir Trystram.

613. 17-18 and sir Trystram wyste hit, he wolde never com within your courte. 617. 3 in Walys. 617. 34-618. 12 'Syre,' seyde sir Dynadan . . . 'to syng hit afore hym.' 618. 15-18 taught hit to many harpers. And so . . . the harpers wente into Walys and into

Cornwayle to synge the lay. 624. 22-3 as long as I may endure. 634. 21-3 So La Beale Isode sente for Anglydes, his wyff, and bade her avoyde delyverly, other ellys hir yonge sonne Alysauindir le Orphelyne sholde be slayne. 636. 25 the hyghe Order of Chevalry. 637. 4 the hyghe Order of Knyghthode. 642. 36 who wolde be syke and he myght be hole? 659. 7-9 an erle that hyght sir Arrowse, and sir Breuse, and an hondred knyghtes wyth hem of Pometaynes, and the kynge of Northe Galys. 661. 20-1 the kynge of Northe Galys. 662. 16-18 But whan sir Lamerok was com unto the courte, quene Gwenyver enbraced hym in her armys and seyde, 'Sir, well have ye done this day.' 664. 20-1 this damesell harde telle that sir Palomydes ded muche for damesels. 676. 16-18 And whan La Beall Isode harde how he was myste, pryvayly she wente unto sir Sadocke and prayde hym to aspye where was sir Trystram. 679. 23-8 'And by youre neveaw ye (= Mark) sholde never thynke that so noble a knyght as sir Trystram is, that he wolde do hymself so grete vylany to holde his unclys wyff. Howbehit,' seyde sir Percivale, 'he may love youre quene synles, because she is called one of the fayryst ladyes of the worlde.' 696. 34-5 he demed that hit was sir Trystram.

700. 19-20 manhode is nat worthe but yf hit be medled with wysdome. 715. 1-6 'Sir knyght,' seyde sir Palomydes, 'hit may well be that this queste was youre or hit was myne. But whan the lettir was takyn oute of the dede knyghtes honde', &c. 715. 33-716. 15 'Ye sey well,' seyde sir Palomydes, 'and ye shall se how I shall spyede; and yff I there be slayne go ye unto my lorde sir Launcelot other ellys to my lord sir Trystram, and pray them to revenge my dethe. For as for sir Lamorak, hym shall ye never se in this worlde.' . . . And so sir Palomydes tolde sir Hermynde all the maner and how they slew sir Lamorak all only by treson. 717. 10-19 and so all the people praysed hym (= Palomides) . . . seven batayles within lystys. 719. 26-7 all the cité profyrd sir Palomydes the thirde parte of their goodis. 729. 6-8 'And well I wote,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'that other he uppon the whyghte horse ys sir Trystram othir ellys sir Palomydes, and that well-beseyne lady is quene Isode.' 729. 24-5 the kynge of the beste parte of Walys, with many other contreys. 731. 3 thereas my harte gyvyth me, there woll I holde me. 731. 32-4 hit longyth nat to none of us at this day to juste, for there hath nat this day justed no preved knyghtes. 733. 11-13 And they asked of kynge Arthure that they myght have the fyrste justis, for they were of Orkeney. 'I am pleased,' seyde kynge Arthure. 733. 28 arayed so all in grene. 734. 35 twenty knyghtes. 735. 1 fifty knyghtes. 735. 24-6 the grene knyght uppon the gresylde horse. 738. 22-5 'Alas,' seyde sir Trystram, 'that sir Palomydes were nat crystynde!' So seyde kynge Arthur, and

so seyde all that behylde them. 739. 10-16 Than was the cry huge and grete, how sir Palomydes the Saresyn hath smyttyn downe sir Launcelots horse . . . and seyde hyt was unknyghtly done in a turnemente to kille an horse wylfully, othir ellys that hit had bene done in playne batayle lyff for lyff. 740. 8-16 and well I wote that love is a grete maystry . . . for and sir Trystram may know hit, ye (= Palomides) woll repente hit, &c. 740. 30-1 And allwayes sir Launcelot spared sir Trystram, and he spared hym. 742. 19-21 I shall be sir Launcelottis knyght whyles that I lyve. 746. 20-1 'Sir,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'that knyght (= Tristram) began nat yet, but ye shall se hym do mervaylously.' 746. 34-5 And all thes wordis seyde sir Palomydes but to begyle sir Trystram. 748. 24 the kynge of Northe Galys. 748. 26 sir Ector de Marys. 752. 5-9 he (= Palomides) was ryght glad to suffir sir Launcelot to fyght wyth sir Trystram . . . he hoped that sir Launcelot sholde beate other shame sir Trystram. 755. 13-18 'I bare his (= Tristram's) armys,' seyde sir Trystram, 'and that woll I abyde bye, for I wanne them onys in a fylde of a full noble knyght whos name was sir Marhalte,' &c. 759. 2-3 they armed them, and clothed them all in rede, bothe La Beall Isode and all the felyshyp. 759. 25-7 And than all the people cryed, 'A, Trystram! A, Trystram!' And than was sir Palomydes clene forgotyn. 760. 19-20 Than cam sir Ector de Marys, and he bare a speare ayenst sir Palomydes and braste hit uppon hym all to shyvrys. 761. 6 thirty knyghtes. 763. 32-3 thorow the grace of God the quene was recovirde of hir malady. 764. 26-31 'Than shall he never wynne worshyp,' seyde the quene, 'for, and hyt happyn an envyous man onys to wynne worshyp, he shall be dishonoured twyse therefore. And for this cause all men of worshyp hate an envyous man and woll shewe hym no favoure, and he that ys curteyse and kynde and jantil hath favoure in every place.' 769. 4-8 Than the kynge of Irelande lente a man of his to sir Palomydes . . . but he wolde nat in no wyse. 775. 21-2 and so they bounde his (= Palomides') leggs undir an olde steedis bely. 777. 15-17 'Sir knyght, we counceyle you nat to medyll of this knyght (= Palomides), for he hath deserved deth, and unto deth he ys jouged. 779. 9-10 sir Palomydes kneled downe uppon his kneis and thanked sir Launcelot. 779. 20 wyth hym rode sir Ector de Marys and sir Dynadan. 783. 10-12 he (= Tristram) demed that sir Palomydes had smytten hym so, because he sholde nat be able to do batayle with hym at the day appoynted. 783. 17-18 four knyghtes . . . and three sargeauntes of armys. 784. 7-9 'And for thou shalt se that I am no lyar'—sir Trystram shewed hym his thyghe, and the depnes of the wounde was syx inchis depe. 784. 11 I had levir than all the golde that kynge Arthure hath. 784. 22-4 he is the hardyeste

knyght . . . excepte sir Launcelot. 792. 16-18 she was called the fayryst lady of that contrey; and there she had bene fyve yere. 793. 2 of golde. 793. 3 of kynges blood. 793. 19 cousyn nyghe unto Joseph of Aramathy. 796. 18-24 'My lorde, sir Launcelot, I beseche you, se me as sone as ye may, for I have obeyde me unto the prophesye that my fadir tolde me. And by hys commaundemente, to fullfyll this prophecie I have gyvyn the the grettyst ryches and the fayryst floure that ever I had, and that is my maydynhode that I shall never have agayne.' 798. 31-2 And as the dowve had takyn her flyght the mayden vanysshed wyth the Sankgreall as she cam. 799. 32-3 brente lyke a tapir.

800. 26 shotte of arowys and of quarellys so thyk that he mervayled. 803. 9-13 he (= Arthur) mette her (= Elaine) and salewed her, and so ded the moste party of all the knyghtes of the Rounde Table, &c. 803. 30-2 aythir made othir (= Elaine and Guinevere) good chere as by countenaunce, but nothyng wyth there hartes. 812. 6-8 'As for thy (= Goodwyne's) brother (= Gawdelyne)', seyde sir Agglovale, 'I avow I slew hym, for he was a false knyght and a betrayer of ladyes and of good knyghtes.' 816. 29-30 he (= Perceval) was one of the beste knyghtes of the worlde at that tyme. 816. 34-6 sir Percyvale had a glemerynge of the vessell and of the mayden that bare hit, for he was a parfyte mayden. 819. 7-9 'And mesemyth,' seyde the dwarff, 'that he resembelyth muche unto sir Launcelot,' &c. 821. 6 [a knight] tyed hys horse tylle a tre and leaned his speare ayenst the tre. 825. 20-826. 5 'Fayre lady Elayne, for youre sake I have had muche care and angwyshe. . . . And wher ye be, my lorde sir Launcelot, doute ye nat but I woll be wyth you, wyth all the servyse that I may do.' 829. 6-7 lyke two borys. 832. 7-15 'thys same feste of Pentecoste shall youre sonne and myne, Galahad, be made knyght.' . . . 'Than shall he be a good man inowghe,' seyde sir Launcelot. 840. 15-16 and she (= Isode) sente wyth hym (= Tristram) four knyghtys; and withyn halff a myle he sente them agayne.

The following characters and places are anonymous in *F*:

Adtherpe, knight who rescues Isode from Palomides, 422-3.

Archade, brother of Gonerys, 658.

Arrowse, earl, 659.

Arundell in Sussex, 635. See note 635. 22-3.

Aunoure, sorceress, 490-1.

Bartelot, brother of Brewse Saunze Pité, 819-20.

Bedyvere of the Streyte Marchys, knight met by Bors in the quest of the Grail, 800.

Black Cross, abbey of, 547.

- Blanke*, castle, 819.
Bodwyne, brother of King Mark, 633-4, 635, 637.
Case, castle, 794.
Caster, nephew of King Pelles, 823, 826.
Dynaunt, Cornish knight rescued by Tristram from a giant, 500.
Ebell, lieutenant of a castle, 719. See note 719. 30.
Galar donne, knight killed by an unknown 'strong knight', 564.
Gawdelyne, knight slain by Agglovale, 812.
Goodwyne, brother of Gawdelyne; slain by Agglovale, 811-12.
Harry de Fyze Lake, one of the knights who fight Brewse Saunze Pité, 685-7.
Helake, kills his brother, 717.
Hew de la Mountayne, 516. See note 516, 31-2.
Jagent, castle (= 'chastel au geant'), 580.
Laundys, lady of the, cousin of Angwysh of Ireland, 385.
Madok de la Mountayne, 516. See note 516, 31-2.
Nanowne le Petyte; slain by Nabon, 441.
Pelaundris, brother of Plenoryus, 475.
Pellogres, brother of Plenoryus, 475.
Peryne de la Mountayne; overcome by Alexander the Orphan, 646.
Playne de Amoris; overcome by La Cote Male Tayle, 472.
Playne de Fors; overcome by La Cote Male Tayle, 472.
PylLOWnes, brother of Plenoryus, 475.

I

ISODE THE FAIR

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 (For a bibliography of the French Prose Romance of Tristan, see my *Études sur le Tristan en prose: Les Sources, Les Manuscrits, Bibliographie critique*, Paris, 1925.)

SOURCE

This section of Malory's *Tristram* corresponds to ff. 27^r, col. 1-91^r, col. 1 of MS. B.N. fr. 103. In one respect at least this manuscript provides the closest extant parallel to his version. Malory relates that when Tristram arrived in Ireland 'he sate and harped in his bedde a merry lay. . . And whan

hit was tolde the kynge and the quene of suche a syke knyght that was suche an harper, anone the kynge sente for hym and lette serche hys woundys, and than asked hys name. And than he answerde and seyde, "I am of the contrey of Lyones, and my name is Tramtryste that was thus wounded in a batayle as I fought for a ladyes ryght". (p. 384, l. 28). This change of name does not occur in any manuscript of the French Prose Romance of Tristan other than MS. B.N. fr. 103. Here is the relevant passage: [the king of Ireland says to Tristan,]

« Sire chevalier, a vous me plaing de vous meismes, qui tant avés esté a mon hostel n'oncques ne vous congnu; je vous prie que vous me dyés vostre nom et qui vous estes. » Quant Tristan ouï ce, si oult paour d'estre recogneu, si dit « Sire, sachiés que j'ay a nom Tanstris et ne le deisse pas volontiers a aultre » « Ore, fait le roy, or me dictes se vous portastes les blanches armes au tournay devant hyer que Brangien vous bailla. » « Sire, fait Tantris, oyl. Ce poise moy que vous le savés. » « En nom Dieu, fait le roy, il ne vous en doit pas peser se on vous congnoist, car vous n'y avés se grant honneur non. Et pour la bonne chevalerie qui en vous est offre je et moy et mes choses » « Sire, fait Tanstris, grant mercis! » Ainsi fu congneue et sceue en Yrelande la bonne chevalerie de Tanstris. (f. 42^r, col. 2.)

Malory's use of this version accounts not only for the introduction of the Tramtrist episode, but also for the fact that in his text the names of *Trystram* and *Tramtryst* alternate from p. 384 to p. 389, l. 11, while in the subsequent section *Tramtryst* is constantly used to the exclusion of *Trystram*. In MS. B.N. fr. 103 *Tantris* occurs for the first time in the passage which corresponds to Malory's p. 389, ll. 10-12 ('So anone within a whyle the kynge and the quene and all the courte undirstood that hit was sir Tramtryste that smote downe sir Palamydes'); before this the French text always refers to the hero as Tristan. It was no doubt because Malory's immediate source was similar in this respect to MS. B.N. fr. 103 that he found it difficult to use Tristram's assumed name consistently in the early part of the story.

371. 5-10. *There was a kynge that hyght Melyodas, &c.* The French prose-writer devotes considerable space to the lives of Tristram's ancestors, and traces his pedigree to the first century of our era. All this has little or no relation to the Tristram romance proper, but is a good example of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century practice of adding the hero's *enfances* to the story of his life. The following details seem, however, to have some bearing on subsequent events: Cornwall and Léonois are given as part of her dowry to Tressille (*var.* Cressille) by her father, King Clovis (Clodoveus), on her marriage to Candace, son of King Apollo. Candace and Tressille have twelve sons, one of whom (*Crisides* or *Crisielles* in some MSS.; *Cuses* in MS. B.N. fr. 103) inherits Cornwall. Of the remaining eleven sons ten go abroad to seek fortune and the youngest becomes King of Léonois. Candace thus appears to have been the common ancestor of Mark and Melyodas, and we can surmise from *F* that it was Mark's intention to unite the two kingdoms under one rule. It was not *by fortune* that Melyodas married Mark's sister, but at Mark's behest.

371. 9. *she was called Elyzabeth.* In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 103) the name of

Tristram's mother is *Ysabel* (other MSS.: *Helyabel*). On the possible significance of the change, see my *Malory*, p. 6.

371. 11-20. *he was hole kyng of Ingelonde, &c.* This description of England is probably *M*'s own. He shows his partiality to Arthur by placing all the other kings under his rule, including those of France and Britain, as well as the 'lorshyppis unto Rome'.

372. 20. *thou haste murdered thy modir.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 27^r, col. 2): 'ta beauté me fera moult poy de bien, car je me mur du travail que j'ay eu de toy.'

372. 25-6. *Trystrams, that is as muche to say as a sorowfull byrth.* This explanation of Tristram's name (*Tristan* < *triste*) was suggested by Thomas and eventually reproduced by the French prose-writer.

375. 12-29. *And so Trystrams lerned to be an harper passyng all other, &c.* *M*'s description of a gentleman's education is to a large extent original, and the phrase 'as the booke seyth' is used merely to conceal a departure from the source. All that *F* has to say is that Tristram knew 'tant des eschez et des tables que nul ne l'en peust mater, et de l'escremie plus que nul. Et chevauchoit si bien que nul plus' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 30^v, col. 2). Cf. 571. 25-34 and 682. 26-683. 4.

375. 17. *never jantylman more that ever we herde rede of.* 'Did' is understood between *jantylman* and *more*.

376. 21. *whatsoever ye spende, &c.* The King of Ireland apparently means that whatever the cost of the expedition Marhalt will have sufficient means at his disposal. There is no such remark in *F*'s version of the speech.

377. 11-12. *Launcelott du Lake that was that tyme named for the mervaylyste knyght of the worlde.* *F* does not mention Lancelot as a possible champion, but *M* is clearly anxious to keep him in the foreground.

378. 25-8.

W:

Reconstructed reading:

with sir Marhalt what ar ye seyde
the kyng and from whens be ye com
sir seyde Trystrams yf ye woll gyff
me the ordir of knyghthode I woll do
batayle with sir Marhalte what ar ye
seyde the kyng and from whens be
ye com sir seyde Trystrames I com
frome kyng Melyodas.

with sir Marhalt. 'Sir,' seyde Trys-
trams, 'yf ye woll gyff me the Ordre of
Knyghthode I woll do batayle with
sir Marhalie.' 'What are ye?' seyde
the kyng, 'and frome whens be ye
com?' 'Sir,' seyde Trystrames, 'I
com frome kyng Melyodas.'

The scribe seems to have committed two successive errors: first, he left out the italicized passage; but when he came to *Sir seyde Trystrames* he saw the same phrase two lines above and went on copying from that point onwards. In this way he restored the sentence he had omitted and repeated the next.

378. 28-30; 379. 24-6. In *F* Tristram conceals his identity during his first interview with Mark: 'ung varlet estrange suy, qui vous servira, s'il vous plaist' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 33^r, col. 2), and does not disclose it until just before the fight with Marhalt (ibid., f. 34^r, col. 1). *M* makes Tristram reveal his name the moment he arrives at the court: 'Sir,' seyde Trystrames, 'I com frome kyng Melyodas that wedded your systir.' On the next page *M*

forgets this and makes Tristram repeat that he is the son of Melyodas and of Mark's sister Elizabeth. If Mark's surprise is greater on the second occasion than on the first, the reason is that the second scene corresponds to the first recognition scene in *F*.

382. 19. *W*: the blood ran downe passynge sore. *C*: the blood ranne doune fressshly. *C*'s 'fressshly' is supported by *F*'s 'perdent de leur sang a grant foison', while *W*'s reading is most probably contaminated by the phrase 'passynge sore' in the previous line.

382. 29-30. *the edge of his swerde leffte in hys brayne-panne*. There is no reference to this in *F* until the bath scene (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 43^r, col. 2).

383. 8-10. *thy shyld shall I were in all placis where I ryde on myne adventures, and in the syght of kyng Arthure and all the Rounde Table*. It seems premature for Tristram to think of his association with the Round Table. *M* is obviously anxious to mention Arthur as early as possible. There is nothing in *F* that could have suggested this remark.

383. 20-1. *he myght nat within a lytyll whyle stonde. Whan he had takyn colde (he coude) unnethe styrre hym*. A homœoteleuton must have occurred in some early copy and swept away the words in caret brackets. Faced with the reading *whan he had takyn colde unnethe styrre hym*, *C* attempted to restore sense by deleting *stonde* in the previous sentence and making the two sentences into one, with *myght nat* as the verb. The result was: *he myzt not within a litel whyle when he had take cold vnnethe stere hym*. *W*, less enterprising than *C*, was content to insert *and* (&) between *colde* and *unnethe*, and in this way restored a mere semblance of sense (*and unnethe styrre hym*). The emended reading is, to my mind, the only satisfactory common denominator of the two extant ones, and the scribal error which links it up with both *C* and *W* is one of the commonest on record.

Apart from restoring the sense, the emendation brings out an interesting detail. What *C* and all modern editions say in effect is that owing to the cold and the loss of blood Tristram was unable to move. In *M* the description gains in realism by being divided into two parts: first, through loss of blood, Tristram cannot stand up; then the cold stiffens his limbs and he cannot stir.

384. 2. *all hys barownys*. *M* seems to ignore the fact that in *F* the barons are hostile to Tristram. Cf. p. 393, ll. 5-6 and 403. 12-14.

384. 7-17. *Than cam there a lady, &c.* The notion that a poisoned wound can only be healed in the country 'that the venym cam fro' is not found in any French version. It is based on an old popular belief which is scientifically, not unsound and has no supernatural implications. Indeed, it may well be argued that by introducing this explanation of Tristram's journey to Ireland *M* has avoided any suggestion of the supernatural: in *F* Tristram is set adrift upon the sea in a rudderless boat, and fate alone takes him to Ireland; in *M* he is advised to go there by a 'wytty lady' who tells him 'playnly' where he should go: 'he sholde never be hole but yf that sir Trystrames wente into the same contrey that the venym cam fro.' His journey thus ceases to be a *navigation à l'aventure*; leaving nothing to chance, he sails straight to the country where he hopes to find a remedy for his wounds.

384. 26. *my name is Tramtryste*. In *F* Tristram does not assume a false name until after the tournament. Cf. p. 1444.

385. 6. *La Beale Isode*. This is the first mention of Isode's name in *M's Tristram*. It comes as a surprise because the context does not suggest that Isode was the king's daughter or that she had healed Tristram's wounds; there is indeed nothing to connect the 'noble surgeon' in whose keeping Tristram had been placed with the lady to whom he 'cast great love'.

385. 6-8. *Tramtryste kyste grete love to La Beale Isode, &c.* This passage is at variance with *F's* account of how Tristram became Isode's knight. *F* makes it quite clear that *ce n'estoit pas pour amour qu'il y eust*, and that Tristram's sole desire was to supersede Palomides: 'Et puis qu'il vist que Palamedes la regardoit si merueilleusement, il dit qu'il l'avra ou il mourra, ne ja Palamedes pour povoir qu'il ait n'y advendra. S'il est bon chevalier, si soit: aussi bons en est il. . . . Ainsi monta Tristan en orgueil et en bouban pour la damoiselle. Il regarde Palamedes yreement, car il lui est bien avis qu'il lui toult l'amour d'Yseult' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 39^r, col. 2). The last remark seems to imply that rivalry not only prompted Tristram to fight in Isode's name but induced him to fall in love with her. That 'she began to have a grete fantasy unto hym' and that Tristram 'lerved hir to harpe' is also *M's* invention. Cf. also p. 389, l. 33.

385. 10. *W: sir Palomydes drew unto La Beale Isode. C: sir Palamydes the sarasyn was in that cuntry and wel cheryssed with the kynge and the quene And every day syr Palamydes drewe unto la beale Isoud. F: c'estoit Palamydes le bon chevalier sarasin.*

W's reading is probably the result of a homœoteleuton, but I have restored to the text only that part of *C's* variant which is supported by *F*.

388. 25. *asked afir sir Launcelot that wan the Dolorous Garde*. According to the Prose *Lancelot*, the 'Doloreuse Garde' was a castle built on a rock near the Humber. Its gates were always locked, and it had double walls; in each wall was a gate, and at each gate any knight wishing to enter the castle had to overcome ten hostile knights: 'Et li castiaus avoit non la Dolorouse Garde, por che que nus chevaliers errans n'i venist qu'il n'i morust ou qu'il ne fust emprisonés au mains si tost com l'en venoit au desus, et ch'estoit de tous cheus qui i venoient, car nus ne pooit souffrir la paine des armes qu'il i covenoit.' Lancelot's conquest of the 'Doloreuse Garde' was his first great exploit, and although it occurred very early in his career it did more than any of his subsequent adventures to enhance his fame. Cf. *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. Sommer, vol. iii, pp. 143-53.

388. 28. *Of the ten knyghtes of Arthures* only eight are mentioned in *F*: Gaherys, Agravain, Bagdemagus, Dodyus, Sagramor, Kay (Keu), Gumret, and Griflet.

389. 10-12. *undirstood that hit was sir Tramtryste that smote downe sir Palomydes*. In *F* Tristram's identity is disclosed by Brangwayne.

389. 15-20. *So uppon a day the quene and La Beale Isode made a bayne, &c.* In *F* Tristram is 'attended upon' in his bath by Isode and her mother. *M* probably thought that it might be easier for them to find the sword if they were not busy helping Tristram, and so replaced them by Gornaval and Hebes. But, like most 'logical' alterations, this has produced an illogical

result, for if Isode and her mother are not attending upon Tristram there is no need for them to 'rome up and down in the chambir', as they do in *M*.

389. 32. *for passynge well she loved Tramtryste*. Not in *F*. Cf. 385. 6-8.

390. 10-11. *she ran to the kyng her husbonde*, &c. In *F* the king, hearing the noise, comes of his own accord.

390. 23. *he* = Tristram.

390. 27. *hit woll nat awayle to compare ayenste me* (*C*: *compare the*). *Compare* (< Old French *compareir* reduced to its tonic stem *comper*) = 'to appear', and the phrase *compare ayenste me* = 'to appear before me' (Lat. *comparere*). *C* confused it with Lat. *comparare* and added the reflexive *the*, thus completely altering the sense. In his rendering the phrase would mean 'to compare thyself with me', or 'to compete against me'.

391. 5-7. See 372. 25-6.

392. 4-5. See 384. 7-17.

392. 23-30. This speech is not in *F*. It is a most interesting example of *M*'s own rhetoric. After a brief exordium ('Fayre lordys, now hit is so that I muste departe') Tristram offers to make amends for any offences *he* has committed, then challenges anyone who has wronged him. The two propositions are expressed in parallel terms:

(1) If there be any man here
that I have offended unto or that
any man be with me greved,
lette hym complayne hym here afore
me or that ever I departe,
and I shalle amende hit unto my
power.

(2) yf there be any man that
woll proffir me wronge other sey me
wronge other shame me behynde my
back, sey hit
now or ellys never,
and here is my body to make hit
good, body ayenste body.

393. 5-6. See 384. 2.

394. 23-4; 27-8; 34-5. *M* has added here a few realistic details: before going to bed Tristram and the wife of Segwarides *souped lyghtely*; when Tristram's wound opened it *bledde bothe the overshete and the neythersheete, and the pylowes and the hedeshete*; the lovers are discovered *by candyll lyght*.

396. 6. *W*: *the kyng com ascawnce com*. *C*: *the kynges astaunce came*. *C*'s original probably had a reading similar to *W*'s, with the parasitic *com* after *ascawnce*. *C* must have mistaken *ascawnce* for *astawnce* (= 'assistance') and deleted the first *com*. As a result, in all subsequent editions of *M* nothing is said about Mark coming in person to 'comfort' Tristram—an action which in *M* and in his French source appears as an example of the king's hypocrisy. Once this visit is predicated of Mark's 'assistance' instead of himself it loses all its meaning.

398. 26-7. '*For hit is seldom seyne . . . that ye Cornysse knyghtes bene valyaunte men in armys*.' This attitude to Cornish knights is quite common in early Tristan romances,¹ and the notion that Cornishmen are weak and

¹ Cf. Bérout, *Tristran* (ed. Muret), ll. 848-52:

Quant le Morhout prist ja cı port,
Qui a venoit por nos enfanz,
Nos barons fist si tos taisanz
Que onques n'ot un si hardi
Qui s'en osast armer vers lui.

cowardly was part of the original conception of the story: as long as Tristan's enemies were weak his reluctance to fight them was clearly due not to fear but to motives of a higher order. The whole essence of the early Tristan romance is the silent conflict between the superhuman power of love represented by the magic potion on the one hand, and the strength of feudal allegiance on the other. The tragedy arises from the fact that the lovers never refuse to recognize the rightfulness and the sanctity of the social order which causes their misfortune. They can neither alter nor escape it, and because they know this they do not defy their enemies. The poet is anxious to stress the fact that if only the lovers had been morally capable of resistance nothing would have stood in the way of their happiness—no external circumstance would have debarred them from it. When Tristan is found guilty he says to Mark:

Beaus oncles, de moi ne me chaut:
 Bien sai, venuz sui a mau saut.
 Ne fust por vos a corocier,
 Cist plez fust ja venduz mot chier;
 Ja, por lor eulz, ne le pensasent
 Que ja de lor mains m'atochasent;
 Mais envers vos nen ai je rien.
 Or, tort a mal ou tort a bien,
 De moi ferez vostre plesir,
 Et je sui prest de vos souffrir (Bérout, ll. 787-94).

The allusion to the cowardice of Cornish knights is here simply a means of showing the absence of any material obstacle to Tristan's freedom. In the French Prose Romance the position is completely altered by the fact that Tristan is no longer a tragic figure, but a brave and valiant knight whose behaviour is fully justified by the code of chivalry. As the hero of the story he has no scruples in openly challenging Mark, who is a mere villain. The story thus degenerates into a physical struggle between a perfect knight-lover and a treacherous enemy of knighthood, and the prose version of the death of the lovers—the murder of Tristan by Mark—is a natural consequence of this change.¹ There is no longer any necessity for the author to make the Cornish people appear physically weak; one might even say that, on the contrary, it would have served his purpose better to have given Tristan strong and dangerous opponents. The references to the weakness of Cornish knights, which appear both in the French Prose Romance and in *M*, are therefore survivals of a remote past, and both *M* and the French prose-writer would probably have been at a loss to explain them.

401. 9. *W*: where he bete sir Gawayne and his nine felowys. *C*: . . . where ye bete, &c. *C*'s reading contradicts the earlier account of the tournament as given both by *C* and by *W* (p. 387): 'sir Gawayne and his felowys nine had mervayle who hit myght be that had smitten downe sir Palomydes. Than wolde there none juste with Tramtryste but all that there were forsoke hym, moste and leste.'

402. 35-6. *I shall know hir passyngly well that I shall love other truste*

¹ Cf. my *Études sur le Tristan en prose*, pp. 15-17.

(*C: I shalle her knowe, &c.*) = 'I shall now know better whom I can love and trust.'

403. 12-14. *kyng Marke caste all the wayes that he myght to dystroy sir Trystrames and than imageden in hymself to sende sir Trystramys into Irelande.*

In *F* the plot is framed by the barons: 'les barons si distrent au roy que moult se merveilloient qu'il ne prenoit femme' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 49^v, col. 1). Cf. 384. 2.

403. 15-16. *hir beault and goodnesse.* 'Goodnesse' is not in *F*: 'celle m'avés vous tesmoigné a estre la plus belle femme du monde' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 50^r, col. 1).

403. 28-9. *a tempeste toke them and drove them into the coste of Ingelonde.*

On the purpose of this diversion, see 406. 13-15.

404. 12-13. See 308. 26-7.

404. 16-18. *sir Bleoberys and sir Blamour de Ganys that were brethyrn they had assomned kyng Angwysse, &c.* In *F* the king is challenged by Blamore alone: 'si dit l'un d'eux qui avoit nom Blanor et estoit frere Blioberis' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 51^v, col. 2). *M* seems to have mistaken *et estoit* for *et le suen*.

405. 19; 28, &c. *chylde* = 'shield'. This spelling is rare but not unknown in *M*'s time. Modern editors have been misled by it and have printed this passage as though it referred to an unfortunate child carried away by Breunis Saunze Pity who after being smitten to the ground by Tristram returns the child in a 'remedyed' state to a lady 'makyngre grete dole'. It is clear from the French source that Breunis Saunze Pity had carried away a *shield*: 'Ainsi comment ilz s'entrefestoient, estés vous entree une damoiselle es pavillons qui portoit ung escu a son col d'autre maniere qu'ilz en eussent pièce veu. Car il y avoit pourtrait un chevalier et une dame qui s'entrebaisoient. Et estoit, ce sembloit, tout l'escu desjoint de la pointe desoubz jusquez a la bouche desseure en hault, et joingnoit la ou la bouche de la dame joingnoit a la bouche au chevalier.' *M* omitted this description and so laid the word *chylde* with its ambiguous spelling open to misinterpretation. There is, however, no ambiguity in his subsequent references to this episode (p. 467, ll. 5-16 and pp. 470, l. 25-471, l. 3).

The story is borrowed from the Prose *Lancelot* (cf. P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, vol. iii, pp. 343-5). For a more detailed analysis of *M*'s treatment of it, see my *Roman de Tristan*, pp. 221-5.

405. 19. *unto sir Launcelot.* In *F* Lancelot's name is not disclosed until later.

406. 13-15. *So God me helpe, seyde sir Trystrames, this is the beste tydynges that ever com to me this seven yere, for now shall the kyng of Irelande have nede of my helpe.* The whole adventure is clearly designed to place the king of Ireland under an obligation to Tristram. The same purpose is achieved in the early versions of the legend by means of Tristram's successful fight with the dragon and the king's promise to give his daughter's hand to anyone who would kill the monster.

In *M* and in his immediate source the motivation is more elaborate. There is a tempest which drives Tristram and his companions 'into the coste of Ingelonde' (p. 403, ll. 28-9), a combat of two well-proved knights, a clash of spears, a fierce battle on foot, and finally a reconciliation. The whole evolution of the Tristram story from a primitive tale to a romance

of chivalry is reflected in the contrast between the epic fight with the dragon and the conventional romantic duel

407. 34-5. 'I have no doute of you . . . that and ye sholde have ado with sir Launcelot de Lake.' Unless this is intended to be an incomplete sentence interrupted by Tristram's remark ('As for sir Launcelot', &c.) it should mean: 'I have no doubt but that you should', &c.

410. 19-22. *My lordes . . . beatyn his hearte*. On this passage, see *Introduction*, pp. xcvi-xcix.

410. 25-6. *his parte his adversary* (C: *his parte aduersary*) = 'the adversary of his party.'

411. 10-12. *But the joy that La Beale Isode made of sir Trystrames there myght no tunge telle, for all men erthely she loved hym moste*. While adding this M omits the corresponding remarks about Tristan: 'Et quant il fu sain et gari et il vit la beauté de Yseult qui tant estoit belle que on ne parloit fors que de sa beauté prés et loing, si lui change moult le courage et mue en divers pensers' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 55^v, col. 2).

411. 13-14. *kyng Angwoyshe asked sir Trystrames why he asked nat his bone*. In F Tristram claims the boon without being reminded of the king's promise.

411. 35-412. 2. *W: than quene Isodes modir gaff dame Brangwayne unto hir to be hir janyllwoman and also she and Governayle had a drynke of the quene and she charged them*, &c. In the early versions of the French Romance of Tristan the fatal potion which the lovers drink on their journey to Cornwall is entrusted by Iseult's mother to the care of her servants, whom she asks to give it to Mark and Iseult on their wedding-night. The potion is so made that those who drink it are bound by ties of ever-lasting love. By mistake Isode drinks it with Tristan before they reach the land of King Mark. The whole effect of this episode obviously depends upon Iseult's being unaware of the miraculous power of the potion until, by a fatal error, she and Tristan become its victims:

Il ne m'aime pas, ne je lui,
Fors par un herbé dont je bui
Et il en but: ce fut pechiez.
Por ce nos a li rois chaciez. (Bérout, 1413-16).

In C Iseult's mother gives the potion to *her*, and the whole sequence of events from this point onwards becomes unintelligible: 'Thenne the quene Isouds moder gaf to her and dame Bragwayne, her daughters gentilwoman, and unto Governale a drynke, and charged them that what day kynge Marke shold wedde, that same daye they shold gyve hym that drynke, soo that kynge Marke shold drynke to la Beale Isoud.' In W (and most probably in M) the queen gives Iseult a servant whose name is Brangwayne (the conjunction between *her* and *dame* in C is spurious) and entrusts to that servant and Governale 'a drynke'. What C did was simply to change *gaf dame Brangwayne unto her to gaf to her and dame Bragwayne*.

412. 3-4. *that kynge Marke sholde drynke to La Beale Isode* may suggest that the potion was to be drunk by Mark alone. In F (as in all French versions of the story) it is intended for both Mark and Isode.

412. 10. *The flakette of gold*. A 'silver cup' in *F*.
415. 7-8 *with an awke stroke he smote of hir hede*. In *F* Tristram is reluctant to comply with this custom: 'Mauldit soit qui ceste coustume establ! Je le feray puisque autrement ne puist estre, mais oncques ne fis chose plus envis, car j'en seray honny a toute ma vie' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 60^v, col. 2). In *M* he expresses his indignation earlier on, but once he has won the lady he cuts off her head without any regret.
415. 32. *and strake of his hede*. In *F* Brewnor dies of his wounds.
418. 11-419. 10. *And meanewhyle worde com to sir Launcelot . . . the nobles that folowyth sir Launcelot*. The story of how Lancelot defeated and killed Carados, who had bound Gawain hand and foot, is a good example of a seemingly irrelevant 'cyclic' digression. The episode is borrowed from the French Prose *Lancelot*, and there is a reference to it in *M*'s own *Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot*, where Turquyn complains that his brother Carados has been killed by Lancelot at the Dolorous Tower. In the context of the *Tristram* this adventure serves no purpose except that of illustrating once more the 'nobles that folowyth sir Launcelot'. From *F*'s point of view it is not even a specimen of a chivalric deed. What matters to the prose-writer is not the meaning of the adventure or its bearing on the protagonist's character, but the opportunity of adding yet another link with the Arthurian Cycle.
418. 13. *a gyaunte why(gh)*. Neither *C* ('that') nor *W* ('whyche') makes sense, but *whyche* is clearly a misreading of *whyght*, and *that*—the 'second degree' of corruption—a variant of *whyche*. Cf. *Introduction*, p. lxxix.
419. 9. *and sayde*. The subject of *sayde* may be either Galahalte or those who brought him the news of Lancelot's victory over Carados. *C* solves the difficulty by omitting the verb.
419. 17. *they* = Mark and Isode
419. 25-6. *by the assente of two ladyes that were with the quene they ordayned for hate and enweye for to distroy dame Brangwayne*. In *F* the initiative comes from Isode. She first bids Brangwayne take her place beside Mark on the wedding-night, and then, to get rid of a dangerous witness, orders her servants to murder her.
427. 21-3; 27-9. *M* seems to imply that the king was genuinely glad to welcome Tristram back to court: *and no rehersall was made, and than there was game and play*. In *F*, 'le roi monstre a Tristan moult bel semblant pour le decevoir: il est plus sire de son hostel qu'il ne fu oncques mais.' Nor is it clear from *M*'s account that the thirty knights who were 'ever redy . . . to juste unto all that cam at that tyme' were Tristram's enemies, anxious to avenge the deaths of their two 'brothers' whom Tristram had killed. Cf. MS. B.N. fr. 103, ff. 71^r, col. 1 and 74^r, col. 2.
429. 31. *they mette with a knyght*. In *F* the horn is to be delivered by a lady and a squire.
430. 15. *there were but four ladyes*. MS. B.N. fr. 103: *two* ladies. This is one of the very few cases where *M* agrees with the majority of French versions against MS. B.N. fr. 103.
431. 16-24. *Fayre lordis! remembir what I have done, &c.* In *F* Tristram does not boast of his exploits but is praised for them by the people of Corn-

wall. '« Ha, Tristan ! » font ilz, « s'il souvensist au roy de l'angoisse que tu souffris encontre le Morhoult pour la franchise de Cornouaille, ne te feist pas mettre a mort »' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 75^v, col. 2). Cf. 442. 17-23.

432. 8-9. *he remembred he was naked*. That Tristram should risk his life in order not to be seen naked is *M*'s own reading of the episode. In *F* Tristram's motives are of a higher order: he wants to avoid a shameful death. 'Se je muir, ce ne sera pas par si vil gent comme vous estes, ainchois me laroie cheor en celle mer' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 76^r, col. 1).

432. 23-5. *he toke hys men and wente thereas was La Beale Isode, &c.* In *F* Tristram's friends rescue Isode before they meet him.

433. 15-16. *The lady that was cosyn unto dame Brangwayne* who advises Tristram to go to Brittany is in *F* Brangwayne herself who tells him (of her own accord, not, as in *M*, at Isode's instigation) that he should see Isode of the White Hands: 'celle sceit tant de medicine qu'elle vous ara tantost gari.' *F* explains further that had Isode the Fair been free she would have healed Tristram's wound, but she was at that time imprisoned by Mark.

434. 24-9. Not only is this paragraph absent from *F*, but the remark that *by cause sir Trystrames had suche chere and ryche and all other plesance . . . he had allmoste forsakyn La Beale Isode* is in contradiction with the whole meaning of the episode in *F*. All French versions make it abundantly clear that Tristram could never forget Isode the Fair: 'ja n'ombliera Yseult tant come il vive, ains l'aime orendroit plus qu'il ne fist oncques mais: pour elle languist nuit et jour, pour elle veille et pour elle pense.' He has no desire to marry the second Isode, and his betrothal to her is the result of an unfortunate misunderstanding between him and her brother: the latter hears him sigh for Isode and imagines that he loves Isode of the White Hands. For fear of *se descowrir* he lets the betrothal be announced and never explains the mistake. As a true courtly lover he cannot disclose his real feelings; his love is a sacred trust, and to divulge its secret would be an offence against the Isode he loves. He remains silent and is forced to accept 'celle Yseult a qui ne pensoit mie'.

435. 4-5. *Also hit makyth mencion that the lady wente there had be no plesure but kysynge and clyppyng.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 80^r, col. 2). 'Et elle qui d'autre solas fors d'acoler et de baisier ne savoit rien, s'endort entre les bras Tristan.'

II

LAMEROK DE GALYS

(E. Loseth, op. cit., §§ 64-6; E. Vinaver, *Le Roman de Tristan*, &c., p. 170; *F* = MS. B.N. fr. 103, ff. 91^r, col. 1-95^r, col. 2.)

442. 7-8. The remark that one cannot *hate a noble knyght for a lyght lady* would have made little sense in the context of a courtly romance.

442. 17-23. *Wete you well, fayre lady, &c.* In *F*, where Tristram is generally more modest, the speaker is Segwarides. Cf. 431. 16-26.

443. 28-9. *And hit sholde have gone to kynge Arthure.* Without these words, omitted in *C*, the next paragraph would make no sense.

447. 33-4. *to save his lyff* = 'to save the knight's life'. Cf. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 91^v, col. 1): 'Car se le roy Artu qui est nostre sire liege estoit cy et nous priot que nous le leississon, n'en ferion nous rien pour lui, ains l'occirion.'

449. 16-17. '*Ye ar the more uncurteyse,*' seyde sir Froll, '*and therefore I woll departe felyshyp.*' In *F* Froll recognizes in Lamorak the murderer of his father: 'car vous occistes mon pere devant Kamaalot, et pour ce ne vous pourroye je amer, je leisse vostre compaignie' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 93^r, col. 1).

449. 21-3. *Lamerok founde a knyght at a welle slepyng and his lady sate with hym and waked.* *F*: 'ung chevalier et une damoiselle dormant ensemble.'

449. 23-451. 12. *Ryght so com sir Gawayne . . . myght nat stonde.* In *F* the unknown knight (Luces) is attacked by Lamorak who then has an argument with Gauvain. When Belliaunce comes upon the scene and attacks Gauvain Lamorak challenges him and after a long fight brings him to the ground. The order of episodes in the two versions is, then, as follows:

F:

Lamorak's fight with Luces

Dialogue between Lamorak and Gauvain

Belliaunce's fight with Gauvain

Lamorak's fight with Belliaunce

M:

Gauvain's fight with the unknown knight

Lamorak's fight with Gauvain

Belliaunce's fight with Lamorak

M's version is clearly a simplification of the pattern used in *F*: the challenger is attacked in each case by the next arrival until the whole personnel is exhausted and the last two fighters make peace; 'aythir kysse othir with wepyngtearys' (p. 451, ll. 22-3).

451. 20. *myne evyll wyll.* Sommer thought this was a misprint for '*thyn evil will*' (op. cit., vol. II, p. 22), but there can be no doubt about the correctness of the reading. The phrase is modelled on the French *je vous pardonne mon mautalent*, meaning 'I forgive you'. While translating very accurately each element of the phrase (*mau* = evil, *talent* = will), *M* has misunderstood the phrase as a whole, for the O.F. noun *mautalent* means 'anger', not ill will, and the verb *pardonner* in this context means 'to give up', 'to renounce', 'to remit'; it has much the same connotation as the Late Latin *perdonare* in the following passage from *Romulus* (ed. Thiele, li): 'cumque respondisset populo causam mutui benefici id esse, vita utrique a populo incolomitate *perdonatur* et sic simul dimissi sunt, leo ad silvam, homo pergit ad sua.' Examples such as

*Que tout li pardonna ses sires
Son mautalent et sa grant ire*

(*Le Roman de Renart*, 14521) are frequent in Old French (cf. *La Chanson de Roland*, cxlix; *Le Roman de la Rose*, 3151). The modern sense 'to forgive' is clearly due to an ellipsis of the direct object ('mautalent', 'ire', 'peine'), but the Old French '*je vous pardonne mon mautalent*' requires the original wide connotation of 'pardonner'. Even if *M* himself knew what the phrase

I forgyff the myne evyll wyll stood for in this context it is doubtful whether any of his English readers ever understood it correctly. The editors of the *Oxford Eng. Dict.* quote the phrase *for gaf his euell wille* and translate *euell wille* 'ill will'. Cf. 845. 6-7.

III

LA COTE MALE TAYLE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Meyer, Paul, et Paris, Gaston, 'Fragment du Vallet à la Cote mal taillée', *Romania*, xxvi, 276 ff.

Löseth, E., op. cit., §§ 66-73.

Vinaver, Eugène, *Le Roman de Tristan*, &c., pp. 41-5, 170-3.

SOURCES

This section corresponds to ff. 95^v, col. 1-107^v, col. 1 and 133^v, col. 2-144^v, col. 2 of MS. B.N. fr. 103. Most of the other versions fall into two large groups: some, like B.N. fr. 12599 and 750, give an uninterrupted account of the adventures of La Cote Male Tayle ('Mal Taillé' in French), while in others these adventures alternate with episodes drawn from the Prose *Tristan* proper. The majority of the extant MSS. belong to the latter group.

With the aid of the symbols *a*, *b*, and *c* for the three sections of the romance of La Cote, and *m* and *n* for the *Tristan* episodes, the differences between the two groups may be tabulated as follows:

First Group: *a b c m n*.

Second Group: *a m b n c*.

MS. B.N. fr. 103 is half-way between the two groups. Expressed in the same symbols, the order of episodes in that manuscript would be *a b m c n*. This means that before interpolating the first *Tristan* episode (*m*) MS. 103 gives a larger section of the *La Cote* story than do the MSS. of the Second Group, but a smaller one than that found in the MSS. of the First Group.

Malory agrees in this respect with the texts of the First Group, but otherwise the two MSS. which represent it often differ from his version; *Brunor* in Malory and in many French MSS. becomes *Brun* in 750 and 12599; the circumstances of Tristram's arrival at the court of Mark are the same in Malory as in nearly all MSS., except 750, &c. It seems likely, therefore, that Malory used a version similar to that of 103 and re-established the continuity of the story by inverting *m* and *c*, unless, of course, this very simple change was effected by the author of his immediate source. In either case 103 would be the best extant version of the 'French Book'.

461. 29. *welde this chylde*. On this spelling of 'shield', see 405. 19; 28.

461. 30-1. *go whoso go woll for I woll nat go with you*. In *F* Kay uses more refined language: 'Baillés cha cil escu, je le vous garderay et le dourray ou vous commanderés.'

461. 35-462. 4.

W:

'I woll take this shyld and the adventure *uppon me* what and I wyste whothirward my jurney myght be. For because I was this day made knyght I wolde take this *adventure uppon me*.' 'What is', &c.

C:

'I wille take the shelde and that adventure upon me, soo I wyst I shold knowe whederward my journey myght be. For bycause I was thys daye made knyght I wold take this adventure upon me.' 'What is', &c.

The most puzzling feature of this passage is the occurrence of the word *what* in the first sentence in *W*. The scribe must have started here a homœoteleuton (caused by the repetition of the words 'adventure uppon me') but, having written *what*, realized his mistake, went back to the right place, and forgot to expunct the redundant *what*.

463. 13-14. *W*: 'my gryff is now though ye gryff me no more.' *C*: '... ye gyue me no more.' *W* is clearly preferable. La Cote Male Tayle asks the evil-tongued lady to abuse him no more: his distress, he adds, is great enough as it is, even though her words distress him no longer. *C*'s reading is obscure, and the alteration of 'gryff' to 'gyue' (probably through 'gyff') has made it impossible for modern editors to make sense of this passage.

465. 30-466. 9. *With that she sente a corroure of hers, &c.* This episode seems to have been added by *M* with the object of stressing the damsel's diffidence: not only does she question La Cote's strength and valour, but she suspects him of being a liar and sends her own messenger to verify his account of the Castle Orgulous adventure.

466. 10-30. '*Be my hede, seyde sir Mordred, &c.*' There is no counterpart to this speech in *F*, where Mordred simply urges the lady to be less aggressive: 'Trop estes envieuse de dire villennie et felonnie a cest chevalier. Si m'aist Dieu, se vous m'en eussies autant dit, je ne suis pas si amesuré que je ne vous eusse pieça fait laidure.' Nor is there any parallel to *M*'s description of knightly usages and exercises (from the words 'I doute nat' onwards).

467. 11-14. *And that was she that sir Breunys Saunze Pitt toke the shyld frome.* *M* seems to have confused the shield sent to Lancelot by the Lady of the Lake with the one which Damsel Maledysaunte had brought to Arthur's court.

468. 24-5. The alternative punctuation would be: ... *resseyved hym. 'Fayre sir,' &c.*

470. 5. *thirty knyghtes.* *F*: 130.

470. 20-5. *And whan the damesell and sir La Cote Male Tayle understood that hit was sir Launcelot that had rydden with hem in felyship and that she remembirde her how she had rebuked hym and called hym cowarde, than she was passyng hevvy.* Instead of *and that* one would normally expect *and whan* or *than*. But the reading can be justified as a Gallicism: *that* replaces *whan* in the second temporal clause just as *que* can replace *quand* or *lorsque*.

471. 10-23. This part of the dialogue, untraceable as it is to *F*, shows once more *M*'s desire to account for the damsel's behaviour towards La Cote. The explanation he tries to suggest is that she rebuked La Cote not because she disliked him, but because she loved him and thought that in this way

she might prevent him from risking his life. *And therefore be my wyll I wolde have dryeyn hym away for jelosy that I had of hys lyff.*

475. 35-476. 25. *And as sir Launcelot cam by the Castell of Pendragon, &c.*

This occurs in no other version of the story of La Cote, but the pattern of the denouement is a familiar one: land and titles are distributed among the victorious champions, those who are not knights of the Round Table are allowed to join it 'at Pentecoste nexte folowyng', and the protagonist marries the lady in whose name he has been fighting—a prelude to 'many worshipfull dedys'. The story of Alexander the Orphan ends in much the same way.

IV

TRISTRAM'S MADNESS AND EXILE

(Loseth, *op. cit.*, §§ 71-124; Vinaver, *Le Roman de Tristan*, &c., pp. 174-81.)

For the major part of this section MS. B.N. fr. 103 is the best representative of Malory's source, and I have used it for my collation as far as f. 184^v, col. 2 (p. 513 in Malory). On p. 517 the King of North Wales asks Palomides to be his champion, but Palomides refuses to fight for him and says, 'I am full lothe to have ado with that knyght, and cause why as to-morne the grete turnemente shall be. And therefore I wolde kepe myself freyssh be my wyll.' Here Malory is at variance with MS. B.N. fr. 103, but agrees with B.N. fr. 334: 'Et nonpourquant pour ce que vos me priez que je aille jouter a lui, je le ferai non mie de ma volenté, mes ausint comme a force, car je tieng moult bien vostre priere a une grant force' (f. 227^r, col. 1). From p. 513 (l. 5) I have, therefore, identified *F* with MS. B.N. fr. 334. A curious peculiarity of that manuscript is the spelling of the hero's name. Instead of the usual French form, *Tristan*, it has the recognized English form, *Tristram*, which does not occur in any other French MS. that has the slightest connexion with Malory. It is, of course, possible that he had known it through the English tradition and found it in such works as Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight* (l. 336).

481. 6-9. *and hir conclusyon was, &c.* In *F* Isode's letter, far from being a polite invitation to com to hir courte and bryng... *Isode le Blaunche Maynys*, is a complaint reminiscent of the early Tristan poems: 'Amy Tristan, ce change m'occist et tue, et je seuffre tout le mal que chetif cœur peut souffrir' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 107^v, col. 2).

481. 18-19. *W: the Foreyste Perelus; C: the castel peryllous. F* (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 108^r, col. 2) supports *W*: 'la forest de Darnantes.' *M* has omitted *Darnantes*, and the name he gives the forest must have been suggested to him by the remark of the hermit in *F*: *elle est moult perilleuse et aventureuse* (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 108^v, col. 1).

483. 12-14. *So sir Tristram . . . laysshed at sir Lamerok and thus they faught longe ylle aythir were wery of other.* This remark interrupts the fight between Tristram and Lamerok. In *F* their conversation does not begin until the

fight is over, for it would be contrary to chivalric practice to 'laysshe at each other' in the middle of a dialogue.

484. 6-8. *And in hys body there was such a noyse, &c.* Here is *F*'s description of the 'questing beast': 'yssoit d'elle ung si grant glatissement comment se vint brachés glatissoient devant elle.' *M*'s rendering is almost literal, except that the 'vingt brachés' become *twenty couple of houndys*. Cf. MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 109^v, col. 2.

484. 18-22. *Here men may undirstonde, &c.* This discourse on *male fortune* is largely *M*'s own. *F* only says: 'maints chevaliers abatent souvent meilleurs chevaliers qui (= qu'ils) ne sont.'

486. 34-487. 32. 'Sir,' *seyde sir Mellygaunce, 'I shall telle you for what cause we do thys batayle,' &c.* This is one of *M*'s most significant additions. In *F* Lancelot is not told why Lamorak has been fighting Mellygaunce, and Mellygaunce's love for Guinevere remains a secret. Lamorak only remarks that Mellygaunce '« a emprise la plus folle emprise que chevalier preist oncques ». « Et quelle? » fait Lancelot. « Sire, je ne le vous diray pas, » car il savoit bien, s'il lui disoit, qu'il l'occiroit tantost.' *M* seems to have taken little notice of these words. Lancelot, in his version, hearing that Mellygaunce has been praising Guinevere's beauty and that Lamorak has declared the Queen of Orkeney 'fayrar than she and more of beauté', promptly takes exception not to Mellygaunce but to Lamorak, whom he accuses of *lèse-majesté*: 'Hit ys nat thy parte to dispraise thy prynces that thou arte undir obeysaunce and we all.' He challenges Lamorak to a single combat, to 'preve . . . that queene Guenever ys the fayryst lady and moste of bounté in the world'. Lamorak then explains to him that there is no necessity for them to fight since *every knyght thynkith his owne lady fayryste*—an argument which, if used consistently by knights-errant, would have saved them many a battle and by the same token would have destroyed the whole fabric of courtly chivalry. Unconscious of its implications, *M* develops it further in the speech which he gives to Blioberis: 'I warne you I have a lady, and methynkith that she ys the fayryst lady of the worlde. *Were thys a grete reson that ye sholde be wrothe with me for such langage?*' Only a complete misunderstanding of the habits of knight-errantry can account for the fact that Lancelot agrees with this and makes amends for his 'offence'.

487. 29. *evyll wyll* stands for the French *mautalent*, meaning 'wrath'. Cf. 451. 20.

488. 12-13. *for as yet harde I never that evir good knyght com oute of Cornwayle.* Cf. 398. 26-7.

488. 25. *W: he gaff sir Kay a falle.* In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 113^v, col. 1) Tor is defeated by Kay. In *C*'s reading—*that knyght gaf, &c.*—that may refer to either.

488. 30. See 398. 26-7.

489. 5-6. *Sir Kay folowed hym, but he wolde none of hys felyship.* This can best be explained by reference to *F*, where Tristram, treacherously attacked by Kay, Brandiles, and Tor, who want to prove his inferiority, defeats them all, but naturally resents their unchivalrous behaviour and their contempt for Cornish knights.

489. 33-490. 2. 'A,' *seyde sir Kay, 'and ye be sir Trystrams,' &c.* Kay's

speech is not in *F*. *M*'s object in inserting it is doubtless to emphasize once more Lancelot's superiority over all other knights. When Tristram is being recognized by all as 'the knyght in the worlde that the felyship of the Rounde Table desyryth moste to have the company off', *M* is anxious to remind the reader that if Tristram is a good knight Lancelot is unsurpassed, 'for he beryth nat the lyff crystynde nother hethynde that canne fynde such anothir knyght'.

490. 5-13. *Now shall ye here, &c.* In *F* the speaker is Arthur.

490. 6. *Foreyste Perelous*. *F*: 'la forest de Darnantes.' Cf. 481. 18-19.

490. 21. *W*'s *hys* is clearly a mistake. The knights who accompanied lady Aunowre were hers, not Arthur's; otherwise Arthur would have been saved long before Tristram had come to the rescue. They were probably the same two knights who fought with King Arthur on foot 'undirnethe a castel' (p. 491). That Arthur was not accompanied by any of his knights is clear from the remark on p. 492: 'and so he (= Tristram) bare kynge Arthure felyshyp tyll he mette with som of hys knyghtes.'

493. 31-2. *and many londis and grete rychesse have I forsakyn for youre love.* Not in *F*. In the earliest extant poem of Tristan there is a half-farcical scene at the fountain: Tristan and Iseult are plainly lying, knowing that King Mark, who is hiding in a tree, can overhear them. To prove their innocence, Iseult pretends to be annoyed with Tristan for having summoned her; he excuses himself by saying:

Engagiez est tot mon hernois.
Car me le faites delivrer. . . .
Yseut, por Deu, de moi pensez,
Envers mon oste m'aquitez.

(Béroul, *Tristan*, ed. Muret, 204-18.)

This, however, is not intended to be taken seriously. On a later occasion, just before leaving the forest of Morrois, Tristan expresses regret at having forsaken chivalry:

Oublié ai chevalerie,
A seure cort et baronie. (Ibid., 2165-6.)

But neither in the early poems nor in the Prose Romance does he complain of having forsaken lands and wealth for Iseult's sake.

493. 34-494. 5. *But as for the, sir Keyhydys, &c.* In *F* Tristram simply says, *Kehedin, je vous deffy*, and makes no comment on his 'falsed and treson'. In *M* his challenge takes the form of a long oration in which he proudly refers to all the great services he has rendered to King Howell and his family, and implies that Kehydys's action is the more reprehensible because it shows a lack of gratitude. It is, however, surprising that Tristram should regard it as a credit to himself that when he wedded Isode la Blaunche Maynys he, as a 'trew knyght', left her 'a clene maydyn'. In the French tradition this is treated as an offence, and Tristan takes great care to conceal it. The episode of the 'bold water' serves to disclose the truth, and the discovery makes Isode's brother indignant: 'Tous trois chevauchèrent en silence jusqu'à la maison de chasse. Là Kaherdin appela Tristan à parlement, et lui dit: « Sire Tristan, ma sœur m'a avoué la vérité de ses noces.

Je vous tenais à pair et à compaignon. Mais vous avez faussé votre foi et honni ma parenté. Désormais, si vous ne me faites droit, sachez que je vous défie. » (Joseph Bédier, *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut*, p. 224.)

495. 8-501. 11. *Than sir Trystrames . . . what maner man he was.* From his encounter with Fergus and until his return to the court of King Mark Tristram is a prey to his *folie*. The description of his madness caused by sorrow is one of the most remarkable features of the traditional Tristan romances. It brings out the two essential features of the legend, its tragic conception and its kinship with the early 'fabliau' tradition. *M* had no access to any of the early versions, but he seems to have recaptured something of the original spirit of the story. He refrains from dwelling on the causes of Tristram's 'woodness'; he simply relates how Tristram met one of his knights, Fergus, and how the moment he saw Fergus he fell in a faint and remained unconscious for three days. Tristram's madness then begins, and it is aggravated by his encounter with another friend, the damsel sent by Palomides: 'the more she made of hym, the more was hys payne.' Finally, the lady who brings him his harp in order to comfort him makes his sorrow still more acute: 'than wolde he harpe and play there-uppon and wepe togydirs.' In *F* Tristram listens to the lady and the sound of the harp seems to soothe his pain. Unlike *F*, *M* feels that the presence of one's nearest friends who can understand the real depth of one's grief only brings it home with greater poignancy. Tristram rushes away into the wilderness, 'brasting down' trees and boughs, 'naked, leane and poore of fleyshe'. Then he goes to live with the shepherds, who give him food but beat him with rods for his 'shrewd deeds'. They clip him with shears and make him look like a fool, so that Dagonet takes him for a fellow-fool and even Isode fails to recognize him when she finds him in the garden resting in the sunshine. He has by now fully recovered his 'remembrance', and at the very moment when he recognizes Isode he knows he must go into exile again: 'Go frome me,' he says, 'for much angir and daunger have I ascaped for youre love.' His madness thus ends with a return to what had caused it, a realization of his tragic fate. The whole story of his life in the wilderness has an unusual suggestive quality: instead of describing Tristram's state of mind *M* brings out the outward signs of it, such as the playing of the harp, Tristram's pain at hearing it, and his inability to escape its charm. All this is much more striking than any of the complaints in the *Lay Mortel* inserted in the corresponding place in the Prose Romance. There is an interesting parallel to this in the Middle English *Sir Orfeo*, ll. 267-80 (see *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*, ed. Sisam, p. 22):

His harp, whereon was al his gle,
He hidde in an holwe tre;
And, when þe weder was clere and briȝt,
He toke his harp to him wel riȝt,
And harped at his owhen wille.
Into alle þe wode þe soun gan schille. . . .
And alle þe foules þat þer were
Come and sete on ich a brere,

To here his harping afine,
So miche melody was perin;
And when he his harping lete wold,
No best bi him abide nold.

This passage could easily have suggested to *M* the two essential elements of his account: the hero's life in the wilderness and the solace he finds in listening to the harp, 'whereon was al his gle'.

496. 25-504. 16. The difference between the order of episodes in *M* and in *F* will be seen from the following table:

<i>M</i> :	<i>MS. B.N. fr. 103</i> :
p. 496. 10-497. 2	corresponds to f. 161 ^v , col. 1-2.
„ 497. 3-9	„ „ 121 ^r , col. 2-121 ^v , col. 1.
„ 497. 10-498. 8	„ „ 125 ^r , col. 1-129, col. 1.
„ 498. 9-32	„ „ 161 ^v , col. 2-163 ^r , col. 1.
„ 498. 33-499. 24	„ „ 130 ^v , col. 1-133 ^r , col. 1.
„ 499. 25-31	„ „ 162 ^r , col. 1, ll. 18-36.
„ 499. 32-504. 16	„ „ 163 ^r , col. 1-166 ^v , col. 1.

The phrase *a l'ytill before that tyme* on p. 497, l. 10 seems to suggest that at least some of these differences are due to *M*.

497. 37-498. 1. *all the mysseease that sir Trystramys hath was for a lettir that he founde*. Not in *F*. *M* does not explain how King Mark found out this. Nor does *M* seem to realize that if Mark had known the circumstances of Tristram's quarrel with Kehydyns he would also have known that Tristram had returned, and the recognition scene would have become pointless.

498. 28. '*A*, seyde kyng Marke, &c. In *F* Matto is recognized by one of his knights.

499. 3-4. *And all thys ded sir Andred bycause he wolde have had sir Trystramys londis*. This is *M*'s explanation of Andred's stratagem and of his hostile attitude to Tristram. *F* says that Andred (Sandret) spread the false rumour of Tristram's death, but makes no attempt to account for his motives.

499. 13. *a plum tre*. *F*: 'un creux arbre.'

500. 9-10. *come betwyxte thys knyght and hys horse and leped uppon hym*. It is possible, though not quite certain, that *C*'s reading is more authentic than this: '... hors and toke the hors and lepte', &c.

500. 11-12. *toke hym by the coler and pulled hym afore hym uppon hys horse* is an expansion of *F*'s *P'aert par le bras*.

501. 14-502. 31. This passage is *M*'s longest addition to the Tristram romance. In *F* he found the remark that Tristram would never have been recognized *se ne fust par Hudain son brachet qui le recongnut tantost com il le vit; si le tint on a grant merueille*. This seems to have aroused his interest—possibly on account of the reference to the 'brachet'—and so, contrary to his practice, instead of 'reducing' he ventured to expand. Two literary reminiscences probably helped him to do this: the story of Tristram's fight with the dragon as related in *MS. B.N. fr. 103* (not in other MSS.), and a passage in *Sir Orfeo*. From the former he borrowed the motif of the hero overcome by *un mal*, lying helpless in an orchard, but eventually rescued by

the queen (cf. MS. B.N. fr. 103, ff. 42^v, col. 1-43^r, col. 1), while *Sir Orfeo* may have suggested to him the recognition scene followed by a parting. Here are the two texts and the corresponding extracts from *M*:

MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 42^v, col. 1.

il chey a terre tout envers aussi
comment s'il fust mort. . . [42^v, col.
2] Et la royne dit a Yseult sa fille:
« Fille, ore alons moy et vous. . . »
. . . « Dame, » dit Yseult, « volentiers. »
Lors s'en vont elles toutes seules.
. . . Puis s'en retournent et regar-
dent d'une part du chemin, et voient
Tristan illeuq' jésant aussi comment
mort. . . Et elles voient que c'est
Tanstris, leur chevalier, si en furent
moult liees.

Sir Orfeo, 318-30:

He aros and pider gan te.
To a leuedi he was ycome,
Biheld, and hap wele undernome,
And sep bi al ping pat it is
His owen quen dam Heurodis.
3ern he biheld hir, and sche him eke,
Ac noiper to oper a word no speke.
For messais, pat sche on him seize
pat had ben so riche and so heize,
pe teres fel out of her eize.
pe oper leuedis pis yseize,
And maked hir oway to ride,
Sche most wiþ him no lenger abide.

M:

500. 34-501. 1. . . found there
lyyng a fayre naked man, and a
swerde by hym.

501. 14-502. 20. La Beall Isode
called unto her dame Brangwayne
and seyde, 'Com on with me. . .'
So they passed forth and spurred
where was the syke man. . . So
whan the quene loked uppon sir
Trystramys she was nat remembird
of hym, but ever she seyde unto
dame Brangwayne, 'Mesemys I
shulde have sene thys man here be-
fore in many placis.'

But as sone as sir Trystramys sye her
he knew her well inowe, and than
he turned away hys vysage and wepte.
[The 'brachet' recognizes his master.]
'A, my lady!' seyde dame Brang-
wayne, 'Alas! I se hit ys myne owne
lorde sir Trystramys.' And there-
uppon La Beall Isode felle downe in
a sowne and so lay a grete whyle.
[Isode's lament; she begs Tristram
to leave the country lest he may be
discovered.] 'A, madame!' seyde sir
Trystramys, 'go from me.'

F is clearly responsible for the motif of the hero found by the queen and another lady (Isode in *F*, Brangwayne in *M*) while suffering from a wound—or a disease. The rest of *M*'s story is in *Sir Orfeo*, with the exception of some minor details: Isode does not recognize Tristram at first, but her feelings are stirred when she sees him (*Mesemys I shulde have sene thys man here before*); Tristram turns away his visage and weeps; and instead of a brief reference to the 'brachet' there is a vivid description of how 'he lepte uppon hym and lycked hys learys and hys earys, and than he whyned and quested and she smelled at hys feete and at hys hondis and on all partyes of hys body that she myght com to'. *M*'s sense of realistic detail helps him to bring out, in a manner all his own, the lyrical quality of Isode's farewell monologue.

503. 2-3. *for ten yere*. *F*: 'a tous jours mais sans revenir' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 165^r, col. 2).

503. 9-508. 10. *And in the meanewhyle there cam a knyght, &c.* In *F* Dinadan is not, as Walter Scott thought, a warrior 'unfortunate in his undertakings,

but supporting his mischances with admirable humour'.¹ Far from finding delight in the performance of feats of chivalry, he regards the duties of a knight-errant as a tiresome and ludicrous occupation. He has not yet formulated his views on chivalry, but he already strongly objects to the sort of fighting which the code of chivalry seems to demand. When faced with the necessity of challenging the thirty knights who have framed a plot against Lancelot Dinadan suggests an ingenious device to avoid major injuries: let Tristram lend him his shield so that he, Dinadan, may be taken for a Cornish knight; Cornishmen have such a bad name that nobody will bother to fight with him. The scheme falls through, for Tristram refuses to lend his shield; but when the next fight is at hand Dinadan makes another attempt to spare his person: he pretends that he has been 'sorely bruised' in the first battle and needs a rest. Tristram has to use a threat to make him fight, and finally they fight side by side. But this only provides Dinadan with an example of the absurdity of such enterprises. In the end he is thoroughly disgusted with Tristram's company and recalls an equally unpleasant experience with Lancelot who once set him 'so a worke' that he had to stay in bed for a quarter of a year. Jesus defend, he concludes, that one should mix with such people! There is more to come. Dinadan's main attack on chivalry is to be launched in the next section of the romance.

503. 23-36. *And whan sir Trystramys was in the se he seyde, 'Grete well kyng Marke,' &c.* It follows from this that Tristram's speech was delivered 'in the se', with Dinadan as the only listener, and it seems odd that Tristram should ask Dinadan to greet Mark when Dinadan has no intention of going back to King Mark's court. The inconsistency is due to the fact that *M* has made two speeches into one: the first, addressed in *F* to the Cornish barons *before* sailing; the second, addressed to the sailors *after* the landing at Camelot. It is on the latter occasion that Tristram asks his friends to take a message to King Mark and all his enemies ('et a mes enemyes dites', &c.).

In *F* the description of Tristram's victories is much shorter; *M* adds *the fecchyng and costis of quene Isode oute off Irelande*, her rescue from the Castle Pleure, and Tristram's successful fights with Segwarydes, Blamore, and Lamorak. Cf. 431. 16-26 and 442. 17-23.

504. 22-3. See 398. 26-7.

505. 8. *all four* is clearly a mistake, but not necessarily a scribal one.

505. 29-30. See 398. 26-7.

505. 31-2. *I woll nat departe frome my shyld for her sake that gaff hit me.*

In *F* Tristram has no such scruples and willingly surrenders his shield: 'Dynadan, fait Tristan, je crois bien que vous diés voir. Or portés mon escu et je porteroy le vostre' (MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 171^v, col. 1).

513. 11-12. *this lady dame Brangwayne, &c.* The identification is peculiar to *M*. In *F* the messenger is anonymous.

513. 16-22. *she had lettirs frome the quene La Beall Isode, &c.* In *F* Isode says to the messenger: 'je ne vos baillerai . . . ne lettres ne enseignes. Se vos trouvés Trystram, si le me salués de la moie part ne nule autre chose ne li feites' (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 218^r, col. 1). Tristram's reply is also verbal.

¹ Introduction to *Sir Tristrem* (1819), p. lxxvii.

- Cf. in this connexion notes 627. 11-13 and 785. 16-17. This passage also throws some interesting light on the history of the text. The only way to explain the difference between *C* and *W* is to assume (a) that *X* had the same reading as *C*; (b) that some scribe in copying *X* committed a homœoteuton and left out the words *redde them . . . sir Tristram*; and (c) that *W* omitted the words which had caused the mistake in *X* (*sir Tristram*). Hence there must have been an intermediate version between *X* and *W*.
516. 31-2. *M* here makes two knights out of one. *Hew de la Montayne* and *Madok de la Mountayne* take the place of an anonymous knight described in *F* as 'un autre chevalier de Norgales' (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 226^v, col. 2).
517. 5. *and prayed him hartely*. In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 226^v, col. 2) the request is made by the brothers of the King of North Wales.

V

THE CASTLE OF MAIDENS

(Lôseth, §§ 125-50, 159-66; *Le Roman de Tristan*, pp. 181-3.)

F = MS. B.N. fr. 334, ff. 227^v-266^r. *M* differs from this MS. and agrees with MSS. B.N. fr. 97, 100, 102, 756, and others in mentioning Lucan among the knights who undertake to find Tristram, but Lucan's name occurs so often elsewhere that this may well be a coincidence.

523. 22-5. *sir Trystram thought shame that sir Persides was so done to, &c.* In *M* Tristram is anxious to do battle on behalf of Persides, who has been 'smytyn adowne and allmoste slayne' by Gaherys. In *F* he has no such concern: he opens the tournament by attacking Bleoberis and the King of North Wales.

524. 5-6. *I woll never com agaynst the more, for I promyse the that swerde of thyne shall never com on my helme*. This is a very inaccurate summary of the corresponding passage in *F*, and the humour of Dinadan's remarks is completely lost. The substance of his speech in *F* is that he has discovered from bitter experience that to be Tristram's enemy is even more dangerous than to be his friend—an idea which he will soon have the opportunity of elaborating.

524. 17-19. *that firste day . . . Trystram the pryce*. In *F* the tournament proper does not begin until the second day, and *M* seems to have mistaken 'les vèpres du tournoi' for the first day of the tournament. As a result, the first day in *F* becomes the second day in *M*, and the second day the third. In *F* no prize is given at the end of the 'vèpres'.

524. 36-525. 6. '*Sir, seyde the damesell. . . 'I wolde nat but for hys sake.*' In *F* the damsel does not tell Tristram which side Palomides is going to choose, and Tristram decides to make no choice until he knows whether Palomides will be with or against King Arthur.

525. 27-8. *sir Kay le Senescial was their gouvernoure*. In *F* this party of knights is headed by *Aglyn des Vaux*.

528. 37-529. 1. *he ran into that fountayne and sought aftir hys swerde*. In *F*

(MS. 334, f. 240^r, col. 2) Palomides is so distraught that he forgets what he has done with the sword and looks for it everywhere: 'orendroit est il si enragiez de maltalent que il ne l'en souvient. Il la vet querant ça et la, tant la quiert en tele maniere que il trueve Trystram.'

529. 29-30. *But in no wyse sir Trystram myght nat be knowyn with sir Palomydes.* *M* omits to explain this. According to *F*, Tristram escaped recognition because he had been wounded in the face.

530. 2. *the third day.* *F*: 'second day.' Cf. 524. 17-19.

531. 6-9. *gate hym by the nek with hys bothe hondis . . . at hys adventure.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 245^v, col. 2): ' . . . ahert Palamedes par le flanc et le tire a soi si fort que, vueille Palamedes ou ne vueille, le giete Trystram hors des arçons et le porte entre les braz, tout ainsint comme il estoit armez, loing du cheval plus d'une lance. Et quant il ne le puet plus porter, il le lesse cheoir a terre entre les piez des chevaus.' To make Tristram appear even stronger than he is in *F*, *M* changes 'plus d'une lance' to 'the lengthe of ten spearys' and omits 'quant il ne le puet plus porter'. There is no support in *F* for *C*'s in the presence of hem al.

532. 34-5. *And whan he was com he rode towards sir Trystram* = 'When Gaheris arrived Palomides rode', &c.

533. 17-18. *And so, as the Freynshe booke sayeth, they com home all fyve well beatyn.* On p. 540, ll. 4-6 *M* says that three of Darras's sons were killed at the tournament, 'and two grevously wounded so that they were never lyke to helpe themselff'. In *F* Darras's sons, who number only three, suffer the same fate: two of them are killed and one grievously wounded. The reference to the *Freynshe booke* conceals an unwarranted addition.

533. 34-534. 11. *Sir Launcelot hath wonne . . . whosoever sayth nay.* In *F* it is Tristram ('the knight with the black shield') who wins the prize. *M* wants to show both Lancelot's superiority and his fair-mindedness by letting him win the prize and yielding his claim to Tristram. Cf. 753. 29-754. 8.

534. 1. *'Sir Trystram hath won the fylde.'* In *F* Tristram is referred to as the Knight with the Black Shield, and the knights of the Round Table decide to go in quest of him to find out who he is. The moment his identity is disclosed, as it is in *M*, the quest becomes aimless.

537. 26. *untyll that we fynde sir Trystram.* Cf. 534. 1.

537. 31-5. To the list of knights given in *F* are added Galyhud, Lyonel, and Galyhodyn. *M* omits *Dryant* and makes two characters into one (*Uwayne*) by telescoping *Yvayns li granz* and *Yvains aus blanches meins*. On a later occasion (p. 545, ll. 31-2) he admits that *som called Uwayne le Fyze de Roy Urayne Uwayne le Blaunche Maynes*.

538. 5-6. *And as sir Launcelot rode by adventure he mette with dame Brangwayne.* Here *M* omits a long series of episodes: Guinevere sends for Gaheriet to inquire about the results of the tournament. In the meantime, Tristram's victory has caused consternation at the court of King Arthur: it is thought that but for the assistance of Ban's men, and of Lancelot in particular, Arthur's party would have been defeated. Urien, when asked to express his opinion, declares that the knight with the black shield 'avoit toute nostre gent menee a desconfiture'. Arthur agrees with him, and Ivain thinks that

if the mysterious knight would join Arthur's fellowship he would bring distinction to the Round Table. Iseult's messenger (*not* Brangien) then arrives, sees Guinevere, and has a long conversation with Persides, who forces her to disclose the identity of the knight with the black shield. The next day the messenger leaves Persides and goes in search of Tristram. Lancelot and his companions are ready to start on their quest. But after a long conversation Lancelot admits that he knows the name of the mysterious knight. He does not say, however, how he came to discover it (cf. Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 118: 'le romancier a probablement voulu faire sous-entendre que Lancelot, l'amant de Guenièvre, tient ce secret d'elle'). The knights then continue their journey together, but, in accordance with custom, part at a cross-roads. It is only then that Lancelot meets the messenger.

538. 10. *here folowith me sir Breuse Saunz Pitté.* F: 'Et Lancelot li demande lors: «Damoisele, savés-vos qui le chevalier est dont vous vous alez si durement pleignant?» «Sire, fet ele, nenil certes. De quoi le connoistroye je? Encore n'a mie trois semeines que je ving el roiaume de Logres premiere-ment»' (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 257^v, col. 2).

539. 27-8. '*ye shall nat do so, seyde sir Uwayne, 'but ye shall have ado with me.'* 'Ye shall nat do so but' should be taken to mean 'you shall not do otherwise than' or 'you cannot but'. C's omission of *do* is an attempt to clarify an unfamiliar construction.

539. 32. *W*: sir Danam; *C*: sire Dynadan. *F* refers here to 'the people of Darras's household'.

539. 33. *sir Lucan.* F: 'Ivain.'

540. 3-14. *So whan sir Trystram was com . . . 'he that slewe youre three sunnys.'* This episode is strongly reminiscent of the story of the discovery of 'Tramtryst's' identity. In both cases the knight is recognized by his armour (the broken sword, in the case of Tramtryst) and is accused of having slain a relative of his host. The reproduction of a familiar motif is as common a device in thirteenth-century romances as it is in *M*. See my *Malory*, pp. 40 ff.

540. 4-6. Cf. 533. 17-18.

540. 26. *put them in preson.* *W*'s reading literally means that in addition to Tristram, Palomides, and Dinadan, Darras put in prison forty other knights. *C* says that Darras decided to *keep* them (i.e. Tristram and his friends) in prison instead of having them killed. But the more sensible of the two readings is not necessarily *M*'s.

540. 28-36. *So sir Trystram endured there grete payne . . . that he had allmoste slayne hymself.* The whole of this paragraph is clearly *M*'s own: not only is there no counterpart to it in *F*, but it has an unmistakable personal ring. The first to draw attention to its significance was A. W. Pollard, who suggested in the Preface to his edition (p. vi) that *M* was here referring to his own experiences as a prisoner. This has since been corroborated (cf. my *Roman de Tristan*, p. 183, and *Malory*, p. 115), but while it is clear that the term *good delyveraunce* is used here in the sense of 'release from prison', there can be no certainty that the passage was *written* in prison. It may just as easily have been inspired by *M*'s recollection of the 'pain' he had once endured as a prisoner.

VI

THE ROUND TABLE

(Löseth, §§ 167-206; Sommer, op. cit., pp. 289-90; *Le Roman de Tristan*, &c., pp. 51-4, 183-5.)

This section provides the most striking instance of Malory's agreement with MS. B.N. fr. 334. On pp. 558-9 Malory suddenly interrupts a dialogue between Tristram and Arthur by the following remark: 'So here levith of this booke (C: here endeth this history of this book), for hit ys the firste booke of sir Trystram de Lyones. And the secunde boke begynnyth where sir Trystram (C: the second book of sir tristram foloweth Here begynneth the second book of sire Tristram How syre Tristram) smote downe kynge Arthure and sir Uwayne, bycause why he wolde nat telle hem wherefore that shyld was made. But to sey the soth, sir Trystram coude nat telle the cause for he knew hit nat.' The dialogue is then continued with Arthur's remark: 'And yf hit be so ye can dyscryve what ye beare, ye ar worthy to beare armys.'

This passage has caused much speculation as to the probable division of Malory's source. Sommer went so far as to say that since Malory's colophons showed a threefold division of his source (the second part ending with the last section of Malory's *Tristram*), and since the *Suite du Merlin* was also a trilogy, both works must have been written by the same author (op. cit., p. 290). The inference is too fantastic to be discussed here, especially as there is nothing to show that Malory's source *was* a trilogy. The division between the first and the second books occurs in the middle of a dialogue, i.e. at a point where no logical division is possible, and the 'second book' cannot, therefore, mean the 'second part'.

What it does mean can easily be discovered from a comparison of MS. B.N. fr. 334 with the English text:

MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 290^r, col. 1:

« Biau sire, fit Trystram, je le vos dirai moult volentiers puis que vos le voulez savoir. Or sachiez que dame Morgayn, la suer le roy Artus le me bailla, et me pria moult durement que je a ceste assemblee le portasse. . . . Si m'est avis que je m'en sui moult bien aquitez de la pramesse que je li fis. Or lesserai je cestui escu quant il me plera, et si prendrai un autre. »

M, 558. 32 ff.:

'Sir,' he seyde, 'I had hit of quene Morgan le Fay, syster to kynge Arthure.'

Ci commence le secont livre de Trystram.

So here levith of this booke, for hit ys the firste booke of sir Trystram de Lyones. And the secunde booke begynnyth where sir Trystram smote

MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 290^r, col. 1:

M, 558. 32 ff.:

down kynge Arthure and sir Uwayne,
bycause why he wolde nat telle hem
wherefore that shyld was made.
But to sey the soth sir Trystram
coude nat telle the cause for he knew
hit nat.

« Or lesserai je cestui escu quant moi
plera et prendrai un autre, car cestui
ne me plest mie. Mes pour ce que
trop me semble estranges, me tourne
il a contraire. »

« Or me dites, fet le roy, savez vous la
senefiance de ces ymages? »

‘And yf hit be so ye can dyscryve
what ye beare, ye ar worthy to beare
armys.’

It will be observed that the remark in MS. 334 is not, strictly speaking, a colophon: it suggests no division of the narrative, and all it implies is that at the point where it occurs the scribe must have come to the beginning of the second *volume* of his source. Malory expanded the statement by adding the words ‘So here levith of this book, for hit ys’, &c., and Caxton went still farther in the same direction and indicated not merely the end of a ‘book’ but the end of ‘the history of this book’, thus completely altering the original meaning of the reference. The ‘trilogy’ has clearly never existed except in the imagination of the critics.

545. 24. *hym* = Tristram.

545. 31–2. *Uwayne le Fyze de Roy Urayne* (and som called *hym sir Uwayne le Blanche Maynes*) is a combination of two distinct characters: ‘Yvayns li Granz’ and ‘Yvains aus Blanchés Meins’. Cf. 537. 31–5, and my *Malory*, p. 36.

546. 32. *there ys nat one here nother ye that shall thynk* = ‘neither you nor anyone else here will think’, &c.

549. 25–6. *he sware to be good fryende unto sir Trystram*. In *F* Mark swears to be loyal to all knights-errant (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 277^r, col. 2).

550. 23–35. *And whan sir Dynas cam home . . . he rode to hys castell*. In *F* the ‘brachets’ are made to decide between Dinas and the lady’s ‘paramour’. As Dinas says, their instinct is to be trusted more than a woman’s heart: ‘Ge me fi tant en la bone orine des brachez et en la gentilesce, que ge sai bien qu’il n’iront mie foloiant ausint com vos feistes orendroit. Il n’ont mie le sanc de fame ne la nature; gentilesce ne faudra mie en els, mais ele faut ou cuer de fame.’ He adds: ‘Mielz vaut de chien la nature et est plus gentille et plus franche et plus loial et plus enterme que la nature de feme.’ Since *M* leaves out this condemnation of *la nature de feme* he cannot leave the decision to the ‘brachets’, and the matter has to be settled by sheer brutal force: when the lady sees that Dinas has defeated her lover she is seized with terror and promises to love Dinas *better than ever she ded*. *M* thus dismisses in eighteen lines the matter of some eight columns in *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, ff. 278^v, col. 2–280^v, col. 2).

551. 19. *I have harde so much of youre magré ayenste me.* By this remark Tristram discloses his identity. In *F* he remains unknown.
551. 32. *undir them bothe* stands for the French *entre eus deus* (= 'both of them'), a construction which has puzzled *M* more than once.
551. 32-5. *So a damesell cam, &c.* In *F* the request to release Tristram is made by 'ceuls de laienc'.
552. 24-6. *all that ye ded was by fors of knyghthode and that was the cause I wolde nat put you to dethe.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 284^v, col. 1): 'je ne faiz mie tant pour nule amour que je aie en vos comme je faiz pour l'onneur de chevalerie mettre en avant.'
554. 13. *with that* = 'on this condition, that'.
554. 14-15. *thou wolte promyse me to beare uppon the a shyld I shall delyver the [unto] the castell of the Harde Roche.* *W*'s reading—*delyver the for at the castell, &c.*—is probably due to a contamination with l. 18 (*For at the Castell of Maydyns, &c.*).
554. 15-16. *[unto] the castell of Hard Roche, where kynge Arthure hath cryed a grete turnemente.* The corresponding lines in *F* are spoken not by Morgan but by Tristram: 'Or sachiez que quant je me departirai de caienz, je m'en irai tout droit vers une assemblee qui doit quant a ore estre tout nouvellement devant Roche Dure' (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 286^r, col. 2).
554. 23-4. *W: the fylde was gouldes. C: the feld was guldyssh.* *W* uses the correct heraldic name for red. The normal form of it is *goules* ('gules'), and the parasitic *d* seems to have misled *C* who took the word to mean 'golden'. Neither reading agrees with *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 286^v, col. 2): 'li chans en estoit touz vers.'
554. 30-2. *Hit signyfieth, &c.* In *F* Morgan makes no comment on the picture: 'le roy Uter Pendragon qui mon pere fut portoit teles armes, . . . et pour la ressemblance de lui fis je fere cest escu' (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 286^v, col. 2).
557. 13. *'I knowe nat sir Trystram,' seyde sir Trystram.* Not in *F*. By adding this *M* apparently wished to give the conversation a humorous turn ('Thus they talked and *bourded* as long as them thought beste'), but in so doing he seems to have carried Tristram's disguise too far. Tristram's popularity was so great that by disclaiming any knowledge of it he could only have aroused his host's suspicions.
557. 18. *none adventure <had he> but that.* The emendation is based on *C* (*none adventure had sire Tristram, but that*). To account for the reading of *W* I have assumed that the original reading was *adventure had he*, that *C* substituted *sire Tristram* for *he*, and that *W* committed a homœoteleuton (*adventure . . . he*).
557. 25. *with that shyld* refers to the shield Tristram received from Morgan le Fay, cf. pp. 554, l. 13-555, l. 14.
560. 20-1. *and in every place he asked afir sir Launcelot.* This remark conceals an important omission. After Yvain's defeat by Tristram Arthur and his knights return to the castle where they meet Lamorak and Agloval. In the meantime, Tristan stays for two days with 'une dame'; on the second day he has an encounter with Gawain, who has to be rescued by Hector. Tristram then goes to stay with one of Morhoult's cousins, Auguste, who

- is anxious to avenge Morhoult's death but does not recognize Tristram. When Tristram discloses his identity and challenges Auguste the latter is much too frightened to fight and throws himself on his enemy's mercy. Mordret, who is also staying with Auguste, is defeated by Blioberis who asks him if he knows Tristram's whereabouts; Mordret having told him what he has heard from Auguste returns to Arthur's court, where he relates his own adventures. Tristram's generosity and 'courtoisie' arouse general admiration.
561. 23-4. *he returned aback unto sir Palomydes.* *F* resorts here to the traditional method of concealing the knight's identity as long as possible. The obvious advantage of it in the present instance is that the reader can take more interest in the dialogue and share Tristram's surprise.
562. 7-11; 31-2. *'assygne me a day'.* . . . *'I assygne you to mete me in the medowe by the ryver of Camelot.'* Tristram and Palomides seem to be talking at cross-purposes. Instead of assigning 'a day' Tristram assigns the place; he has therefore no reason to say later on (ll. 31-2) that Palomides has promised to meet him 'this day fourtenyght'.
562. 14. *'For this cause,' seyde sir Palomydes.* In *F* the story of the nine knights is told by the author.
562. 30-1. *in ony wyse that ye have remembraunce of your promyse that ye have made.* The similarity between the endings of *wyse* and *promyse* may have caused the scribe in the first place to omit all that occurred between these two words and write *that ye have* after *wyse*. Having noticed the omission and gone back to *have remembraunce*, he may have forgotten to expunct *that ye have*. The alternative is to assume the ellipsis of a verb of command.
563. 15. *So sir Trystram awakyd hym with the butte of hys speare.* In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 293^r, col. 2) Tristram awakes the unknown knight by the sound of his voice: 'parole si haut que le chevalier s'en esveille.'
565. 1. *'Fayre knygh,' seyde these wounded knyghtes.* In *F* the adventures of Bleoberis and Gawain are told by the author (MS. B.N. fr. 334, ff. 294^v, col. 1-295^v, col. 1).
565. 22-4. I have adopted *C*'s reading of these lines in order to correct an obvious scribal error in *W*. Assuming that the original reading was 'askyd hys name Than *he sayde my name is sir Trystram And so ayther told other their names and than ayther departed*', the italicized words must have dropped out as a result of a homœoteleuton, and in the next stage the word *Than*, which had originally caused it, was replaced by *so*.
565. 23. *'My name is sir Tristram.'* In *F* Tristram preserves his incognito until his departure for Camelot.
566. 1-11. *For this nyght . . . departed from us.* In *F* this is related by the author, but Kay's reference to the unknown knight's 'vylony' (*he spake grete vylony by the kyng, &c.*) is a summary of a long dialogue which begins before supper and continues throughout the evening. (Cf. MS. B.N. fr. 334, ff. 296^r, col. 1-297^r, col. 1.)
566. 7-8. *hurte me passyngly sore.* In *F* Kay remains unconscious from early morning till noon.
566. 10. *And thus is he departed* refers to the unknown knight.
566. 12. *sir Trystram asked what was their namys.* 'His name' would make better sense. Dinadan's name is already known to Tristram (see l. 8).

566. 14-17. *and so he paste thorow a grete foreyste into a playne tyll he was ware of a pryory. And there he reposyd hym with a good man six dayes.* It seems surprising that Tristram, having sworn never to rest until he has found the unknown knight (cf. p. 565, ll. 20-1), should suddenly decide to stay for six days at a priory. In *F* he continues his quest for five more days, but in vain, for he has lost *touz les pas du cheval et pour ce le perdi il du tout. Ainsint le quist tout celui jour et l'endemein et le tierz jour et le quart et le quint.* He then realizes that he must have lost the track. As the date of his encounter with Palomides is drawing near he decides to go to a priory for a few days' rest and sends Govenal to a neighbouring town to fetch a new armour (cf. ll. 19-22 in *M*). In *M* the omission of an admittedly futile quest makes Tristram's behaviour inconsistent with his oath.

566. 16; 23. *And there he reposed hym with a good man six dayes; he toke his leve at the wydow.* If Tristram reposed with a good man he could not have taken his leave at the wydow. *F* supports the first remark by saying that Tristram stayed in a priory (four days instead of six). The wydow is probably a reminiscence of an earlier passage (p. 566, l. 2) in which Dinadan and Kay tell Tristram that they are *lodged hereby in a wydows house.*

568. 10-20. *where sir Launceor . . . two of the beste lovers.* In *F* the two knights meet, as in *M*, at the Perron Merlin, but there is no mention either of the death of Launceor and Columbe or of Merlin's prophecy. The passage is a reminiscence of *M*'s earlier work, *The Knight with the Two Swords*, to which he must have turned at this point for an explanation of the name of the *perron*. There he found the story of how Launceor was killed by Balin, and how lady Columbe (*var.* Colombe), seeing that her lover was dead, 'toke the swerde from hir love that lay dede, and felle to the grounde in a swowghe. And whan she arose she made grete dole oute of mesure, which sorow greved Balyn passyngly sore. And suddeynly she sette the pomell to the grounde, and rove hirselff thorowte the body' (p. 69, l. 25-p. 70, l. 6). Merlin's prophecy is reproduced almost word for word from a later passage in the same work (p. 72, ll. 13-19):

The Knight with the Two Swords:

'Here shall be,' seyde Merlion, 'in this same place the grettist bateyle betwyxte two [knyghtes] that ever was or ever shall be, and the trewyst lovers.'

Tristram:

And at that tyme Merlyon profecied that in that same place sholde fyght two the beste knyghtes that ever were in kynge Arthurs dayes and two of the beste lovers.

The ultimate source of the prophecy is the French *Suite du Merlin*. It is, however, most unlikely that *M* referred to it while writing his *Tristram*. Of the two renderings of the prophecy the nearer to the French is the first: where the French has *le dui plus loial amant*, the first version gives *the trewyst lovers*, and the second *the beste lovers*. There are, besides, some points of agreement between the two passages in the English text which cannot be satisfactorily explained unless it is admitted that one was copied from the other, e.g. the phrase *two knyghtes that ever were in kynge Arthurs dayes* in the *Tristram* passage which is only found in *M*'s own rendering of the *Suite* (*the grettist bateyle betwyxte two knyghtes that ever was*). Cf. 72. 15.

568. 32-4. *they strake togedyrs wysh bryght swerdys as men that were of myght and aythir woundid othir wondirly sore.* *F*: 'Et non pour quant ce devise bien l'estoire que Trystram en avoit auques le plus [bel], si comme celui qui le meins avoit perdu de son sanc et qui meins avoit de plaies.'
569. 4-15. '*A, lorde Jesu!*' *seyde Governayle, &c.* In *F* this passage is a soliloquy. The dialogue form helps *M* not only to dramatize an otherwise monotonous discourse, but to disclose the identity of Lancelot.
570. 1-2. '*and aythir kyste other and hondred tymes.*' In *F*, after the usual affectionate greetings, Lancelot and Tristram talk at some length. 'What do you think of love?' says Lancelot to Tristram, who at first fails to understand what love has to do with their conversation. Lancelot explains that the joy of having found Tristram makes him forget all except the most precious thing in the world, namely, love. But Tristram replies, 'amour est mout diverse a nous deus': for him *ele est contraire et diverse et anemie mortel*, whereas for Lancelot it is *une mere veraie*. Lancelot who is annoyed that Tristram should be aware of his love for Guinevere, concludes by saying that each should take love as it comes to him: 'tel com il la trovera'.
570. 3. *W: toke their horsis. C: took of their helmes.* *C*'s reading is a contamination with the phrase in pp. 569, l. 35-570, l. 1. Modern editors have tried to correct it by deleting *of* ('they took their helms and rode to Camelot' in Strachey), not realizing that in this instance conditions for contamination were ideal since the two phrases concerned began with the same word and ended with the same syllable. See my *Principles of Textual Emendation*, pp. 358-60.
570. 17-18. *I merwayne I hyre nat of hym.* Palomides fails to appear at the *Perron Merlin* because he is imprisoned in a castle (cf. p. 595, ll. 27-30).
571. 9-18. *hit is sir Launcelot, &c.* *M* here solves the mystery of the unknown knight by identifying him with Lancelot, with the result that the 'noblest of all knights' becomes responsible for a series of misdeeds which are quite out of keeping with his character: he murders Galardonne for no apparent reason and insults both the Round Table and Guinevere. His excuse for committing such extraordinary acts of treachery is at best a feeble one (*bycause I wolde nat be knowyn that I was of youre courte, I seyde no worschyp be youre housse*) and *M* could not help noticing that they detracted from Lancelot's character; but he must have thought this a lesser evil than leaving an unknown knight unidentified. In *F* Tristram *perdi touz les pas du cheval, et pour ce le perdi il du tout*. Nothing more is said about the anonymous champion, and no name is assigned to him in any version of the prose *Tristan*. Even if, as E. Löseth seems to think (op. cit., p. 146, note 2), the episode was interpolated from some other biographical romance, possibly from a branch of the *Brun* cycle, it is one of the most typical examples of the technique of the French Prose *Tristan*: 'L'aventure, telle qu'elle s'y présente, ne commence nulle part et n'aboutit pas; elle ne s'alimente que de sa propre substance, elle procède d'une série d'événements, et elle ne mène qu'à d'autres événements, tous rangés sur un même plan sans aucune progression dramatique. Quel charme ne dut-elle pas exercer sur ses auteurs, pour qu'un récit si plat et en même temps si embrouillé pût être mis en œuvre avec tant de persévérance et d'intrépidité? Quelles

grâces ne dut-elle pas prodiguer à ses initiés, pour qu'ils pussent lui vouer des efforts si soutenus?'¹ *M*'s attitude to adventure was the exact opposite of this. What he disliked in the story of the unknown knight was precisely that aspect of it which made it attractive to the French: the anonymity of the protagonist and his mysterious behaviour. *M* is prepared to mystify his reader for a time, but he cannot conclude his tale without solving the mystery to his own satisfaction. The denouement he adds would be a suitable one for a comedy; but it is both unnatural and unnecessary in a composition which depends for its effect on a never-ending sense of suspense.

571. 25-34. 'Wellcom, sir Trystram!' . . . 'wellcom to this courte.' Although these speeches of welcome do not occur in *F* they are well in keeping with its spirit. Tristram's recognition as a knight of the Round Table is the natural climax of the story as told by the French prose-writer, and all that comes before is but a preparation for the hero's triumph. The Prose Romance is not so much a Romance of Tristram and Isode as a story of Tristram's own adventures. The Isode theme is only an episode, and it is significant that on his death-bed the Tristram of the Prose Romance will remember not his 'amie Ysolt',² but his sword and his shield. *M* goes farther in the same direction and deliberately shifts the centre of interest to the Round Table. The speeches of welcome are an expression of this attitude: they help to make the whole work into another 'tale of Arthur'. Equally characteristic is *M*'s description of his hero's accomplishments: 'For all maner of huntynge thou beryste the pryce, and of all mesures of blowynge thou arte the begynnynge, of all the termys of huntynge and hawkyng ye ar the begynner.' Such were to *M*'s mind the virtues of an English gentleman—such, in fact, they have remained in some quarters to this day. And the fact that Arthur mentions them at the supreme moment of Tristram's triumph throws a curious light on what *M* himself meant by 'kighthood'. Cf. 375. 12-29 and 682. 26-683. 4.

VII

KING MARK

(Löseth, §§ 207-81; p. 152, footnote 3; *Le Roman de Tristan*, &c., pp. 186-90)

With the exception of the first page the whole of this section belongs to the 'Second Version' of the French Prose *Tristan*. The adventures of King Mark in Logres are not found in any of the MSS. of the 'First Version'. They complete the process of the 'blackening' of Mark's character. Mark is here held up to ridicule for his cowardice and stupidity, and severely censured for his acts of treachery. But perhaps the most significant innovation is the character of Dinadan who appears here in the unusual role of a critic of chivalric customs. His humorous and light-hearted remarks on knight-

¹ See my *Roman de Tristan*, pp. 104-6.

² Amie Ysolt treis fez a dit,

A la quarte rent l'espirit (Thomas, *Le Roman de Tristan*, ed. Bédier, 3041-2).

errantry are a direct attack on courtly idealism and the peculiar mode of living which it had inspired. He is one of the first to question the wisdom of it, both as a moral doctrine and as a practical discipline.

The story of Mark's adventures in Logres occurs in the following French MSS.: B.N. fr. 94, 97, 99, 102, 103, 334, 335, 349, 12599 (ii), Royal 20 D. ii, Harl. 49, 4389, Add. 23929, 5474, Vienna 2542, Chantilly 315-17, and some others which need not be recorded here (cf. my *Études sur le Tristan en prose*, pp. 27-34). MS. B.N. fr. 334 seems to be the nearest extant representative of Malory's immediate source. The name of the castle visited by Palomides and Dinadan is given in Malory as *Beale Valet* (p. 615). Of all the variants of the name given in the French MSS. the nearest to this is *Belvalot* which occurs in 334; 103 has *Belnahot*, 94 *Benalist*, 99 *Belvalist*. MS. Royal 20 D. ii agrees in this respect with 334, but is otherwise too remote from Malory's version to be preferred to 334 (cf. my *Malory*, p. 140, footnote 3). Malory's *Berluse* (p. 583) is easily traceable to *Berlez* of MS. 334, whereas the most common variant in the other MSS. is *Bellet*. Sir Arguys, who leads King Mark's third army in the war against the 'Sessoyns', is described in Malory and in MS. 334 as being of 'the bloode of kyng Marke' (cf. p. 619); MSS. B.N. fr. 99 and 776 make him a descendant of King Ban. The spelling of his name (*Arguys*) is, however, much nearer to 99 (*Argyus*) than to 334 (*Ardons*), and as in the subsequent portion of Malory's *Tristram* the version of 99 is predominant, it seems legitimate to regard MS. 99 from this point onwards as the nearest extant representative of Malory's immediate source. In the following notes 'F' stands for MS. B.N. fr. 334 as far as p. 619, l. 33, and from that line to the end of the section for MS. B.N. fr. 99.

577. 1-2. *had grete dispyte at sir Trystram*. F would seem to support C's reading ('dispyte of the renoume of sir T.'), but their agreement is not literal enough to justify an emendation.

577. 17. *two knyghtes and two squyers*. In F Mark is accompanied by two squires and two damoisels. Cf. Löseth, op. cit., p. 151, note 3: 'Au moyen âge, les seigneurs et les chevaliers errants aimaient à se faire accompagner, dans leurs voyages, d'une ou de plusieurs dames; Marc prend tout naturellement les siennes parmi les dames de la cour, les dames d'Iseut.'

577. 17-18. *disgyssed hymself*. In F Mark disguises himself as a pilgrim.

578. 4. *by love and not by force*. In F (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 303^r, col. 1) Mark inquires whether Lancelot has taken Tristram prisoner, and is told that Lancelot 'n'avoit mie tant de pouvoir que il a Trystram peust nule riens meffere'. This is followed by a significant comparison between the two protagonists: 'Orendroit vont disant les plusieurs chevaliers de la meson le roy Artus qui ont esprouvé l'un et l'autre, que il se fieroient plus en Trystram a un grant besoiing de fere un grant efforz que il ne feroient en Lancelot.'

579. 3-4. *I shall thereof defende me afore kynge Arthure*. M does not make it clear that Mark is unwilling to accept Amante's challenge. In F (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 303^v, col. 2) he is imprisoned by his own squires who make him promise that he will meet Amante at Arthur's court.

579. 17. *tyed his horse and sette hym downe*. C adds after *horse* 'vntyl a tree'; in F Lamorak ties the horse's feet.

579. 23-5. The *grete complainte* which *M* reduces to three lines takes in *F* the form of a long lay (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 304^r, col. 2-304^v, col. 2) followed by a monologue in prose (ibid., 304^v, col. 2-305^r, col. 2):

Sanz cuer sui et sanz cuer remain,
Je n'ai membre ne pié ne mein
Sanz amors, en amors me mein,
Tel que mort et vif m'en demein.
Mourant d'amours, en amors vif, &c.

Lamorak compares his fate to Tristan's: just as Mark has exiled Tristan, so Gaheriet, the son of the Queen of Orkeney, has separated her from Lamorak and is closely watching her. Lamorak thinks he is even less fortunate than Tristan in that Tristan is so far away from Iseult that his thoughts need not dwell on her all the time [*sic*], while Lamorak is still able, in spite of Gaheriet's threats, to see his beloved, and the sight of her is a constant reminder of his tragic destiny.

580. 17-18. *Castell of Jagent*. *F*: 'chastel au Geant.'

580. 21-581. 34. *Than cam there a knyght . . . stood a fayre toure*. The story of the encounters between Mark, Dinadan, and Lamorak is here considerably simplified. In *F* Mark and Lamorak part and meet twice, and Mark meets Dinadan in the intervals of his encounters with Lamorak. This is in accordance with the method of composition which underlies the whole structure of cyclic romances. Cf. *Introduction*, pp. xlviii-lv.

580. 23-5. *he reprieved hym for the love of kynge Marke a thousand-folde more than ded sir Lameroke*. In *F* Dinadan begins by saying, 'Pechié vos a amené en cestui païs, car vous ne vous en povez ja mes departir, a mon escient, que l'en ne se moque de vos.' *Mark*: 'Vous avez moult la langue preste a dire vilennie.' *Dinadan*: 'Et pourquoi vos diroie je bien? Ce seroit parole perdue. Certes, je ne vous pourroie tant dire d'onneur que vous n'aiez honte et vergoigne, avant que vous repairez en Cornoaille la hardie.' He then challenges Mark to meet him at the court of King Arthur, but Mark is so enraged that words fail him. Finally he calls Dinadan 'unwise'; to this Dinadan retorts that Mark is certainly the wiser of the two, for the wisdom of Cornwall consists in running away from danger. 'Sire chevalier,' says Mark, 'vos n'estes mie trop courtois.' 'Et je ne vueill pas estre trop courtois,' Dinadan replies, 'vostre roi si est desheritez de totes honneurs, de quoi il m'est avis que je vos respons encore bien.' *Mark enfle tot de malalent*; but he is too frightened to attack Dinadan. The latter, delighted to see his opponent bewildered, goes on in the same strain as before: if, he says, you are as brave as you pretend to be, you are not a Cornish knight, 'car, se vos fussiez destrampé de tel sanc comme sont ceuls qui en sont nez, la nature de Cornoaille fust en vos enracinee tout autresint comme ele est es autres'.

580. 32-5. *he tolde kynge Marke that sir Lameroke was sir Kay the Senescyall*. 'That is nat se,' seyde kynge Marke, 'for he is muche bygger than sir Kay.' In *F* Mark lets himself be deceived by Dinadan. He thinks that Lamorak is Kay, the weakest of all knights, and so hopes to defeat him when he next meets him. Dinadan encourages Mark by saying that his fall was but an

accident: 'ce est trop grant merveille comment il a abatu un tel chevalier comme vous estes, et pour ce m'est il avis que vos fustes a cestui point trop mescheant.'

581. 24-6. *hit is ever worschyp to a knyght to refuse that thyng that he may nat attayne.* This remarkable maxim expresses an attitude of mind equally characteristic of *M* and of Dinadan—an attitude incompatible with the belief in knight-errantry as a mode of life, but consistent with the essentially practical 'kighthood' that *M* stood for. This is not to say that *M* had no reason to resent or fear Dinadan's criticisms of Arthurian chivalry: there was enough outward resemblance between *M*'s kighthood and that which attempted 'what it could not attain' to make him unwilling to allow any attack on either.
582. 1-3. *yondir ar too bretherne . . . that woll juste with ony that passyth this passaye.* In *F* each of the two brothers defends his own 'passage' *li uns pour envie de l'autre, pour ce que chascuns cuidoit estre meillour chevalier.* In the endeavour to simplify the situation *M* places them both at the same bridge. In the end, however, he is forced to introduce a third champion, Torre, to take the place of one of the two brothers at the second bridge. Cf. p. 584, ll. 21-4 and p. 585, ll. 14-21.
583. 25. *for this sir Dynadan was a good knyght on horsebacke.* *F*: 'sachiez que Dynadan estoit tel chevalier que il a merveilles feroit bien de lance.'
585. 1-7. *Hit is shame to you . . . more of proues.* In *F* Dinadan's conversation with Mark is an exchange of humorous repartees. It contains no serious criticism of Mark's behaviour, and no such maxims as *nevir had knyght murthere[r] worschyp nother never shall have.*
585. 14-21. *Than sir Dynadan demaunded . . . 'the sonne of Aryes le Vaysshere.'* This is a sequel to an earlier alteration (cf. 582. 1-3 and p. 584, ll. 21-4). In *F* the knight who defends the second passage is Tryan's brother, Alyne (Alain). Dinadan knows this and has therefore no need to ask 'the knyghtes name that kepte the brydge'.
586. 35-597. 10. From Gryfflet's arrival to Dinadan and Palomides' journey to Morgan le Fay's castle *M* has modified the order of episodes. In *F* it is as follows: (a) Dinadan finds Mark; (b) Gryfflet arrives; (c) Mark, challenged by Dagonet, avoids the battle and is saved by Palomides who defeats Dagonet and three other knights; (d) Dinadan finds Palomides, overhears his lament and (e) has a long conversation with him; (f) Mark arrives in Camelot. This is followed in *F* by Dinadan's and Palomides' arrival at Morgan le Fay's castle. *M* relates the same events in the order: b, a, c, d, f, e.
588. 28. *hys owne hondys* = 'with his own hands'.
590. 32-4. *And as sone as he cam he tolde the knyghtes name was sir Palomydes.* In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 315^r, col. 2) Mark knows that the mysterious knight is *le chevalier de la beste glatissant*, but this does not help him to identify Palomides, for *de cestui seurnom ne savoit il nule rien.*
591. 5. *I woll nat be in the company of a slepyng knight.* In *F* Palomides gives a different reason for parting company with Mark: *il ne m'est pas avis, au semblant que j'ay veü, que il ait gramment chevauchié.*
592. 4-14. *'A, fayre lady, why love I the?', &c.* In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, ff. 317^v, col. 2-318^r, col. 1) Palomides' complaint is as follows: 'Amors,

mar vi vostre aguiet, et mar vi vostre tricherie et le vostre orgueill qui me vet despirant, et vostre fausseté qui trop me vet adomagent! Ces deux choses me font souvent entrer en balance mortel, par quoi je vois et sus et jus diverssement par venz contraires, car qui orendroit est en esperance d'avoir sauvement, orendroit est ausint comme en mortel haine. Ha! Diex, d'une grace me doit toute bonté venir, ce sera de l'amor de cele qui passe orendroit de biauté toutes celes qui sont el monde, tout autresint comme la lune passe de biauté et de clarté toutes les estoiles qui aperent el firmament. Ma dame qui estes sanz per, car onques per n'eustes ne ja n'avroiz ne de biauté ne de valeur, dame qui estes mireour si cler resplendissant et si reluisant merueilleusement que ja, ou vos estes orendroit en Cornoaille, si a vostre biauté tele force quant il m'en souvient que ele me donne sustance de clarté et lueur et resplendisseur, si que il m'est avis que autre chose ne me puet ardier ne de jourz ne de nuiz par quoi je voie a moi conduire, je n'ai nule autre clarté fors seulement la grant resplendisseur qui de vostre biauté vient.

'Et pour ce vos prie je, ma douce dame, a jointes meins, que vos n'oubliez pas Palamedes, le plus loial amant et le plus fin qui soit orendroit en cestui monde. Ha! las dolenz! Ha! las chetis! comme je pert orendroit toutes mes paroles! Car je me vois ja pleingnant en vein, car ele ne m'ot de nule riens ne n'entent. Trop par est loing! Le roy dolenz, le roy cheitis, le plus mescheant de touz les rois, c'est le roy Marc de Cornoaille, si la tient orendroit en sa baillie. Ha! quel douleur et quel doumage! Car le mauvés si l'a en garde, et le pire de tout le monde le soleil et la lune a entre les meins.

'Je cuide bien et croi que tout autresint comme li avugles qui riens ne voit, — se l'en li metoit entre les meins tout l'or du monde et tout le quovire, si ne connoistroit il li un de l'autre, ançois en jugeroit comme non sachant, — tout autresint, par mon escient, est il du roy Marc. Et tout soit il ainsint que il ait tout adés avecques lui la biauté et la clarté de tout ce monde si ne s'i set il reconnoistre ne recorder. Chetiveté et lascheté qui dedenz le cuer li sont herbergiees li ont si du tout tolue la veue, ne que il ne connoist ma dame Yseult ne sa biauté ne sa valeur ne plus que li avugles connoist l'or. Le roy Marc a touz les biens du monde, et de touz biens est il sires: il a tout, et si n'a neent.'

M's version is a mere summary of this, and in the process of condensation all the courtly colouring of the complaint has been irretrievably lost. In *F*, while deprecating the cruelty of love, its *tricherie* and *orgueill*, Palomides does not utter a word of reproach to his lady, Queen Isode: he knows that from the courtly point of view the cruelty of love is not incompatible with the state of grace for which the lover is indebted to his lady. *M* naturally fails to understand this subtle doctrine. No courtly lover could say, as *M*'s Palomides does in this monologue, that he is 'but a fool'. Unrequited love may cause grief and anxiety, but its ennobling and enlightening effect is never questioned; to Palomides, as to any courtly lover, it remains the only source of his *clarté*.

595. 6-7. Now turne we agayne unto sir Palomydes, how sir Dynadan comfortyd hym in all that he myght frome his grete sorowe. *M* deliberately omits

here one of Dinadan's most striking pronouncements on courtly love (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 318^r, col. 1): 'Vassal, je sui un chevalier errant tout autresint comme tu es, et vois querant les aventures autresint comme les chevaliers erranz doivent fere. Aventure queroie ennuit, et aventure ai je trouvee, puisque je t'ai trouvé. Car j'ai ici ta plainte et ton doulousement escouté, et tout ce que tu as dit ai je moult bien entendu; car je sai bien que trop te vas pleignant d'amours, et trop en as dites de paroles estranges et merveilleuses. Et si te plains du mal guerredon que tu en as receu, car tu diz tout adés que ele ne te fist onques se mal non, et puis vas racordant les granz douleurs et les granz peines que tu lonctemps en as souffertes. Tout ce ai je bien entendu, et pour ce t'en dirai je le mien avis, et tout orendroit. Amors qui ainsint vet tourmentant et metant ses serjanz a mort, si les chastie de leur fol courage; de quoi je di que de tele amour me gart Diex et me deffende. Mes je ai trouvé en amours autre merci et autre douceur que tu n'as fet. Cele amour dont tu as parlé, si commença en mauvés croissant, car l'amour si ne s'accorde de nule riens envers toi; dont il m'est avis que au commencement tu encontras mauvés vent, car onques mes en toute ma vie n'oï parler de tele amour comme tu as ici devisee. Cele amour est amere, car ce n'est mie amour, ançois est amertume trop pire que n'est le venim qui du serpent ist. Mes de la moie amour qui au cuer me tient, sui je riant et gai et envoisié, et tout autretant m'est, se Diex me saut, se cele que je tieng pour ma dame et pour m'amie pleure comme se ele chante, et tout autretant m'est se elle a froit comme chaut. Ne onques amors ne me menti, car onques je ne la requis de nule chose dont je n'eusse tout mon gré. Ne onques voir sanz mon cuer je ne fui, ançois le sent touz jourz dedenz mon piz debatre et remuer. Car si vraiment m'ait Diex, comme je n'ai talent donner le a madame Yseult, car ele a tant de cuers dedenz son ventre, si granz et si merveilleus et si forz, que il ne lesseroient ja le mien durer ne demourer en nule maniere du monde, ançois le chaceroient hors, a ce que le cuer que ele a en la garde, si comme l'en dit, si est trop plus orgueilleus que le mien. Mes itant sai je bien tout de voir, et par ce que a plusieurs genz l'ai oï dire, que madame Yseult porte avecques lui le cuer de Trystram, le neveu au roy Marc de Cornoaille, et le tien cuer autresint, si comme tu meesmes le contes. Doncques, puisque il est ainsi que ele a tant de cuers dedenz son ventre qui ne par est mie trop grant, et se je le mien i vouloie metre par aucune aventure, cuides tu que ceuls qui dedenz son ventre sont hebergiez me vousissent avecques euls souffrir? Certes, nenil! Car ils sont trop durs pautonniers, et trop felons et trop cruieus et trop orgueilleus durement. Si chaceroient le mien hors a grande honte et a grant deshonnour. Et pour ce garderai je mon cuer avecques moi, que je ne vueill pas que dame ne damoiselle en ait ja saisine.'

595. 27-30. Cf. 570. 17-18.

596. 11-597. 4. 'I have [*sene*] sir Trystramys myght,' &c. Most of this discussion is not in *F*, where the conversation bears on a variety of other topics. 'Love', says Dinadan among other things, 'can only be of use to a good and honest man: *le bon monte d'amours enprés, et le mauvés en abesse; car le mauvés, selonc le droit de nature, n'en doit ja monter en haut.*'

597. 10-23. 'Here is a castell that I knowe', &c. *M* simplifies the scene by

suppressing 'un chevalier et une demoisele' who in *F* tell the knights of the custom of the castle.

597. 22. *harde* = 'with difficulty'.

598. 1-2. *there cam a knyght wyth a rede shyld*. In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 332^r, col. 1) Lamorak's shield is green.

602. 31. *he pulled hym up wyth his bothe hondis*. *F* alone can explain this curious remark. Palomides throws himself at Lamorak's feet ('se lance et se vout metre a genouz'), but Lamorak protests: 'ne le veult mie soffrir, ainçois *le vet prendre par les braz* et dist: « Levez sus, Palamedes, ne place a Dieu que je sueffre ce de vos. »' There is no doubt that *W* has preserved *M*'s reading, obscure though this may be.

603. 13-23. *And thereby at a pryory they rested them all nyght*. In *F* Lamorak, Palomides, and Dinadan go to a castle 'en uhe petite montaigne' (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 226^v, col. 1), but there is no mention of Uwayne's and Brandiles' return to court or of the *lawghynge and japyng* at *kyng* Marke and at *sir Dagonet*.

604. 29-605. 15. '*Nat so, seyde sir Dynadan. . . . So they departed*. In *M*'s version this dialogue makes little sense. Dinadan first refuses to fight, then, without any apparent reason, offers to meet the challenger in single combat at Arthur's court. The unknown knight, on the other hand, after challenging Dinadan, declares that he loves him 'hertely', although he is clearly unaware of Dinadan's identity. Finally, Dinadan's concluding remark, 'than shall here be no justys betwyxte us', is contrary to all chivalric customs, for it does not rest with him to withdraw the unknown knight's challenge. The reason for all these inconsistencies is that *M* has here made a deliberate attempt to conceal from his readers the real nature of the argument. *F*'s object in this scene was to expose the 'high order of knighthood' to Dinadan's subtle attack and so hold up to ridicule some of the conventions of knight-errantry. *M* takes upon himself the defence of the 'high order', and as his most efficient means of defence is omission, we may assume that the extent to which he practises it here is the measure of his reaction to the subversive criticisms contained in his source. The French version of the dialogue is as follows (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 327^r, col. 1): 'Dynadam regarde et voit un chevalier qui descenduz estoit delez le chemin. . . . Quant il vit que Dynadam estoit près de lui a meins du trait d'un arc, il vint tout meintenant a son cheval et monte et prent son escu et son glaive et dist a Dynadam qui ja estoit allez près de lui: « Sire chevalier, a jouter vous convient! » Dynadam commence a seurrire quant il entent cele parole, et li dist: « Sire chevalier, se Diex vos doinst bonne aventure, ne savez vos en autre maniere saluer chevalier errant fors qu'en disant « a jouter vos convient »? Se Diex me saut, ce saluz n'est mie trop courtois! Et vos, que savez ore se je suis aiesiés de jouter? » « Certes », fet le chevalier, « je ne sai, mes encore vos di je bien que a jouter vos convient a moi. » « Or me dites », fet Dynadam, « ceste joute yci que vos me demandez, la volez vos par amours ou par haine? » « Certes », ce dit le chevalier, « je ne la demande pas par haine, mes par amours et par soulaz. » « Ceste amour ne tieng je pas a amistié, ne ce soulaz ne tieng mie a gieu. Ceste amour monstrez a un autre que a moi, car avant voudroie je mielz estre vostre anemi, pour tant que vous me

monstrissiez tele amour.» « Comment », fet le chevalier, « refusez vos ceste bataille? » « Ouil, certes », fet Dynadam, « je me tieng pour vostre anemi. » « Pour mon anemi? » fet le chevalier, « quant fut ce que je vos mesfis? Onques mes certes je ne vos vi dont je me puisse recorder. » « Vous n'estes mie du tel recort comme je sui », fet Dynadam. « Or sachiez que je ne vos tieng pas pour ami, et je ne vos vi puis que vos me feistes tele chose dont il ne me fu mie trop bel, pour quoi le parlement que j'ai en vos m'ennuie. » « A non Dieu », ce dist le chevalier, « puisque vos meesmes me dites que je suis vostre anemi, je vos apele de la bataille, car je n'avoie mie devant si bon achoison de combatre a vos comme je ai orendroit. Meshuit vos gardés bien de moi, que je vos metrai a la mort se je oncques puis. » « Vassal », ce dist Dynadam, « quand tu as si grant volenté de combatre a moi, or le fesons donques sagement, si comme chevaliers erranz le doivent fere. Tu sez bien que anemistiez de chevaliers si s'esmuevent aucune foiz par moult grant achoison, et aucune foiz par trop peu(t) de chose. Et pour ce que tu ne sez quele anemistie j'ai envers toi, ne je ne la vueill pas dire, je la te dirai et ferai connoistre devant un si preudoume comme est le roy Artus, et non mie en repost ne a gas, si comme ce seroit fet se je la te disoie a cestui point, la ou il n'a que moi et toi et nos escuiers. Et il n'a mie trop grant voie jusques a la meson le roy Artus. Se il te pleist, or alons la. » . . . Quant celui ot parler Dynadam si sagement, il ne s'aperçoit mie adonques que Dynadam li(e) die ces paroles par moquerie, ançois cuide que il les die a certes. Si li dist adonques: « Sire chevalier, se Diex vos saut, comment avez vos nom qui n'avez talent de combatre a moi fors en la meson le roy Artus? » « Certes », fet Dynadam, « je le vos dirai. Je m'apele Dynadam. » « Dynadam! » ce dist le chevalier, « je vos di bien que vos estes un des chevaliers du monde que je plus aime. » « Certes », fet Dynadam, « je le crois bien, et pour ce estoie je orendroit touz emerveillez de ce que vous me fesiez si bel aqueill quant je m'embati desus vos. Car tout le premier saluz que vos me donnastes, si fu de moi porter a terre, se fere le peussiez. » « Dynadam », fet le chevalier, « je vos di bien que vos ne me devez pas cestui fet atourner a mal. » « Non faiz je », fet Dynadam, « ançois le tieng au plus grant bien du monde, mes tant seulement que ja n'i partisse, car jamés ne voudroie avoir part a tel bien; car je n'i voi mie moult grant preu. » « Comment, Dynadam », fet le chevalier, « ne voulez vos mie maintenir la coustume du roiaume de Logres? N'estes vos chevalier errant? » « Certes, ouïl », fet Dynadam, « mes quant je voi que trop grant achoison ne m'ameine a jouter, je me sueffre moult volentiers, car je ne vieng mie gramment en lieu ou je ne truisse tel encontre: « gardez vos de moi, sire chevalier! » Si est ore une coustume si commune par tout le roiaume de Logres que les chevaliers erranz ne sevent dire les uns as autres ne mes « gardez vos de moi ». Je truis cestui saluz en tant de lieux que se il m'ennuie ce n'est mie de merveilles, pour quoi je les refuse et refuserai a mon pouvoir en touz lieux quant je truis un chevalier errant et je cuide estre a sauveté. Adonques sui je en greingnour balance, car quant je le voi, je suis touz certains d'avoir anui, se je ne m'en puis defendre ou par parole ou par fet. »

606. 7-12. '*Sir*,' seyde sir Trystram . . . '*ded so well as sir Lamerok*.' Not in *F*, but as *M*'s immediate source contained several otherwise unknown

details about Lamorak (cf. my *Roman de Tristan*, pp. 45-6), it may have suggested to *M* this panegyric of the 'third best knight in the world'.

606. 19. *frome the justys* = 'some distance away from the place of the tournament'.

608. 10. *put hym to such a dishonoure*. Unless *hym* is a corruption of *hem* (= 'them') it can only refer to Gawain.

608. 21. *seyde sir Gawaynes brethrene*. *F* makes it clear that Gaieriet was not among the conspirators.

608. 21-2. *lat se: devyse how ye wolle be revenged*. A word (*and?*) seems to have dropped out between *se* and *devyse*.

609. 27-36. '*Alas, seyde sir Launcelot unto kynge Arthure. . . knyght that is now lyvyng*'. In *F*, instead of blaming Arthur for having sent Tristram back to Cornwall, Lancelot merely expresses his fear of Mark's cruelty.

611. 19-31. *Thenne was there a mayden . . . thenne she dyed*. *F* makes no mention of the dumb maiden who showed Percival his seat at the Round Table, but the following account of the episode is given in the French Prose *Lancelot* (MS. Add. 10293, f. 375^v, col. 3-376^r, col. 2): 'Et lors si vint devant lui une des puceles la royne, la plus souteve ouvriere de soie que on peust trouver; mais elle n'avoit onques parlé, dont cil de laiens l'apeloient « la damoisele qui onques n'avoit menti ». Si la connoissent tout cil de laiens a cel non. Quant la damoisele ot longement regardé Perceval, si commencha a plorer moult tenrement. Et lors en avint une aventure merveilleuse qui fu tenue a miracle, et si dut bien de droit estre tenue a miracle, quar cele qui onques n'avoit parlé dist a Perceval: « Chevaliers Jesu Crist, vien assier el Haut Siege de la Table Roonde ». Et cils fu tout esbahis. Et cele le prist par la main, et puis l'enmaine jusques au Siege Perilleus a destre partie, puis li dist: « En cel siege serra li bons chevaliers et tu dalés lui a destre, pour chou que tu le resambles en virginité. Et a senestre serra Bohors. Et encore saront bien li chevalier de chaiens la verité de ceste chose. » Et il s'assiet la ou elle li commande. Et quant elle li ot assis, si li dist: « Souviegne toi de moi quand tu seras devant le Saint Graal, et si prie pour m[o]i, quar jou trespasrai prochenement. » Ensi com vous poés oïr, assist la damoisele Perceval el siege de la Table Roonde qui estoit contés el conte avec le Siege Perilleus. Si le tindrent a grant mervelles tout cil de l'ostel le roy Artus. Et quant la damoisele li ot mené par la main et elle li ot assis, si s'en departi la damoisele, et s'en vint es cambres la royne et se coucha en un lit. Ne onques puis ne parla fors au quart jour que on li aporta corpus domini, quar il quidoient que elle mourust. Et quant elle le vit venir, si ot pooir de dire: « Biaux sire Diex, merci! » ne plus ne dist, ainz trespasqua quant elle ot rechut son Sauveur.' Some such passage must have occurred in *M*'s source (cf. *Goddes Knyght—Chevaliers Jesu Crist; to the ryght syde—a destre partie*) even though it is not paralleled in the extant MSS. of the Prose *Tristan*.

612. 28-30. *Ye ded the more wronge . . . for my fadir slew nat your fadir: hit was Balyn le Savage, &c.* This reference to *M*'s earlier work, the *Tale of King Arthure*, is naturally absent from *F*. It is one of many examples of confusion between Pellinore, Lamorak's father, and Pellam, the victim of Balin's 'dolorous stroke'.

613. 14. *by forecaste [treason], that.* The omission of *treason* in *W* is a simple case of a *saut du même au même*.
613. 32. *he wolde promyse them none helpe.* This is a summary of a dialogue in which Dinadan boldly proclaims the coward's right to be a coward (*le couart fet sa couardise et le hardi fet sa prouesse*) and refuses to put his life in jeopardy for other people's sake.
614. 9. *I am sir Brewyns Saunze Pité.* In *F* the knight's identity is disclosed by the author in an earlier passage: 'Et se aucuns me demandoit qui le chevalier estoit, je diroie que ce estoit Breuz Sanz Pitié qui meint grant mal avoit fet el roiaume de Logres as chevaliers et as dames et as damoiseles' (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 333^v, col. 2). The remark which *M* attributes to him is not in *F*. Nor is it proper for a knight-errant to reveal his name without being either requested or forced to do so.
614. 20. '*Sir knyght . . . well have ye done.*' *M* omits here another humorous dialogue. Agravain calls Dinadan a coward because he has refused to pursue his opponent. Dinadan then says: '« Agravains, ma couardise me fet vivre, et vostre hardement vos fet orendroit estre a pié, ce m'est avis. . . . » « Sire chevalier, fet Agravain, qui estes vos qui teles paroles me dites? » « Sire, fet Dynadam, je suis un chevalier errant qui chascun jor voiz aventures querant et le sens du monde, mes point n'en puis trouver, ne point n'en puis a mon oes retenir. »' (MS. B.N. fr. 334, f. 334^r, col. 2).
614. 25-31. *When they undirstode . . . that ever were called murtherers.* *F* makes it clear that Dalan—who was a friend of Mordred and Agravain—made them turn against Dinadan whose father had killed Dalan's father. It was thus that Mordred and Agravain were induced to attack Dinadan in spite of the latter's generosity in saving them from Breunis Saunze Pité.
615. 11-17. *And there sir Dynadan, &c.* In *F* Dinadan, hearing that Palomides has decided to rest in his castle until he has fully recovered from his wounds, compliments him on his wisdom and says: '*de quant est ce que vos estes devenuz si sages?*' Palomides resents the irony and assures Dinadan that he will soon find knights who are even more deficient in wisdom. Dinadan agrees that this is true of Tristram: '*celui ci est bien le mestre des fols.*'
615. 30. *he called hym in hys lettirs Kynge Foxe.* The same comparison, obviously inspired by the *Roman de Renart*, occurs in *F*.
615. 33-616. 30. *Than the damesell wente unto La Beale Isode . . . 'for I have be longe his owne maydyn'.* In *F* Tristram's letter is delivered by the damsel whom Isode has previously sent to Tristram. Hence her remark: 'All that I may do . . . I muste do for sir Trystram, for I have be longe his owne maydyn.' But while this comes naturally from the anonymous damsel whom Isode has placed at Tristram's service, it is ill suited to Brangwayne with whom *M*, in his attempt to simplify the *personnel*, has identified her. Cf. my *Malory*, pp. 36-8.
617. 6-9. *And to begyn, the kyngis lettirs spake wondirly shorte, &c.* In *F* Mark says quite explicitly that unlike a certain king he is not easily deceived. 'That king', he adds, 'should be told *que il lesse le roy Marc en pes, oevre ses eulx et si regart sa grant honte qui pent a l'ueill.*'
617. 16. *he put that all oute of his thought.* In *F* Arthur deludes himself into

thinking that Mark's insinuations refer to Caradoc Briefbras whose wife is known to have deceived him.

617. 28. *hit was his maner to be prewy with all good knyghtes.* F: 'Dynadam qui moult estoit privez de Lancelot.'

618. 18-19. *the worste lay that ever harper songe.* This does not refer to the quality of the lay, but to the *mauvestié* of King Mark. F: *il* (= Dinadan) *fet lay de sa vergoingne et il conte sa mauvestié.* Cf. 626. 34-5.

618. 22-3. *with a speare and with a swerde.* F: 'd'une saiete.' The only version of the Prose *Tristan* which accounts for this is Tressan's compilation. The relevant passage is summarized by Loeth (op. cit., p. 205) as follows: 'Les amants continuent à se voir chez Dinas; Andret, qui les épie toujours, monte, armé d'un arc et de flèches, sur un pin fort touffu qui s'élève au-dessus des murs du grand jardin. Il voit Iseut sortir d'un pilastre peint à fresque et Tristan se lever d'un siège de gazon qui se trouve dans un bosquet voisin; il tire sur Tristan une flèche qui lui perce l'épaule de part en part et dont la pointe effleure celle d'Iseut. Les deux amants se quittent bien vite; une seconde flèche frise la gorge de Tristan au moment où il se dérobe aux regards d'Andret.' Although, as Loeth remarks, Tristan's wound is thus 'well motivated', the whole scene betrays a late hand. It is a conflation of two distinct episodes: *le rendez-vous épié*, which occurs in most of the known versions of the Tristan legend, and the death of the lovers at the hand of King Mark, which is peculiar to the prose version. In *M*'s source Tristan's wound was most probably unaccounted for, and *M* was at liberty, therefore, to introduce the familiar tag: '*as sir Trystram was at a justys and at a turnement*'.

619. 12-22. *he bestrode a soffie ambular, &c.* In F Tristram sends Mark a message telling him to keep the enemy in check as long as possible and promising to come to his rescue in five days' time. *M* apparently thought that Tristram, although still suffering from his wounds, was well enough to deliver the message personally.

619. 37. Cf. 588. 28.

621. 5-19. '*for now the good knyght, . . . sir Trystram de Lyones*'. This passage is for the most part *M*'s own. In F (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 370^r, col. 2) Elyas (Helias) sends a messenger with a challenge to King Mark ('il parole hardiement ou langage d'Engleterre'), but there is no question of a single combat. Nor is there any reference in F to Tristram's conversation with Mark.

624. 7-8. *howbehit that I am sore brused and hurte.* In F Tristram is reluctant to do battle with Elyas, not on account of his wounds, but because of the ingratitude of the people of Cornwall: 'Je me suis ja combatus seul a seul pour Cornoaille. Maint travail en ay souffert et mis mon corps en aventure, onques n'en heu guerredon se mauvais non.' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 373^r, col. 2.)

625. 26-31. *Thus as they stode . . . gaff hym many sad strokys.* Cf. F (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 374^r, col. 2): 'Si se met avant pour ferir et donne a Helias un tel cop sur le hiaume que cil est trop chargiés du recevoir.' That Tristram *remembird hym of his lady, La Beale Isode, that lokyd upon hym*, and so recovered his strength is a detail peculiar to *M*'s account; but it is none the less characteristic of the French courtly tradition.

626. 5-7. *And therewithall sir Elyas fell to the erthe and there dyed. 'Now what shall I do?' seyde sir Trystram unto kyng Marke.* In *F* Tristram, having defeated Helias, turns to the *Sesmes* and threatens to kill their lord unless they surrender. They declare that they are ready to do so, and Mark leaves it to Tristram to decide whether Helias should live or die. Tristram spares him. His question (*what shall I do?*), irrelevant in *M*'s context, is a survival of *F*'s version.

626. 8-11. *'many presoners . . . and the remenaunte he sente into her cuntry to borow oute their felowys'.* In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 375^r, col. 1) the whole of the enemy army is captured and the prisoners are kept in *le Val de la Porte* (so named because it was inaccessible except through a gate at one end), until Mark's death.

626. 24-6. *And whan sir Trystram harde hit he sayde, 'O Lord Jesu! That sir Dynadan can make wondirly well and yll. There he sholde make evyll!'* Tristram's remark is not in *F* because the minstrel does not recite the lay to him. Neither *C*'s nor *W*'s reading of the last sentence seems to make satisfactory sense.

626. 34-5. *whyche spake the most vylany by kyng Marke and of his treson.* The lay has sixty lines divided into fifteen verses, on the model of Tristram's lays: 'et pour ce que il (= Dinadan) savoit que Tristram avoit fet le *Lay Mortel* chascune couple de quatre lingnes semblables, si dist a soi mesmes que il voudra fere cestui tout autresint.' The last two verses are as follows (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 376^r, col. 1):

De ta vergoigne et de ta honte,
Qui toute deshonnours surmonte,
Fine mon lay, que roy et conte
En feront de gabs grant aconté.

Et pour ce qu'alas mesdisans
De celui que tuit vont prisant,
Te vois je du tout desprisant.
Cy fine mon *Lay Voir Disant*.

627. 3-5. *'Sir,' seyde Elyas, 'wyte thou well, I am a mynstrell, and I muste do as I am commaunded of thos lordis that I beare the armys of.'* In *F* the minstrel gives no such excuse. He does not 'bear the arms of his lords', and can do no more than plead the privileges of a *fol*. 'Sire . . . qui fait les folies fors le fol? Li fol font les folies et li sages font li grans sens. . . . Sire, or voz ay respondu selon la folie que j'ay' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 376^r, col. 1).
627. 12-14. *Than sir Trystram let make lettyrs, &c.* Cf. MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 376^v, col. 1: 'Tristan dist en souriant: « . . . Me salueras Lancelot du Lac. A celui diras tu », &c. On *M*'s preference for written messages see 513. 16-22 and 785. 16-17.

VIII

ALEXANDER THE ORPHAN

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SOURCES

The story of Alexander the Orphan is a characteristic example of a biographical novel interpolated in a cyclic romance. Originally, it was a story of a young knight who took upon himself to avenge his father's death—*eine biographische Chanson de geste romantischen Charakters*, as a German critic has once described it.¹ But its initial episode—the death of the hero's father—has survived in two versions only: in Malory's adaptation and in a fifteenth-century French miscellany of romances preserved in MS. B.N. fr. 362.² According to this MS., King Mark had a brother, *bon chevalier a merveilles, qui trop plus valoit en armes que le roy*. But Mark was jealous of his brother's renown, and decided to murder him at the first opportunity. He soon saw his chance:

'Tant fist le roy Marc qu'il trouva ung jour son frere dormant a une fontaine, et avoit son heaulme deslachié, et ne avoit qui le gardast fors ung seul escuier. Quant le roy Marc veï son frere, il dist bien en son courage qu'il estoit maintenant venu a son desir. Si vient a l'escuier de son frere et descend de son destrier et lui baille a garder. Et quant il a ce fait, en approuchant de son frere il trait l'espee du feurre et en fiert tellement que tout mort le rend de ce coup' (f. 232, col. 1).

At this point the story is taken up by several other MSS. In MS. B.N. fr. 99 it goes on as follows (f. 376):

'En ceste partie dit li contes que voir fu que le roy Marc de Cornoaille

¹ E. Brugger, op. cit., p. 333, note 23.

² This MS. contains long extracts from various prose romances, including the *Tristan*, the *Palamède*, the *Lancelot*, *Guiron le Courtois*, *Prophecies Merlin*, and some others. Cf. Loseth, op. cit., pp. 481 ff.

occist un sien frere que il avoit. Et sa serourge, quant elle scetist la mort de son mary, si s'en foy a tout un sien filz que elle avoit.'

'Un sien filz' is Alexander, the protagonist of the tale, and when the time comes for him to be made a knight his mother tells him that he must avenge his father's death. In Malory she even makes him swear 'uppon the hyghe Order of Knyghthood' that he will not rest until he has done so. After such an opening one would expect the rest of the story to centre round the theme of revenge, and the hero to plan his whole life so as to fulfil his mission. It is probable that the original version of the tale was conceived on these lines and that the original Alexander was primarily concerned with his filial duty. But no sooner was the tale drawn unto the network of cyclic compositions than its whole character was radically changed, and the revenge motif replaced by other themes. The earliest extant form of the work is contained in the *Prophecies Merlin*—a fourteenth-century prose romance.¹ A century later it is found in two MSS. of the Prose *Tristan*² as well as in two miscellanies of prose romances.³ In none of these works, however, has it been preserved intact. Alexander appears in all as a typical Arthurian character. He joyfully divides his energies between innumerable combats and polite dialogues with ladies who court his favours; his exploits do not culminate, as they no doubt did originally, in a victory over his father's murderer; they are concluded by a happy marriage with 'Alys la Belle Pèlerine'. Nor does Alexander escape the direct influence of the particular romances with which his own adventures are combined. The story of La Cotte Mal Taillée—an earlier addition to the Prose *Tristan*—is responsible for the motif of the 'dubled and shurte' which Alexander's mother gives him as a reminder of his father's death: *la cote et la chemise ou son mari avoit esté occis*;⁴ and the tragic death of Tristan and Iseult is duplicated in the story of Alexander's death: mortally wounded, he returns to 'la Belle Pèlerine' and they die in each other's arms. Thus the epic tale of vengeance is transformed into an episode suited to its Arthurian context.⁵

Until 1890 the French Alexander story was only known as a section of the *Prophecies Merlin*, and it was naturally assumed that Malory owed it to that romance.⁶ In 1890 E. Löseth found the story in a Prose *Tristan* MS. (B.N. fr. 99), as well as in a compilation related to the Prose *Tristan* (MS. B.N. fr. 362); in 1895 E. Wechssler found it in MS. B.N. fr. 112, and in

¹ MSS. Add. 25434, Harl. 1629, and B.N. fr. 350.

² MSS. B.N. fr. 99 and Chantilly 316.

³ MSS. B.N. fr. 112 and 362.

⁴ MS. B.N. fr. 99.

⁵ The evolution of the story has never yet been properly examined, and the recent researches of Professor E. Brugger have thrown little light on it. His contention is that the *Prophecies* version goes back to a more primitive *Tristan* version which is no longer extant, 'Man werde voraussetzen müssen dass der ursprüngliche Versroman von Alisandre durch eine Prosa-Tristan Redaktion hindurchgegangen sein muss ehe er in die *Prophecies Merlin* angenommen wurde' (op. cit., p. 343, note 27). There is no cogent reason to assume this, and the fact that the only two *Tristan* MSS. which contain the story belong to the fifteenth century seems to suggest the reverse of Professor Brugger's theory.

⁶ Cf. Sommer, op. cit.

1925 I added to the list a text practically identical with MS. B.N. fr. 99: MS. Chantilly 316.¹ The bearing of all these discoveries on the problem of Malory's sources is obvious: if Malory was able to find the French model of his *Alexander* in a work which he had before his eyes he is hardly likely to have abandoned it in order to get substantially the same story from another source. That he did not, in fact, abandon it can be proved on grounds of internal evidence. The account of Alexander's successes at the tournament, as printed by Caxton, refers to a damsel who 'sawe the best knyghte Iuste that euer she (C: he) sawe | And euer as he smote doune knyghtes | he made them to swere to were none harneis in a twelue monethe and a day | This is wel sayd | saide Morgan le Fay.' This passage, as I suggested in an earlier study,² seems to imply a dialogue in the course of which Morgan's damsel tells her of Alexander's exploits. The Winchester MS. shows this to be the case. It says that a damsel 'went to Morgan le Fay and tolde hir how she saw the beste knyghte Iuste', &c. Here the dialogue is not merely implied, but reproduced, and Alexander's performance is actually related by Morgan's damsel. The arrangement is, then, the same as that found in the Prose *Tristan* which thus provides a natural link between the *Prophecies* and Malory.³

The same conclusion is suggested by the variants of proper names. Malory's *Camyllyarde* (p. 639) is more closely related to *Carmelide* of MS. B.N. fr. 99 (*Cormelide* in Chant. 316) than to *Tarmelyde* of the *Prophecies*: *Carmelide* is the obvious intermediary between the other two. Likewise, the transition from *Asmonz* (*Prophecies*, MS. Add. 25434) to Malory's *Seymound* is easily accounted for by the intermediate form *Esmon* which is attested by MSS. B.N. fr. 99 and Chant. 316.

The immediate source of Malory's story was, then, a *Tristan* MS. not unlike MSS. B.N. fr. 99, 362, and Chant. 316. The compiler of Malory's source, like the compilers of the extant *Tristan* MSS., anxious as he was to use his favourite method of 'interweaving', must have divided the story in two parts and filled the interval with various extraneous matters.⁴ Malory disliked this method, and instead of saying with the French *atant laisse ore ly contes a parler d'Alixandre* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 384) added a conclusion of his own: Alexander and Alys ('la Belle Pèlerine') have a son, Bellengerus le Beuse; Alexander is 'falsely and felonsly' murdered by Mark, and Bellengerus avenges his father's—and, presumably, his grandfather's—deaths. When later on Malory discovered the rest of the French version of the tale he may well have been surprised at its ending and embarrassed to find that Alexander was killed not by Mark but by Helyas le Roux. And so he 'lette hym passe' and turned to another tale.

633. 1-634. 11. Now turne we to another mater . . . never after spake worde.

The only extant record of the French source of this passage is the paragraph

¹ Cf. my *Roman de Tristan*, p. 61.

² *Roman de Tristan*, p. 66: 'Il semble donc certain qu'il y avait, dans l'original de Malory, un passage concernant l'arrivée de la demoiselle et l'introduisant comme narratrice des aventures d'Alexandre.'

³ For an example of M's agreement with the *Prophecies* see note 643. 23-4.

⁴ In MS. B.N. fr. 99 there is an interval of some 20 folios between them.

quoted above from MS. B.N. fr. 362. The following details are, however, peculiar to *M*: (a) the name of Mark's brother (*Bodwyne*); (b) the war with the Saracens and Bodwyne's stratagem; (c) Mark strikes his brother openly 'to the herte wyth a dagger', after a brief conversation, instead of killing him while he is asleep at a fountain; (d) the conversation takes place while Bodwyne, his wife, and his son are enjoying Mark's hospitality: 'and all this he ded to the entente to sle the chyldre as well as his fadir, for he was the falsist traytour that ever was borne.'

633. 7. *And whan the good prynce*. *C*'s reading—*And thène*—may well be authentic; it certainly improves the syntax.

634. 15-16. *his lady Anglydes pryvaely gate hir husbandis dubled and his shurte*. In *F*, when Alexander has been made a knight, his mother, having made him swear that he will avenge his father's death, gives him as an emblem of his 'charge' the doublet and the shirt stained with his father's blood.

635. 22-3. *a castell that is called Magowens, that now is called Arundell, in Southsex*. Needless to say, there is no such localization in *F*. *M* may well have seen Arundel castle (the seat of Fitzalans, Earls of Arundel, from 1243 to 1580) with its circular Norman keep, and remembered that it had stood great sieges.

635. 27-8. *the conestablys name was sir Bellyngere*. In *F* the name is given on the constable's next appearance (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 377^v, col. 1).

638. 15-21. *Than kynge Marke called a knyght . . . thou haddyste of thyne owne*. This knight was present at Alexander's meeting with his friends at Magance and came to report to Mark all that he had heard *a ce conseil*.

638. 22-3. *But within shorte space sir Sadoke mette wyth that false knyght and slew hym*. This is one of the details peculiar to *M* and MS. B.N. fr. 362. The only substantial difference between the French text and *M*'s summary is that *M* has one 'false knyght' instead of two.

640. 5-7. *that is and hath bene longe an evyll neyghboure to me? His name is sir Malegryne, and he woll nat suffir me to be maryde*. In *F* the damsel discloses neither the name of her 'evil neighbour' nor his designs upon her. She says, 'Il vous convient s'il vous plaist combatre encontre un mien voisin, se vous voulés cestui pais tenir en paix' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 379^v, col. 1). *M* must have added 'and he woll nat suffir me to be maryde in no maner' (*W*) and possibly the reading found in *C*: 'in no maner wyse for all that I can doo or ony knyght for my sake.'

641. 5-18. *'Now, sir knyght' . . . 'I shall sle the!'* In *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 379^v, col. 2) Malagrin (Malegryne) and Alexander talk in the intervals of fighting, whereas in *M* the conversation seems to be taking place while they are 'rushing together like two wild boars'.

641. 10-13. *for this maydyns love, of this castell, I have slayne ten good knyghtes by myssehap, and by outerage [and] orgulyte of myself I have slayne othir ten knyghtes*. *F*: 'dix chevaliers pour l'oustrage que ceste damoiselle me fist, et dix en ay je occis par mon orgueil et dix en trahison.'

643. 1-4. *than shall ye promyse, &c.* In MS. B.N. fr. 99 there is no mention of any such pledge, but throughout this section of the MS. there is evidence of consistent and drastic abridgement.

643. 13. *passynge hevy and all sad.* F: 'pales et mournes.'
643. 23-4. 'A, Jesu defende me,' seyde Alysaunder, 'frome suche pleasure!' &c. In F as in M Alexander is naturally indignant when he hears of Morgan le Fay's designs upon him, but his speech is couched in more refined terms: '« Itant vueil-je que vous sachiez », fait Alixandre a la damoisele, « que ainçois que je me couchasse avec Morgain soufferray je beau cop de mal, si come il m'est avis. »' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 381^r, col. 1.) M's version of this remark is paralleled in MS. Add. 25434 (*Prophecies of Merlin*), f. 182^r, col. 1: 'trencheroie je . . . en deus mes pendanz'.
643. 27-8. *with your worship.* F: 'sans vous meffaire des convenances.'
644. 9-11. *she sente unto hir uncle and bade hym com to destroy that castell; for, as the booke seyth, he wolde have destroyed that castell aforetyme, &c.* In F Alys visits her uncle who welcomes her 'si comme celui qui son oncle estoit' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 381^r, col. 2), but there is no indication that he had any intention of destroying the castle.
644. 26-30. *there was a deuke Aunsyrus, and he was . . . a grete pylgryme, &c.* F: 'duc Rancier le Pellerin.' He was buried at the gate of Jerusalem in recognition of his piety.
644. 34-645. 5. *she wente unto kynge Arthurs [courte] . . . she was passynge fayre and ryche, and of grete rentys.* Not in F. Alys had 'une terre que l'en appelloit au temps de lors Boveine. Et tout le pais d'illecques environ Boveine estoit une eaue et une riviere qui couroit soustivement.' The only asset of the estate, and one which could hardly have been the source of 'grete rentys', was a golden statue of a bull standing 'dedens celle eaue'.
645. 2. *the pyce of erthe.* F: 'la piece de terre.' This refers to the undertaking given by Alexander (p. 644, l. 23) to 'keep that piece of earth thereas the castle of La Beale Regarde was, a twelve-month and a day from all manner of knights that would come'. The 'piece of earth' held by Alexander was, however, not the ground on which the castle stood, but a strip of land immediately adjoining it (cf. p. 645, ll. 7-9).
645. 11. In F *Sagramour le Desyrous* is not referred to by name.
645. 24. *The I muste love, and never othir.* Cf. 645. 34-646. 2.
645. 31-4. *telle me youre name, &c.* Not in F, where the scene ends with Alexander's declaration that he will always be loyal to the lady: 'Et la damoiselle respont et dit que ja mais ne pensera fors seulement a lui. Et lors s'entrecoumandent a Dieu.'
645. 34-646. 2. 646. 24-30. *And whan we be more at oure hartys ease, bothe ye and I shall telle of what blood we be com.—And there Alys tolde of what blood she was com, &c.* F: 'Elle en ot si grant joye que a bien petit que elle ne le court baisier devant tous; elle fu si durement esprise de s'amour que elle dist entre ses dens que ja mais n'avra mari se lui non, se il la daigne prendre. Et se il ne la reçoit a feme, elle lui donra ançois son corps a faire sa volenté.' When Alexander sees her he exclaims: 'L'eure soit benoicte que vous venistes ceste part, de quoy je croy tout certainement que vous estes descendue du saint Paradis. . . . Je me tieng des ore mais pour vostre chevalier, et tout ce que je de cy en avant feray, si sera par l'achaison et pour l'amour de vous' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 382^r, col. 2). In a later passage the lovers

inquire about each other's parentage, but only to ascertain that they are not too closely related to be married. Alys for one is totally indifferent to Alexander's social rank: 'Se il est povre, elle le fera riche, et s'il est de petit lignage, de ce ne lui chault mie grantment' (ibid., f. 383^r, col. 2).

646. 5. *Harleuse le Berbuse*. *F*: 'Herlaux le Barbu.' In the *Tale of King Arthur* this knight is slain by Garlon, the invisible knight, while riding under Balin's protection (pp. 80-1). *C* avoids the inconsistency by calling him *Harsouse* on his appearance in the *Tristram*. While no such distinction exists in *W*, it is unlikely that *M* is responsible for the inconsistency. If the name is modelled on the French *Herlaux le Barbu*, it must have been first used by *M* in the *Tristram* section, and since there is abundant evidence to show that this was written after the *Tale of King Arthur*, the insertion of Harleuse's name in the latter work must be due not to *M* but to one of his early scribes or rubricators who had previously found it in the *Tristram* section. On this problem see *Introduction*, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

646. 5-6. *axed parte of sir Alysaunder's spears*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 382^r, col. 2): 'Et quant il vit Alixandre, il comanda a son escuier que une liace de glaives lui apportast, et lui die de par lui qu'il en preigne la moitié. L'escuier s'en ala a esperon, et quant il fu venus devant Alixandre il le salue et lui donne la moitié des glaives de par son seigneur.' In *M* the process is reversed: instead of sending spears to Alexander—a common form of challenge—the knight borrows them from him. The mistake is probably due to the fact that *M* took the words *comanda a son escuier* to mean 'ordered Alexander's squire' and, ignoring the subjunctive forms *die* and *preigne*, read the next sentence (*lui die . . . qu'il en preigne la moitié*) as if it meant 'told him that he would take half of them'.

646. 17-22. *Than the damesell . . . beholdynge to this mayden*. This passage suggests that the damsel of the castle told Alys enough to arouse her suspicions and justify her remark: 'mesemyth ye ar muche beholdynge to this mayden.' In *F* she carefully avoids telling the whole truth and merely informs Alys 'coment Alixandre fu gueris par les mains Morgain et coment elle le tenoit en Belle Garde en prison, et coment il en eschappa . . . mais elle ne lui compta pas en quelle maniere elle lui donna son pucelage'.

646. 32. *sir Vayns*. *F*: 'Lievi.'

647. 7-8. *the false knyght sir Mordred*. *F*: 'un desloyaulx chevalier qui moult estoit cruel et felon, et venoit de la court le roy Artus, si come celui qui molt amoit la Belle Pellerine'. His name appears on f. 384^r.

647. 10-11. *had caste to have lad hym oute of that place*. A curious mis-translation of 'le commence a pourmener une heure ça et l'autre la par mi la place' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 383^v, col. 1).

647. 20-2. *whan she sawe that, she fledde, and so ded sir Mordred into the foreyste. And the damesell fled into the pavylyon*. *F* explains how Alexander discovered that he had been attacked by a woman wearing a knight's armour: 'Quant Alixandre l'en vit aler, il regarde que la damoiselle qui feru l'avoit se desarmoît; et quant il apparceust que c'estoit une femme, il en commença a rire durement.'

648. 1-3. *And the damesell wold never go frome hym, and so they wente into their contrey of Benoy and lyved there in grete joy*. Not in *F*, but the first

part of the sentence ('wold never go frome hym') may have been suggested by the French *ne pouoit faillir a celui qu'elle amoit*.

648. 5-10. *And by Alis he gate a chylde that hyght Bellengerus le Beuse, &c.* Not in *F*. Although the wording is confused, there is no doubt as to the denouement *M* had in mind: first, Mark kills Alexander the Orphan, then Bellengerus, Alexander's son, kills Mark. There is no description of Mark's death in any extant MS. of the Prose *Tristan*, and there is every reason to believe that *M* added it of his own accord. In a later work (*Launcelot and Guinevere*) he refers to it in these terms: 'And thys sir Bellynger revenged the deth of hys fadir, sir Alysauindir, and sir Trystram, for he slewe kynge Marke' (cf. p. 1150, ll. 1-2). Two other attempts to punish Mark for his numerous acts of treachery are on record: in a French MS. of the compilation attributed to Rusticiano da Pisa—MS. B.N. fr. 340—he is killed by Paulart, while in the Italian *Tavola Rotonda* he dies of overeating after having been kept in a cage and intensively fed by Morhault and Lancelot for thirty-two months.

648. 11-15. *And hit happed so that sir Alysauindir had never grace ne fortune to com to kynge Arthurs courte, &c.* Alexander is visited at the castle of Belle Garde by various knights, including Lancelot Dodinel le Sauvage, Agravain, and Erec. He defeats them all except Lancelot, marries *la belle Pèlerine* and returns to Cornwall with her. There he dies at the hands of Helyas le Roux without having ever seen Arthur's court.

IX

THE TOURNAMENT AT SURLUSE

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SOURCES

The story of the tournament at Surluse, like that of Alexander the Orphan, originally belonged to the fourteenth-century *Prophecies Merlin*. At some later date it was incorporated in an expanded version of the Prose *Tristan*, and reached Malory through the French book which contained the bulk of his *Tristan* material. Of all the extant texts the nearest to his rendering are MSS. B.N. fr. 99 (ff 384^r, col. 2-397^v, col. 1) and Chantilly 316,¹ but his immediate source was probably more complete than either of these.

¹ Malory's remark (p. 658) that 'kynge Bagdemagus sente away his sonne Mellyagaunce' is one of the examples of his agreement with the *Tristan* MSS.; like Malory, these MSS. refer to Melleagaunt's departure, although they suggest that he went of his own accord.

It must have contained, among other things, an account of Galahalt's arrival at Arthur's court (p. 654) and several passages announcing Lamorak's death (pp. 662-4, 670). Malory's text is at present the only known version of these passages.¹

655. 13-25. *Than in the meanewhyle there came a damesell, &c.* In *F* Galahalt's neighbour, Flanners, acting as a judge between the damsel and Gonereys (*Gozois*), decides that the dispute must be settled 'par la bataille'; the damsel goes to Arthur's court to look for a champion, but there is no one 'qui ceste chouse osast entreprendre'. At last 'un chevalier malade que l'en apeloit Sagremors' ('a varlet' in *M*) advises her to see Palomides. The rest is substantially the same as in *M*.

656. 2-4. *And than he raced of his helme and smote of his hede. Than they wente to souper.* Not in *F*. Cf. 658. 28-9.

656. 5-6. *And this damesell loved sir Palomydes as her paramour, but the booke seyth she was of his kynne.* In *F* the obstacle to the damsel's love is that Palomides is a pagan: 'elle eust donné a Palamedes s'amour, se il ne fust paiens; et se elle fust payenne aussi comme Palamedes estoit, il s'en fust tenuz a tres bien paiés de son amour.'

656. 17-658. 33. *Here begynnyth the secunde day, &c.* *F* omits to describe the second day of the tournament and passes directly to the third (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 385^v, col. 2): 'Mais atant laisse ore ly comptes a parler du second jour du tournoiement et de Palamedes le paien et retourne a parler de la tierce partie du tournoiement.'

657. 30-1. *he smote hym so in the throte that, and he had fallyn, his necke had be brokyn.* If *M* seems to speak of Melleagaunt's neck as of a piece of wood which would have snapped off if it had touched the ground, it is because he takes somewhat too literally the remark in *F* that if Melleagaunt had not evaded the second blow by jumping off his horse, 'ja més n'eust parlé de bouche'.

658. 21. *So whan they had dyned.* In *F* the challenger refuses to dine with Palomides: 'certes, avec celui qui m'a apovriez de mon frere, ne mengeroie je pour nule riens. Et lors s'entretourne arrieres et s'en entra en un autre ostel.'

658. 28-9. *and smote of his hede. Than the Haute Prynce and quene Gwenyver went to souper.* Not in *F*. *M* here repeats the words he used some two pages above (cf. 656. 2-4) to conclude another successful battle, quite regardless of the fact that only a short while ago Galahalt, the Haute Prince, had partaken of a meal (cf. ll. 17-20). Some idea of Galahalt's appetite may have been suggested to *M* by *F*'s description of the meal: 'Et lors regarde Dinadam deseur le tailleur d'argent qui devant Galeholt estoit, dont il avoit ja

¹ MS. B.N. fr. 363 (f. 332^r, col. 2) introduces the story of the tournament by saying that Queen Guinevere was at that time at Sorelois (= Surluse), *ainsi comme vous avez oïz*, and that the barons of Sorelois had arranged a tournament in her honour. 'Et quant cellui tournoy eust esté publiés, les chevaliers qui avoient intention d'i aller's s'appareillerent mieulz qu'ilz peurent.' The barons of Sorelois are here substituted for Galahalt, and the text is obviously incomplete. Cf. *Roman de Tristan*, p. 69.

mengié les chars qui devant Galeholt estoient aportees, et lors respont et dist: « Chetis! L'en puet apercevoir erranment se tu deusses avoir force ou non, au tailleour qui devant toi fu aporrez plains de chars. Certes, l'en ne puet veoir deseur ton tailleour fors que les os. *Tu ne menjues pas, ains deveures ausi con fet li lous* » (MS. Add. 25434, f. 82^v, col. 1).

659. 20-1. *sir Blamour . . . allmoste broke his necke, for the bloode braste oute, &c.* In *F* Blamor breaks Palomides' collar-bone, and Palomides 'en commença si durement a seignier par mi le nes que il li estuet oster son hiaume hors de sa teste'.

659. 33-660. 2. *Ryght so cam in sir Dynadan and mocked and japed wyth kyng Bagdemagus, &c.* These few lines summarize an interesting dialogue in which Dinadan takes the leading part. No sooner have all the guests found their seats at the table than Dinadan turns to king Bagdemagus and says, in substance, 'I thought you had retired to the monastery of St. Laurent, and here you are again, championing the cause of your worthless son.' Bagdemagus replies: 'Tu vas empirant de ta proesce, mes de ta langue vas tu amendant.' After dinner Guinevere requests Lancelot not to fight against Arthur's fellowship ('je ne voudroie en nule maniere du monde que courrouz montast entre vous et euls'), and turning to Dinadan asks him how it is that she has only seen him once at the tournament. 'My lady,' says Dinadan, 'I am sure you can see me every day if only you look into your heart! The "abesse" and all the nuns of this nunnery are so pale that I am certain they must be praying for me all day—or else they would not look as though they ate nothing but herbs and beans. But lo! how their colour has improved since my arrival here. *La vermeille couleur vous est montee ou visage, et pour ce dy je que la char vous est amende.*' Amidst general laughter the 'abesse', who was 'sage dame et courtoise', asks Dinadan what he would like them to say in their prayers. 'Et Dinadan lui respont: « Toutes mes prieres et mes oraisons si ne sont ne mes seulement que Dieu me deffende et me gart de prison a dame et a damoiselle. Et ceste priere vousisse je que vous feissies envers Dieu pour moy, car ceulx si sont en trop fort prison qui pensent a dame et a damoiselle. » « Ha! Dinadan, dit la royne, ne voulés vous pas amer une belle dame et faire belles joustes et aler aux armes pour l'amour de lui? Car quant vous ceste chouse ne voulés faire, pourquoy vous feistes vous faire chevalier? . . . Vous vous deussiez estre fait ordonner a prouvoire »' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 389^r, col. 2). In an earlier version (MS. Add. 25434, ff. 86^v-87^r) Dinadan replies: 'Dame, se je fusse prestre, a cestui point vous mengissiez encore les feves', but in MS. B.N. fr. 99 his answer shows greater subtlety: '« Dame, fait Dinadan, si je fusse prestre et vous venissies a moy a confesse, je vous absoulisse aussi bien, se vous me vousissies croire, comme tel avés huy veu, se je vous tenisse a privé. »'

660. 6-8. *four spearys. F: 'is liaces de lances.'*

660. 29-30. *Than quene Gwenyver comended hym, and so did all good knyghtes, <and> made muche of hym.* Modern editors emend *made* to *make*. But the omission of *and* (&) after an abbreviated plural ending is an even more likely scribal error than the substitution of *d* for *k*.

661. 8-11. *his name was called an erle (W)* is clearly a misreading of *his name*

was called the erle (C) which in its turn is a likely corruption of *his name was called the erle of Plaunche* (F: 'quans de la Planche'). This character is probably identical with the 'comte de Plains' mentioned in the *Queste del Saint Graal* (ed. Pauphilet, p. 188). Little is known of him except that in the *Queste* he is challenged by a 'veuve dame' and is to meet her champions at a tournament at the castle of Tubele. In the *Prose Tristan* the 'quans de la Planche' is an enemy of Palomides' parents ('il ont eu une grant guerre au quans de la Planche dont je l'apelai devant le roi Artus') and is eventually killed by Palomides' brother, Saphir.

662. 25-664. 13. *So hit befell that Sir Palomydes, &c.* The two incidents here contained—Palomides' victory over Adrawns ('Ardans' in F) and the dialogue between Arthur and Lamorak—are related in F (MS. B.N. fr. 99, ff. 391^v, col. 2-392^r, col. 1), but Arthur's foreknowledge of the circumstances of Lamorak's death (cf. p. 663, ll. 26 ff.) suggests that M's immediate source gave a more detailed account of it than any so far found in the extant French MSS. of the *Prose Tristan*. Cf. *Roman de Tristan*, pp. 45-50.

662. 32. *Elyce, his sonne* = 'Elyce, son of Adrawns.' C mistook *Elyce* his for the genitive (*Elyses*) and so added a new character, 'the son of Elyse'.

663. 31-3. *and nat so hardy in sir Gawaynes hede, nothir none of his bretherne, to do the wronge.* I take this to mean: 'and let no such hardy thought come into sir Gawain's head or any of his brothers', &c.

664. 27-8. *she had sente hym her pensell, &c.* F: '... un penoncel de soye tout ouvré de fil d'or. Si y avoit pourtrait ung chevalier et une damoisele.' The damsel promises to marry Palomides if he can defend the 'penoncel' for a whole year. The message is entrusted to a 'valet' who is also promised a handsome reward: 'le païage du pont par ou l'en va a la Mahomerie en pellerinage. Cellui païage si devoit chascun an dix mille mars d'argent; et ce avoit esté le doaire de s'aïole, dont la damoisele en estoit en cellui temps en saisine.' Corsabryn follows the messenger, and they arrive at Sorelois together.

666. 12-13. *'Fye on the,' seyde sir Corsabryne, 'and do thy warstel!' Than he smote of his hede.* In F Corsabryn kills himself and the devil carries off his soul.

666. 32-5. *Than sir Palomydes prayde quene Gwenyver and the Haute Prynce to soupe with hym.* M omits a long scene in which Dynadan mocks Palomides' love for Iseult. Palomides is so distressed that he does not feel able to accept Galahalt's hospitality, still less to invite Galahalt, Guinevere, Lancelot, Lamorak, and 'many other good knyghtes' to supper.

666. 33. [*to soupe with hym*] *and so he ded.* The omission of the words in square brackets is probably due to the resemblance between the *t* (*v*) of *to* and the contraction *&* (= and). But it is possible that the original reading was *soupe with hym so he* and that the error was caused by the recurrence of *so*.

668. 10-15. *And whan sir Dynadan . . . he woll never ete fysshe but fleysshe.* 'Your father,' says Galahalt in F, 'must have been a fisherman.' 'This is much better,' retorts Dynadan, 'than being the son of a wolf.' Cf. 658. 28-9.

668. 20-5. *'I ensure the, sir Dynadan,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'I shall no more mete with the,' &c.* This speech would seem to be more in keeping with

Dinadan's behaviour than with Lancelot's, and it is not unlikely that in translating the dialogue *M* mistook one for the other. In *F* Lancelot, far from being afraid of Dinadan, threatens to make him *laisser la cuir* at the next tournament.

668. 24-5. *make good wacche [e]ver. God forbode.* The confusion between *o* and *e*, frequent in *W*, accounts for the variant *wacche ouer God forbode*.

669. 29-30. *grete coystrons* (= 'stout scullions') *gate sir Dynadan.* *C*: 'grete scornes gate sir Dynadan.' *W*'s *coystrons*, supported by *F*'s *ribaux*, is clearly the correct reading. *Scornes* is an attempt to replace it by a more familiar term.

670. 3-4. *sir Launcelot, thou arte so false that I can never beware of the.* *F* has no equivalent to this beyond the remark that Dinadan 'se deffendoit de tout moult bien', which *M* seems to have expanded into direct speech.

670. 11-27. *but in no wyse sir Lamerok w[ol]de nat go wyth them . . . and aythir of them wepte at her departynge.* This dialogue is one of a series of passages foreshadowing Lamerok's death which are only known through *M*'s version. That there is a *lacuna* in the corresponding place in MS. B.N. fr. 99 is suggested by the remark on f. 397^v, col. 1: 'Et puis s'assirent au mengier et moult gaberent Dinadan et se deffendoit de tout moult bel (cf. 670. 3-4). *Mais atant laisse ore ly contes a parler des tournoiemens*, car bien le vous ay menez a fin, e retourne a parler du roy Marc de Cornoaille et de Tristan son nepveu, car grant piece s'en est ore tenu.'

X

JOYOUS GARD

(Löseth, §§ 282 *e, f*, 352-68; *Le Roman de Tristan*, &c., pp. 195-9.)

M's agreement with MSS. B.N. fr. 99 and Chant. 316 is so close in this section that the French text is often essential for the understanding of *M*'s version. When *M* speaks of Sadok killing 'all the four newewys of kynge Marke, his cousyns' (p. 676, ll. 31-2) it seems inconceivable that he should do this without serious provocation, but to understand his motives we must turn from *M* to the opening paragraph of MS. B.N. fr. 99:

'En ceste partie dit ly contes que le roy Marc, le felon traître, ne puet oublier sa felonnie et le dur cuer que il avoit envers un chevalier dont je vous ay cy devant parlé. Et ce chevalier si avoit nom Sadoc. Si le haoit trop le roy Marc pource qu'il ne se vult oncques consentir a la mort de Angledis, la femme son frere qu'il avoit occis, ne a la mort d'Alixandre, son nepveu, qui estoit filz a celle dame que l'en appelloit Angledis. Et toutesvoies pensoit le roy Marc a prendre vengeance de Tristan et de gecter le en parfonde chartre; et puis que il l'avra mis en chartre, de legier pourra il puis metre a la mort ycellui Sadoc et tous ses autres ennemis. Que vous diroie je? Tout ainsi comme il le pourpensa le fist il, car a cellui point estoit Tristan navrés moult durement, et ce lui estoit avvenu a une assemblee

d'un tournoient que le Hault Prince Galeoth avoit fait entre lui et le roy Baudemagus, et ce lui avoit fait Meleagant en trahison, car il cuidoit que ce fust Lancelot du Lac, qu'il haïssoit.'

This is an essential preamble to Malory's story, and it provides the only adequate explanation of the abrupt beginning of his account. It explains why Galahalt arranged the tournament and why Mark wanted to destroy Tristram and Sadok. It is, however, left to *M* to supply the link between the two plots by introducing the stratagem of Tristram's disguise. We learn that Mark 'unbethought hym that he wolde have sir Trystram unto the turnement dysgysed that no man sholde knowe hym, to that entente that the Haute Prynce sholde wene that sir Trystram were sir Launcelot'. This completes the chain of events, and it is legitimate to suppose that MS. B.N. fr. 99 and *M* are collateral copies of a common original which we no longer possess.

The subsequent episodes are found in a number of other French MSS., but Malory's agreement with MS. 99 is visible in practically every important instance. There is only one exception. In the majority of French MSS., including 99, Lamorak's death is very briefly referred to: 'En ycelui temps occist sans doute mess[ire] Gauv[ain] Lam[orat] de Gales le bon chevalier' (MS. B.N. fr. 334). A few MSS. such as 12599 and 772 give more details, but the only one that gives a full account of Lamorak's death is B.N. fr. 103. The probability is that the 'French Book' was in this respect even fuller than either *M* or 103 and that it devoted a good deal of space to the tragic death of the 'third best knight'. Cf. 662. 25-664. 13.

677. 27-678. 21. *he dud lete make and countirfete, &c.* In *F* the first letter from the Pope is authentic (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 388^v, col. 2: 'lettres vindrent au roy Marc de par l'Apostle') and only the second is forged by Mark. This is why in *M* Tristram immediately detects Mark's agency in the second letter, but is completely unsuspecting of the first.

679. 5. *by his knyghtly meanys.* *F* explains how Perceval succeeded in releasing Tristram from prison: 'Le felon roy oubliia a ordonner ceux qui gardoient la prison ou Tristan estoit, car il estoit si durement esmerveillies et esbaïs qu'il ne savoit qu'il devenist' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 399^v, col. 1).

679. 33-680. 31. *So anone kynge Marke sente unto sir Dynas the Senesciall . . . And so as they devysed hit was done, and than sir Trystram was delyverde oute of preson.* *F* is silent on this point and does not explain how 'par le conseil et par l'aide que la royne Yseult lui fist' Trystram was set free. Nor does it mention Mark's imprisonment by Sadok and Dinas—a stratagem which alone enabled them to secure Tristram's release. The remark: 'quant il ot ce fait' Tristram 'prist congié de ceulx qui luy avoient aidie' is at best obscure, and the fact that these people were 'partie des barons de la terre qui moult haioient le roy Marc' does not make it any easier to understand what they did for Tristram. In MS. B.N. fr. 103 as in all the texts of the 'Second Version' of the French Prose Romance, except B.N. fr. 99, Tristram is delivered by the people of Léonois (cf. Löseth, op. cit., p. 203, note 5). The reference to them in B.N. fr. 99 is probably a survival of the original narrative. At some later stage in the transmission of the text the story of Iseult's part in Tristram's escape was added, but of all the versions

of the Prose Romance known to us *M's* is the only one which has preserved that addition in its proper form.

680. 22-31. *La Beall Isode sente unto sir Dynas and to sir Sadok, &c.* In *F* this stratagem is invented and carried out by Tristram: 'lors dist a soy mesmez que ce ne puet estre se il ne fait tant que il le mette en tel lieu qu'il ne puisse pas issir a sa volenté. Si fist tant que il parla a une partie des barons de la terre qui moult haioient le roy Marc.' The barons then decide to imprison Mark. They disguise themselves and attack him, 'et tant firent qu'ilz prirent le roy Marc et l'emmenèrent au lieu mesmes ou Tristan avoit esté emprisonnés. Et sachiés que Tristan l'emprisonna en celle prison mesmes.'

681. 2-10. *And so they were nat four dayes in this londe but there was made a crye of a justys. . . . And . . . he overthrewe fourtene knyghtes of the Round Table.* Not in *F*, where the matter is disposed of very briefly (MS. B.N. fr. 400^r, col. 2): 'Tristram s'en vint tout droit a la court du roy Artus et joust a plusieurs et tant qu'il abatu des compaignons de la Table Reonde jusques a xiiii.'

681. 14-15. *Than she sente unto sir Launcelot a rynge to lat hym wete hit was sir Trystram de Lyones.* In *F* there is no need for this message since Lancelot and Tristram meet before the opening of the tournament.

681. 32-3. *And so queene Gwenvere tolde all this to kynge Arthure.* In *F* King Arthur learns that Tristram is at Joyous Garde 'par uns et par autres' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 400^v, col. 2).

682. 11-15. To be consistent with his character, Lancelot, the bravest knight in the world, instead of saying, 'ye woll put us . . . in grete jouparté, for there be many knyghtes that hath envoy to us', should have welcomed his enemies' 'envy'. His apprehensions are, however, satisfactorily explained in *F*. He says to Arthur: 'sachiés que vous avés fait fole partie: je ne voy mie ne ne puis veoir commant trois royaumes se puissent en champ tenir encontre tous les autres que vous avés devisez' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 401^r, col. 2).

682. 19-21. *than he made suche purvojaunce that La Beall Isode sholde beholde the justis in a secrete place that was honeste for her astate.* *F* says: 'le roy Artus cuidoit que la royne Yseult y deust venir *abandonement* et Tristan aussi', which means that Tristram and Isode were to come *freely* to the tournament. *M* probably confused the adverb *abandonement* with the adjective *abandonné* meaning 'secret'.

682. 26-683. 4. *he was called that tyme the chyeff chacer of the worlde, &c.* That Tristram was the founder of the art of venery is a notion peculiar to the two English versions of the Tristan romance (*Sir Tristrem* and *M*); but it also appears in some of the late medieval treatises on hunting. *The Book of St. Albans* mentions Tristram in a well-known passage:

Where so ever ye fare by fryth or by fell,
My dere chylde, take hede how Trystam do you tell,

and there are similar references in *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* printed by Thomas Purfoot in 1611 (cf. pp. 40, 96, and 174). On the origin of this tradition see François Remigereau, 'Tristan "Maître de

vénérie" dans la tradition anglaise et dans le roman de 'Tristan', *Romania*, vol. lviii (1932), pp. 218-37.

683. 4. *seyde sir Thomas Malleorré* is probably a scribal addition suggesting that the copyist was reluctant to make himself responsible for the statements that Tristram was the founder of 'many other blastis and termys' and that 'all maner jantylmen hath cause to the worldes ende to prayse sir Trystram and to pray for his soule'.

683. 6-13. '*I mervayle me muche*', &c. It is only in *M* that Isode begs Tristram to carry arms when he is hunting; in *F* he takes this precaution entirely of his own accord: 'Et sachiés qu'il n'aloit onques chacier en la forest qu'il n'y alast garni d'armes, une heure plus, autre heure mains, pour ce que toutes voies se doubtaient il d'encombrier, et que il encontrast aucuns chevaliers errans qui honte lui vousissent faire. Et il avoit ja maint chevalier courroucié par mi le royaume de Logres qui tost lui peussent nuyre se ils le trouvaissent par aventure desarmé, et pour ce s'aloit il ainsi gardant mieulx qu'il pouvoit' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 401^v, col. 1).

683. 27-684. 2. '*Now, fayre knyghtes, seyde sir Palomydes, 'I can tell you tydynges*', &c. In *F* Palomides has no tidings to tell. He hears of Tristram's escape and Mark's imprisonment and welcomes the news, for he considers it 'plus convenable chose' for Isode to be with Tristram rather than with Mark. He then decides to go and find Tristram and Isode, 'la rose et la biauté de tout le monde', and surrenders the quest of the 'beste glatissant' to Breunis Saunze Pité.

684. 1-2. '*And this be trouthe, seyde sir Palomydes, 'we shall hyre,*' &c. *C* apparently assumes that the previous remark—*And all this whyle kynge Marke is in pryson*—is not part of Palomides' speech.

688. 6-10. *And as he had justed at a turnemente*, &c. This allusion to the death of Lamorak can only be traced to MS. B.N. fr. 103 (f. 298^r, col. 2-298^v, col. 1): 'Si fu le tournoiemment grant, aspre et fort. . . Mais rien ne vault a la p[ro]uesse d'armes que Lamorat faisoit. Car il abati tous les quatre freres dont ilz furent moult dolens. Lamourat fist tant qu'il emporta de cil tournoiemment le los et le pris. . . Et le tournoiemment se depart, et Lamourat s'en entre en la forest. . . Atant es vous Gauvain, Agravain et Mordret. . . Gauvain trait l'espee et lui coupe la teste. Et Lamourat fut mort dont ce fut grant dommage a toute chevalerie' ('unto all good knyghtes grete damage').

The same passage provides a parallel to pp. 698-9. See 698. 22-700. 8.

690. 2-3. *W*: '*to juste woll he othir nell he;*' *C*: '*one to Iuste with other.*' *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 415^v, col. 1) seems at first sight to support *C*: 'des chevaliers errans est telle la coustume que quant ilz s'entrecontrent, ilz se doivent essayer d'une joustee.' But although the words used in *W* have no verbal counterpart in *F*, they express very accurately Dinadan's attitude to knightly customs as described throughout the French romance. It is quite likely, therefore, that they occurred in *M*, and that *C* transferred them from Dinadan to Epinogres who says in *C* in answer to Dinadan's remark: *is that the rule of you arraunt knyghtes for to make a knyght to Iuste will he or nylle.*

691. 27-34. *for ye be called the grettyste distroyers and murtherars of good*

knights, &c. On *M*'s version of Lamorak's death, cf. 688. 6-10 and 698. 22-700. 8. Tristram's indignant remarks to Agravain and his brothers and his reference to the murder of Lamorak do not occur in any extant French account of the story.

693. 33-5. 'God deffende me,' seyde sir Dynadan, 'for the joy of love is to shorte and the sorow thereof and what cometh thereof is duras over longe.' Both *C* and *W* are at fault. A homœoteleuton in *W* has caused the omission of *and what cometh thereof*, while *C* misunderstood the word *duras* ('hardship') and changed *is duras* to *dureth*. As usual, *W*'s error is more mechanical than *C*'s, and therefore more easily detectable.

The real interest of this remark of Dinadan lies in the fact that *M* has here reduced to less than three lines a long disquisition on love which, apart from its intrinsic merits, is essential for the understanding of the character of Dinadan. It seems worth reproducing in full, both as a remarkable literary document and as an illustration of the particular type of anti-courtly doctrine, of which Dinadan is the principal exponent, and which *M* has done his best to eliminate:

[*MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 419^r, col. 1*] 'Quant ilz ont mengié tout a loisir et les tables furent levees, la royne se tourna par devers Dinadan et lui dist:

'« Sire chevalier, se Dieux vous doint bonne aventure, qui estes vous et comment avés vous nom? »

'Et ce disoit elle pour ce qu'il ne cuidast que elle ne le cognut du tout. Et il respont et dist:

'« Dame, or sachiés bien que je suis un chevalier errant et d'estrange país, et si ay nom Dinadam. Je ne sçay se vous oncques en oistes parler de mon nom. »

'« En nom Dieu, » fait elle, « si ay, et si n'a pas long temps que je en oÿ parler. Et si me dist l'en que vous amés une haulte dame de cestui país pour la qui amour vous vous alés moult travaillant de porter armes. »

'« Dame, » fait il, « or sachiés bien que cellui qui vous dist si vous gaba. Oncques certes pour dames ne me travaillis de porter armes, car amours ne me vont mie poignant mon cuer de si poignant aguillon [*col. 2*] que je mette mon cuer a la mort tant comme je le puisse garder. Dieu me gart . . . [car] d'amours maintenir en telle maniere n'ay je talent. »

'« Comment? » fait la royne. « Vous estes chevaliers errant et si n'amés mie par amours? Certes, il ne m'est pas advis que vous gramment puissiés valoir ne venir a grant pris, puisque vous n'amés par amours. »

'« Dame, » fait Dinadan, « ainsi convient l'omme a maintenir selon ce qu'il est: qui est bon chevalier et preus, si doit penser a haulte chose; et cellui qui n'est pas de grant affaire, si se prengne a petite chose. De moy sçay je bien tant dire que ja par amours ne pourroie a si haulte chose venir comme a fait monseigneur Lancelot du Lac. Mais se la folie me montoit en la teste, j'en pourroie bien venir a ce que Kahedin en vint, le filz au roy Hoel de la Petite Bretagne, qui a grant douleur et a grant destresse en morut par les amours a madame Yseult. Cellui ama bien hault, mais oncques de ses amours ne joÿ, si l'en meschei villainement de ce que il par amours amoit: car il convoitoit telle chose ou il ne pavoit

avenir. C'est le mien exemple et mon admonnestement, que ja mais ne doie par amours amer. Kahedins me dist tout adés: "Garde toy d'amours, car tu pourras en tel lieu ton cuer mettre et ta pensee asseoir dont tu n'avras ja guerdon fors que la mort. Et se tu aimes trop(t) bas et en trop povre lieu, tu n'en avras ja guerdon qui te puisse a prouffit venir. Et se je de l'autre part ne sçay tant que je sceusse amer selon mon endroit, ne trop bas ne trop hault, ce est l'exemple Dedalus qui jadis enseigna son filz a voler ne trop hault ne trop bas, et dit que il en alast entre deux volant. Mais pour ce que le filz ne crut l'admonnestement de son pere et vola plus hault qu'il ne deust, morist il." — Dame, selon le mien avis ainsi advient il d'aucuns qui en amours mettent leurs cueurs et non pas raisonnablement, car a mourir les en convient au darnier. Et pour ce que je ne vouldroie mie encore morir par amours ne par autre chose tant comme je puisse vivre, et pour ce ne vouloye je pas par amours amer. Les autres chevaliers qui par amours deviennent hardis et preus, facent au mieulx qu'ilz pourront faire. Car je vueil fere mon fait sans amour. »

'Quant la royne entent la [419^v, col. 1] response de Dinadam, elle en a trop grant joye et trop grant feste, et bien recognoist par ses paroles que sages chevalier est et bien parlant. Toutesvoies, pour lui plus soulacier, lui dist elle:

'« Or me dicte, Dinadam, se vous trouvés belle dame et cointe et de hault lignage qui par amours vous vouldist amer, l'ameriés vous par amours? »

'« Certes, » fait Dinadan, « se elle me vouloit amer, si me doubterioie je de lui moult durement que le cuer ne lui remuast et changast, car cuer de femme si est come le vent qui va ça et là: or aime, or het, or chante, or plure. Et une aultre chose y a qui me tient en mescreance: que dame de valeur ne pourroit amer un povre chevalier se faintement non. Et comment me pourroit elle amer? Car je ne sui pas beau chevalier, ne bon ne preux ne hardis, ne si envoisiés de maintes choses come ces autres chevaliers sont. Or donques, madame, se dame mettoit en moy son cuer, ne cuidés vous pas qu'elle l'en retraissist tost quant elle me verroit de-faillant de toutes les bontés que chevalier devoit avoir? Elle s'en tiendroit a honnie et a deceue, si me laisseroit tout maintenant. Et pour ce n'ay je cure de moy entremettre de telle chose. »'

694. 22-3; 704. 10-11. *Trystram armed hym and La Beall Isode gaff hym a good helme*. In *F* Isode gives the helmet to Dinadan, who then makes a sarcastic speech about chivalric customs. *M* alters this, probably to avoid reproducing the speech; but he finds himself in difficulty later on when he has to explain why Dinadan was attacked by Berraunt (p. 704, ll. 10-11).

698. 8-9. *there [was] a[s] grete [an] ordynaunce*. *W*'s reading may be accounted for as an attempt to restore sense to some such reading as *there as grete an ordynaunce*, in which *was* and *as* were telescoped.

698. 22-700. 8. '*And of the deth of sir Lamorak, seyde sir Trystram, 'hit was over grete pité*', &c. *M* gives here in dialogue form a description of Lamorak's death which is absent from most of the extant French MSS. The only parallel I can find to it occurs in MS. B.N. fr. 103:

MS. B.N. fr. 103, f. 298^r, col. 2

M, 699, 19

Lamourat fist tant qu'il emporta de cil tournoiemment le los et le pris . . . [f. 298^v, col. 1] Atant es vous Gauvain, Agravain et Mordret, et courent sus a Lamourat sans lui escrire ne deffier.

and whan he was gvyyn the gre be my lorde kynge Arthure, sir Gawayne and his three bretherne, sir Aggravayne, sir Gaherys and sir Mordred, sette uppon sir Lamorak in a pryvy place.

In MS. B.N. fr. 103 Lamorak is killed by Gawain ('Gauvain trait l'espee et lui coupe la teste'), in *M* by Mordred who 'gaff hym his deth wonde byhynde hym at his bakke'. Nor does MS. 103 give any of the details of the episode such as 'they faught with hym on foote more than thre owrys bothe byfore hym and behynde hym'. This seems to belong to a French version of the story which has not survived. But it is very likely that Tristram's words: 'hit sleyth myne harte to hyre this tale', and Gareth's reply: 'so hit dothe myne, bretherne as they be myne', come from *M*'s pen: even if his source contained some reference to Tristram's and Gareth's sorrow, the style and phrasing of the passage suggest that it was *M* who turned it into dialogue.

For a more detailed discussion of this episode and for references to MSS. other than B.N. fr. 103 see my *Roman de Tristan*, pp. 45-8.

700. 4-5. (as) they myght, prevauly they hate my lorde sir Launcelot, &c. The scribal error in *W* and *C* (and for *as* by contamination with the next line) has hopelessly obscured the sense

701. 14-15. thus hit specified: 'Harmaunce, kyng and lorde of the Red Cite', &c. In *F* the name of the king of the Red City is given considerably later (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 432^r, col. 2).

703. 7. Malory omits here a long scene in which Dinadan tries to dissuade his host from risking his life in single combat, and says in conclusion: 'Biaux hostes . . . l'enseignement si est tel que je vous vueil dire que ja pour homme mort ne mettez vostre cuer a honte. Regardés vous moult bien, ne tant comment vous arés la paix n'entrepreneys la guerre encontre plus fort de vous' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 427^v, col. 1).

704. 1. And so they lefft hym and rode on their wayes. In *F* Tristram fears that he has inadvertently killed his opponent (cf. *M*, p. 703, l. 34: 'I suppose he is dede') and says to his companions (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 428^r, col. 2): 'Veistes vous oncques mais si fol chevalier come cestuy estoit qui a fine force et malgré mien m'a fait a luy combatre?' Dinadan pretends to misunderstand the question: 'Certes,' he replies, 'nulx ne vendroit avecques vous si sages qu'il ne devenist fol: telle est bien la vostre aventure que tous sages y deviennent folz. Et je le sçay bien pour moy mesmes que je ne sçay mie recorder que en tout le royaume de Logres feisse folie autant comme en vostre compaignie, et pour ce dy je que nul ne repaire entour vous qui fol ne deviengne.' This is an ingenious play on the word *fol*: Tristram is using it in the sense of 'foolhardy' and Dinadan in the sense of 'mad'. But Tristram does not resent the joke: 'Tristan se rit de celle parole.'

704. 9-16. So as they cam aythir by other the kynge lokyd uppon sir Dinadan and at that tyme sir Dynadan had sir Trystrams helme uppon his shuldir whyche

helme the KYNGE had seyne tofore with the quene of North Galys and that quene the kynge loved as peramour. And that helme the quene of North Galys gaff to La Beall Isode, and quene Isode gaff hit to sir Trystram.

The two capitalized words having caused a homœoteleuton, the scribe first wrote: *So as they cam aythir by othir the kynge had seyne, &c.*, down to the end of the sentence. He must then have realized that he had missed something, and, turning back to the beginning of the sentence, wrote again: *So as they cam aythir be othir the kynge*, but this time reproduced the lines he had previously left out (*loked uppon, &c.*, down to *kynge*) and went on copying as far as the word *tofore*. At this point he must have noticed that he was repeating what he had already written, and, jumping three lines, went straight on to the next sentence (*sir knyght, &c.*) In *W*'s reading (*whyche he had sene tofore*) *he* must have been substituted for *the kynge*, for if *the kynge* had not occurred at this point in the original the scribe could not have committed a homœoteleuton.

W should be further emended by the insertion of the word *helme* between *whyche* and *the*, in view of the agreement of *F* and *C*: *F* has 'cestuy hiaume', and *C* 'whiche helme'.

Here is *F*'s version of the passage *in extenso* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, ff. 427^v, col. 2-428^r, col. 1): 'Quant le Roy des Cent Chevaliers voit le hiaume que Dinadam portoit et le penoncel, il li estoit bien advis que cestuy hiaume luy avoit donné la royne de Norgales, et l'enseigne qui estoit dessus afferroit aux armes a la royne Yseult et a cellez a la royne d'Orcanie, si que l'en ne peust pas aiseement congnoistre les unes des autres, car le penoncel et telles enseignes comme il y avoit estoient d'une couleur et d'une semblance. Et sachiés que la royne de Norgales qui estoit assés jeune dame et belle amoit le Roy des Cent Chevaliers de tout son cuer, et le roy amoit autressi luy; dont il advint que quant le Roy des Cent Chevaliers vit Dinadam qui dessus son hiaume portoit les enseignes de madame Yseult, il cuida tout maintenant que la dame de Norgales luy eust donné celluy hiaume et le penoncel. Et de ceste chouse est il corrouciez desmesurement quant il a veu celluy heaume.' This explains *M*'s remark about the 'helme' which 'the kynge had seyne tofore with the quene of North Galys': what in fact the king had seen was not the helmet itself, but the 'enseignes' with the arms of Isode which he mistook for those of the Queen of North Wales.

704. 10-11. *and at that tyme sir Dynadan had sir Trystrams helme uppon his shuldir.* See 694. 22-3.

706. 1-2. *W*: *he cursed her that*; *C*: *he cursed the tyme that*. *W* is more in keeping with *F* where Dinadan blames Isode for his misfortunes.

706. 3-5. *Than there was lavoghyng and japyng at sir Dinadan, that they wyste nat what to do wyth hym.* *F*: 'La royne se rit moult fort de ces paroles, et Tristan et Gaheriet si furent celle nuyt servis et honnourés assez plus qu'ilz ne furent pieça en lieu ou ilz venissent' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 431^r, col. 1).

XI THE RED CITY

This episode is found in most of the MSS. of the French Prose Romance of Tristan, but the nearest to Malory's version are again MSS. B.N. fr. 99 and Chant. 316. E. Lozeth's summary of the episode (op. cit., §§ 369-73) is based on MSS. B.N. fr. 94, 97, 99, 101, 103, 336, 349, 755, 758, 760, 772, 1434, and 12599.

716. 4-6. *W*: 'Alas,' seyde sir Hermynde, 'how may that be that he is slayne?'

'By sir Gawayne,' &c.

C: 'Allas,' said sir Hermynde, 'how may that be?'

'He is slayne,' said sire Palomydes, 'by sire Gawayne,' &c.

W's reading is probably authentic. *C*'s is doubtless due to the omission of that before *he* in some earlier copy.

717. 20. *So wythin the thurde day there cam to the cité thes two brethirne.* In *F* Palomides meets the two brothers the day after his arrival.

718. 22. *sir Helyus rode over sir Palomydes twayse or thryse.* In *F*, Palomides' horse escapes and when Helyas attacks him on horseback 'il (= Palomides) se scet moult bien garder de celle aventure. Et au passer que celluy Palamedes faisoit, fiert le cheval par davant les yeulx: un grant cop lui donne. A ce qu'il treuve desarmé, il ly fet l'espee entrer dedens la teste, si que le cheval chiet tout maintenant tel atourné qu'il ne se relieve pas, ains morut illecques' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 435^v, col. 2).

719. 30. *and cam unto the castell thereas sir Ebell was lyefftinaunte.* In *F* this castle ('chastel Lonneglor') belongs to Arthur and its 'lyefftinaunte' is anonymous.

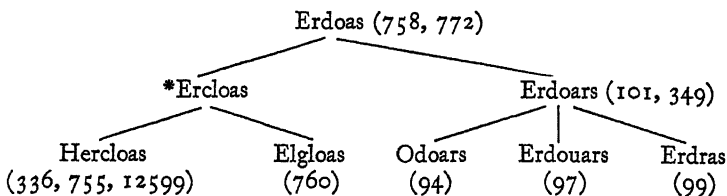
721. 20-1. *a knyght with a bended shyld of assure.* *F*: 'escu tout blanc a une fente d'azur a travers.'

XII THE TOURNAMENT AT LONEZEP

(Lözeth, §§ 374-81; *Le Roman de Tristan*, &c., pp. 201-7.)

All the texts enumerated in the first paragraph of the previous section contain the story of the tournament of Lonzep in much the same form, but the evidence of proper names points to a close connexion between Malory's version and a certain family of MSS. On p. 733 (ll. 14-17) Malory introduces 'Sir Edward of Orkeney' who gives the king of Scotland 'a grete falle'. His name is given as *Hercloas* in 336, 755, and 12599, *Elgloas* in 760, *Odoars* in 94, *Erdoas* in 758 and 772, *Erdoars* in 101 and 349, *Erdouars* in

97, and *Erdras* in 99. These variants can best be accounted for by the following table: [The asterisk indicates a hypothetical form.]



The nearest form to Malory's is *Erdouars* (97), but *Erdoars* (101, 349) could just as easily suggest *Edward* to an English writer. On another occasion Malory agrees with 94, 97, 99, 101, and 349 against all other MSS.: he calls the nephew of the King with Hundred Knights *Selyses* (p. 731, l. 17); 94, 97, 99, 101, and 349 have *Celices* while the other texts are divided between *Eliors* and *Helices*. On this showing, therefore, Malory's version would come within the group formed by the five MSS. enumerated above, and the choice of the best representative of his source within that group would be almost indifferent. As a matter of convenience I have used MS. 99 which has the advantage of being the nearest to Malory's version in most other sections.

727. 11-15. *sende ye to them and awyte what they woll say . . . other ellys to lose that lady.* In *F* the procedure is more in keeping with courtly etiquette. Galyhodyn does not say on seeing Isode that he is *in wyll to take that fayre lady*, but only inquires about her name: '« Il ne peut estre qu'elle ne soit dame de grant lieu et de riche. Or est mestier, se Dieu me sault, que je sache qui la dame est, se je oncques puis. » Et lors prent un de ses chevaliers, si lui dist: « Alez moy tantost a celle compaignie que vous veez la et demandés qui la dame est qui ainsi chevauche »' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 442^r, col. 1). Tristram naturally refuses to disclose the secret, whereupon Galyhodyn challenges him: '« ou vous me dirés qui elle est, ou je la prendray tout maintenant en la maniere et en la guise que les chevaliers errans prenent les dames par my le royaume de Logres. »' His object, however, is not to capture the lady, but to discover her name: 'il convient que je sache qui la dame est, se je en devoie faire grant oultrage.' The 'oultrage' is only a means to an end; in *M* it seems to be an end in itself.

730. 6-10. *but sir Gawayne and sir Galyhodyn wente unto kynge Arthure and tolde hym, &c.* In *F* the news is brought by an unknown knight.

733. 29-32. '*Wyte you well, seyde sir Gawayne . . . than he is.*' *F* gives this part of the speech to Sagremor.

734. 21-4. In *F* the author compares Tristram to a lion and Palomides to a leopard. *M* gives these similes to Arthur who further likens *sir Gareth* and *sir Dynadan* unto *egir wolvis*.

735. 18-19. *I woll counter wyth the grene knyght uppon the blacke horse.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 471^r, col. 2): 'chevalier qui siet dessus ce cheval vair.' Earlier on (f. 470^v, col. 2) Tristram is referred to as 'ce vert chevalier qui siet dessus ce vert destrier'.

736. 12-16. *For the custom and the cry was, &c.* Cf. Löseth (§ 378): 'A cette époque, les lois des tournois défendaient à un chevalier de porter les armes dès qu'il avait été fait prisonnier, si son vainqueur le lui interdisait.'

737. 1-2. [*But sire Palomydes wold not suffre kyng Arthur to be horsed ageyne.*] This reading is fully supported by *F* ('Palamedes le fait si bien qu'il ne laisse le roy remonter pour nulluy qui avant se mette. A celui point le fait Palamedes si bien comme il oncques puet') and supplies ideal conditions for a scribal error.

738. 4-7. *And in his harte, as the booke saythe, sir Palomydes wysshed . . . he myght have ado wyth sir Tristram, &c.* Palomides' feelings as described in *F* are of a different order (f. 473^v, col. 1): 'Il voudroit mourir tout maintenant, car après ce ne pourroit il mourir a si grant honneur comme orendroit. . . Et d'autre part il scet tout de voir qu'il ne fait nulle rien que sa dame ne voye tout appertement: elle ne scet pas ceste besoigne orendroit par oïr dire, mais por veoir tout clerement.'

738. 14-15. *Palomydes ys a passynge 'good knyghte and a well enduryng.* In this dialogue *M* has substituted Tristram for Gaheriet who says in *F*: 'je dy tout appertement que trop est Palamedez bon chevalier, et trop est meilleur en iceste jornee qu'il ne souloit' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 474^r, col. 1).

738. 20-1. *And sir Trystram knew for whos love he doth all this dedys of armys, sone he wolde abate his corrage.* *F*: 'Tristan qui vait par my la meslee armé ainsi comme je vous dy, quant il entent la grant loenge et le pris qu'ilz donnent a Palamedes, il en est joyeux moult durement. . . Mais s'il sceust de quoy ceste prouesse ly vient, il n'en fust mie si joyeux comme il est, moult lui en changast son affaire; ilz fussent a la meslee, que ja n'y regardassent le gieu du tournoiement, ançois fussent delivreement a la mortel bataille et a la felonnesse' (MS. B.N. fr., ff. 473^r, col. 2-473^v, col. 1). The feelings here described are closely related to the doctrine of *courtoisie*. Courtly poets often speak with a sense of gratitude of the honour bestowed upon them by her who inspired them with love:

Mes ma dame li doi je mercier,

Car nuit et jor me fet a li penser,

Si ne me puet de rien tant honorer (Gace Brulé, *Chanter me plect qui de joie est norriz*).

The poet's love is here created as the supreme gift from his lady. Similarly, what matters most to Tristram and Palomides—more even than Isode's love—is the privilege of devoting all their thoughts to her and of being inspired by her to perform deeds of valour, a privilege which they value more than life itself.

744. 22-30. '*As for to juste wyth me,*' seyde sir Launcelot, &c. In *F* Lancelot refrains from giving any reason for his refusal to joust with Tristram: 'Se vous joustez voulez avoir, fait Lancelot, vous la povés moult tost trouver, car en ceste prairie en a tieulx cent qui ne la refuseront mie. Alez a eulx et moy laissez, car la joustee refuse je du tout. Et par dessus ceste parole ne me ferez vous nulle force par raison de chevalerie.'

745. 5-10. *ye ded nat worshyppfully whan ye smote downe that knyght so suddelyny as ye dyd.* *And wyte you well, &c.* In *F* Tristram does not criticize

Palomides: 'Comment vous sentés vous? Vous a ore blecié le chevalier?' There is nothing reprehensible, from *F*'s point of view, in what Palomides has done. But *M*'s code is different: he thinks that Palomides' attack on Arthur was 'unworshipful' because it is 'every good knyghtes part to beholde a fayre lady'.

745. 15-25. *And as for sir Launcelot, &c.* Not in *F*. This is one of *M*'s most remarkable tributes to Lancelot, the flower of knights, a man of might matchless, peerless of courtesy. He is not only the 'hardest' and best-breathed knight 'on horsebacke and on foote', but the kindest and the noblest, the most honoured of high and low.

745. 28-33. '*A!*' sayd sir Trystrams . . . '*hit can nat be undone*', seyde sir Palomydes. Not in *F*. Arthur's behaviour in this scene certainly does not justify Tristram's remark that 'all knyghtes may lerne to be a knyght of hym'. The purpose of this unwarranted compliment to Arthur is simply to add to Palomides' misery.

747. 7-12. *And there he ded so mervaylous dedis of armys that all men had wondir of hym, &c.* *F* explains Palomides' recovery as follows: 'Il n'est oncques tant travaillés ne tant mis au dessous puis que il regarde madame Yseult qu'il ne recouvre delivreement force et vigour. Celle qui vault un aguillon, celle le fait preux et hardis a desmesure et entreprenant par davant tous autres. Celle le fait de foible fort et de couart le fait hardy. . . Yseult le fait si preux et si hardis et si entreprenant que Tristan en est moult esbais et tant qu'il dist a soy mesmes: « Sainte Marie! Que puet ce estre? Je croy qu'il ne fu oncques mais un tel homme [comme] est Palamedez, qu'il ne se sent guez de la jornee d'yer ne il ne se puet lasser de ferir. Par foy, c'est grant merveille! Ceste chose ne peussé je croire se je ne l'eusse veu tout en appert. Moult est plus preux et plus fort que je ne cuidoye jusquez icy, oncquez mais ne le peuz cognoistre si bien comme je le cognois orendroit. »' Tristram's remark in *M*—'*Methynkyth he is wery of my company*'—has no connexion with this speech.

750. 22-3. *C: vnder a fayre welle from the felde; W: undir a thorne a good way frome the fylde. F: 'un chevalier qui du tournoïement s'estoit despartis auques navrés, et si se faisoit desarmer a une part'* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 483^r, col. 2). *A good way (W)* is probably *M*'s rendering of *a une part*. *C*'s '*vnder a fayre welle*' is probably a 'combined error': *a good way from > welle from > a fayre welle from*.

753. 29-754. 8. *this is nat the fyrste kyndenes and goodnes, &c.* The procedure is reminiscent of the one adopted by Lancelot at the tournament of the Castle of Maidens, when he received the first prize and yielded it to Tristram. In *F* Tristram wins *le prix de la jornee*. Cf. 533. 34-534. 11.

754. 34-5. *sir Trystram knew that hit was sir Palomydes.* In *F* Tristram does not recognize Palomides until their quarrel is over.

755. 6-7, 20-756. 10. *M* introduces Lancelot, as if to emphasize his superiority, in three passages which do not occur in *F*: (1) Tristram says *for I know no knyght lvyng but sir Launcelot ys to over good for hym and he woll do hys utteryst*. (2) Palomides calls Arthur's party *sir Launcelottys party*. (3) Isode speaks of Lancelot as Tristram's most dangerous opponent: '*I drad sore sir Launcelot*'.

758. 3-4. The reason why Arthur and Lancelot *lowghe that unnethe they myght sytte* is found in Dinadan's remarks in *F*. '« Si m'aist Dieux, » fait Dinadam, « j'avoye aucuns sens avant que je veisse Tristan. » « Dinadam, » fait la roynne, « que dictez-vous de Tristan et de cestui fait? » « Si m'aist Dieux, » fait-il, « je ne say le plus fol eslire de nous tous, ne quel est fol droicement ne lequel est plus sage. Or vous en ay je dit ma responce et ma sentence. » Et quant le roy ot ces paroles, si commence a rire, et puis si dist a Dinadam: « Or me dictes, biau sire, par quoy vous dictes que vous avés le sens perdu par Tristan? » « Ce vous diray je bien, » fait Dinadam. « Je avoye aucun sens avant que je trouvasse Tristan, mais des lors que je le trovay, je ne peuz oncquez puis estre sage si comme j'avoye esté davant. Car il m'a mis en tant de foliez qu'a pou que je n'ay le sens perdu, car oncques en nul sens ne me mist. Si m'en tien pour fol et pour nice de sa compaignie tenir. Mais toutesvoies ay je grant volenté que je me departe de lui, car oncquez jour ne m'en peux departir. » Et lors s'en rient tous ceulx qui a la table estoient, et dient que monseigneur Dinadam les passe tous.'

758. 17. '*But I mervayled whye ye turned on oure party.*' Both the context and *F* suggest that the speaker is Arthur.

758. 19-21. '*Syr, as for that,*' seyde sir Trystram, '*I have pardouned hym,*' &c. In *F* Palomides has to assume his own defence. Tristram does not attempt to plead for him.

759. 16-18. '*Lo,*' seyde kynge Arthure, '*yondir sir Palomides begynneth to play his play.*' '*So God me helpe,*' seyde kynge Arthure, '*he is a passynge goode knyght.*' In *F* the first comment is made by 'ceux qui voient comment il commence ceste journee', the second, as in *M*, by King Arthur (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 490^v, col. 1).

760. 2-3. *sir, all that sir Trystram doth is thorow clene knyghthod.* *F* attributes Tristram's superiority to his 'grant povoir': 'car trop est Tristan de greigneur affaire que n'est Palamedes' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 491^r, col. 1).

760. 16-18. *he fared as hit had bene an hungry lyon, for he fared so that no knyght durst nyghe hym.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 491^v, col. 2): 'Ançois fait semblant qu'il soit fier comme un lion.' *M*'s *fared* is probably a homonymic adaptation of *fier*.

761. 14-25. To illustrate *M*'s method of dramatizing the narrative I quote below the two texts side by side. The passages in italics are those which *M* has translated from *B*:

MS. B.N. fr. 99,
f. 492^r, col. 1

[lors] *se torna il par
devers le roy Artus*

et
Gaheriet et Dinadam
aussi,

M, 761. 14-25

'[My fayre fealowys, wyte you well that I] *wol turne unto kynge Arthures* [party, for I saw never so feawe men do so well. And hit wolle be shame unto us that bene knyghtes of the Rounde Table to se oure lorde kynge Arthure and that noble knyght, sir Launcelot, to be dishonoured.]

'Sir, hit wyll be well do,' seyde] *sir Gareth*

and *sir Dynadan.*
['Sir, do your beste,' seyde] *sir Palomydes,*

MS. B.N. fr. 99,
f. 492^r, col. 1

M, 761. 14-25

*mais Palamedes ne s'en
met,
et tout por l'envie de
Tristan*

'for I woll nat chaunge my party [that I cam in
wythall'].

'That is for envy of me,' seyde sir Trystram,
[but God spede you well in your journey!]

761. 28. *and he (sir Launcelot) smote downe the kynge of Scottes and the kynge
[of] Walys.* F has the King of Ireland instead of the King of Wales. Cf.
my *Malory*, pp. 125-7.

763. 22-3. *he was as sorowful a parte to go frome the felyshyp of sir Trystram.*
Not in F. It seems to be part of M's own conception of the story of Palomides
to stress his loyalty in all circumstances and never to allow his love for
Isode to affect his friendly devotion to Tristram.

XIII

SIR PALOMIDES

(Loseth, §§ 382-5; *Le Roman de Tristan*, &c., pp. 207-8.)

Malory's source for this section must have been the same as for the *Tournement at Lonzep*, but at one point he agrees more closely with MSS. 757, 758, and 99 than with any other French text. On p. 779 he says that after Lancelot's departure from Joyous Gard, Palomides 'was lefte there wyth sir Trystram a two monethis and more'. MSS. 99, 757, and 758 have *pres de deux mois* 349 *pres de trois mois*, 97 and 101 *trois mois* (without *pres de*), and 755 *dix mois*. In a number of MSS. the length of Palomides' stay is not mentioned at all.

769. 24-770. 5. M has here departed from F in allowing Palomides and Epinogris to discover each other's names at the very beginning of their conversation.

771. 32-772. 13. *there cam a knyght with a grene shyld . . . and he rode fyersly aftir sir Helyor.* In F these two characters are one and the same person, Helyor, who has a green shield 'au lyon d'argent (M: *therein a whyght lyon*) couvert de la houce vermeille' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 497^v, col. 1). Through some misunderstanding M makes Helyor into two people and even stages a battle between them.

773. 32-774. 4. *Than sir Epynogrys requyred sir Palomydes and sir Saffir, his brother, to ryde with hym unto his castell, &c.* In F Epinogris does not invite the two brothers to his castle, but stays with them at the place where they met, 'a grant joye et a grant soulas'. In the morning he and his lady go to a castle 'moult prés d'illecques qui a un sien frere charnel estoit'. He wishes he could accompany Palomides ('il me poise moult durement que je ne vous puis tenir compaignie') and reward him for his services, and swears allegiance to him: 'je suis vostre chevalier et seray tous les jours de ma vie' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 500^r, col. 1). In M Epinogris is less effusive

but more hospitable. Palomides and Saphir are lavishly entertained and have *grete chere and grete joy*.

775. 10-18. *there was grete dole betwyxte his brother and hym, &c.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 501^r, col. 2) has much less to say about the 'deparition' of the two brothers and their 'peteous complaints'. Palomides' remark: *and I be ordeyned to dy a shamfull dethe, welcom be hit* corresponds to the French *Or en aviengne ce que destiné m'en est*. But instead of exclaiming as he does in *M* that had he known 'of this dethe' he would 'never have bene yoldyn', he comforts his brother: 'n'ayes de toy nulle doubtance, car il ne t'en puet advenir se bien non.' Once released, Saphir goes away without saying a word to Palomides or showing any signs of distress.

776. 2-10. *And yf I had not . . . unto my power.* This speech, as shown below, is a combination of three extracts from *F*: (a) Palomides' speech to Saphir, (b) his remarks to the knight from Joyous Gard, and (c) his conversation with Lancelot:

MS. B.N. fr. 99:

(a) f. 501^r, col. 1: Et non pourquant tant say je bien que se je de Tristan me feusse departy courtoisement et par amours et il me sceust en tel point, il ne laissast en nulle maniere que il ne me venist delivrer.

(b) f. 501^v, col. 1: pour Dieu salués moy ma dame quant vous la verrez et monseigneur Tristan, autressi icellui me saluez es parlement et si lui dictez de la moye part que grant domage est et abaïssement de chevalerie quant Palamedes deffine si tost sa vie. Itant lui dictez et si ne l'oubliez mie.

(c) f. 502^r, col. 2: itant s'il vous plait faitez pour moy que vous diez au roy Artus quant vous le verrez qu'il a perdu un bon amy quant il perdy Palamedez. Si ne fui je oncques compaignon juré de son hostel; mais en tous lez lieux ou je povoie venir, je avançoie et honnouroie de tout mon pouvoir les chevalier errans de sa court et de son hostel. Tant ay foui et alé et venu que a ce point d'orendroit sont venuez mez œuvrez et ma vie et mon corps a la fin.

M, 776. 2-10:

And yf I had [not] departed frome my lorde syr Tristram as I oughte [not] to have done, now myght I have bene sure to have had my lyff saved

But I pray you, syr knyght, recommaunde me unto my lorde sir Trystram and unto my lady quene Isode, and sey to them, yf ever I trespass to them I aske them fygffnes

And also, I beseche you, recommaunde me unto my lord kynge Arthure and to all the felyshyp of the Rounde Table, unto my power.

776. 24. *unto the castell Pelowones.* The name is not given in *F* until f. 501^v, col. 2. A knight says to Tristram that he saw Palomides being led to a castle by twelve knights: 'xii chevaliers armés le menoient et le conduisoient a la mort droit au chastel de Pylamis.'

776. 27. *the noble knyght sir Launcelot.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 502^r, col. 1): 'un chevalier armé de toutes armes.'

778. 36-779. 1. *thoughe he had nat desyred hym he wolde have rydden with hem other sone a com aftir hym* = 'even if Tristram had not invited him (*had nat desyred hym*) Lancelot would have either ridden with them (Tristram and Palomides) or joined Tristram soon afterwards'.
779. 16-18. *the ofter that sir Palomydes saw La Beall Isode, the hevvyar he waxed day be day*, F (MS. B.N. fr. 99. f. 503^v, cols. 1-2): 'Orendroit l'ama il plus qu'il ne fist oncques mais. Car de l'amour que Palamedes a eue envers la royne Yseult si a tout esté moquerie jusquez a cestui point d'orendroit. Mais orendroit en est il venus a la droite rage et a la desverie et a la forssenerie. Or il a mis en sez amours et le cuer et le corps et l'entendement: tout son sens et toute sa pensee si est en sa dame, la royne Yseult. Car en toutez lez manierez ou il puet estre ne aler il est obeissant a la royne Yseult . . . et ce lui fera moult grant honneur, si comme son cuer s'i acorde, se il meurt pour la biauté de ce siecle. Ja pour la doubtance de Tristan ne de nul chevalier du monde ne laissera ses amours. Ce est la fin de sa pensee. En tel maniere et en tel douleur demeure Palamedes deux mois entiers que trop petit mengue et boit, et tous cez deux mois demoura avec Tristan. Il amaigrist et devient pales: tant a de douleur et de tristee que chevalier de sa valeur n'en ot mais pieça autant. De male heure vit et regarda la royne Yseult premierement, car il en maine engosseuse vie, il n'a nul membre qui ne s'en dueille. . . . Ceulx de leans qui le regardent si se merveillent comment il vait ainsi empirant.' It is only at this point that *M* takes up the narrative and, omitting all the lyrical passages, reproduces the only concrete statement which it contains: *all men had mervyeile wherefore he faded so away*.
780. 2. *began to make a ryme*. F (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 504^r, col. 2): 'si dist chançonnetez et lays, et tout ce qu'il dist si est de madame Yseult: une heure chante bas et une autre heure chante hault, tout ainsi comme la voix lui adonne et comme le chant le fait monter.'
780. 4. *an herte of grece* (C: *greese*) is *M*'s rendering of *un cerf moult grant et molt merveilleux*. F adds that 'le cerf estoit si legier et si esmeux que il avoit foui et alé que tous les chiens . . . lui furent esloigniez' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 504^r, col. 2).
780. 20. *he was wrothe oute of mesure*. In F Tristram recognizes neither the song nor the singer. He knew, the author tells us, all the songs that were sung in the realm of Logres—'car c'estoit un deduit qu'il amoit moult durement, et lui mesmes faisoit assés de telles chançons'—but had never heard the song which Palomides sang.
782. 14-26. '*But now I am remembred*,' &c. This part of the dialogue does not occur in F, nor does Tristram speak there of Palomides' failure to appear 'at the grave besydis Camelot'.
783. 6-8. *more for the promyse . . . aftir [than for ony hurte]*. The words in square brackets must have dropped out as a result of a somewhat unusual homœoteleuton, the scribe having mistaken the final *t* in the abbreviated form of *aftir* for the final *t* in *hurte*.
784. 18-20. *than he seyde thus: 'Truly, I am glad of hys hurte, and for this cause.'* Although there is no direct speech in F, this reading comes very close to the French *s'il en est joyeux et liez, ne le demandés pas, car*, &c. (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 507^v, col. 2).

785. 7-13. *Wyte you well, &c.* Lancelot's speech is an expansion of the following (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 508^r, col. 1): 'Lancelot disoit moult souvent qu'il amoit Tristan moult durement, et se ilz le mettoient a la mort par nulle aventure du monde la sienne amour n'avroient ilz ja mais.'
785. 7. *and ony of you all be so hardy to wayte my lorde sir Trystram wyth ony hurte. C's and the enuy of yow, &c.*—an obvious misprint—has reappeared without comment in all modern editions.
785. 16-17. *And than they of Lyones sente lettyrs unto sir Trystram, &c.* In *F* the people of Léonois come personally to thank Tristram. For other examples of *M*'s preference for written messages see 513. 16-22 and 627. 11-13.
785. 18-20. The remark that *ever betwene sir Trystram resorted unto Joyus Garde whereas La Beall Isode was that lovid hym ever is M's own. F* announces instead the quest of the Holy Grail; it says that Tristram wished to go to Léonois to visit his friends, 'mez il ne pot, car la grant queste du Saint Greal fu lors entreprise et commencee, ou tous les compaignons de la Table Roonde se mistrent, et Tristan mesmes s'i mist adoncques. Et par celle queste perdy il madame Yseult, et le roy Marc la recouvra' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 508^r, col. 2).

XIV

LAUNCELOT AND ELAINE

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SOURCES

This section, interpolated in the French Prose *Tristan* from the Prose *Lancelot*, occurs in the following French MSS.: B.N. fr. 97, 99, 101, 349, 758; Chantilly 316; and Add. 5474. The variants between them are few and comparatively unimportant, but the following parallel readings would seem to show that MSS. B.N. fr. 99 and Chant. 316 are the nearest to the version used by Malory:

Malory	B.N. fr. 99 Chant. 316	B.N. fr. 97, 101, 349	B.N. fr. 758	Add. 5474
Elayne	Elain le blanc	Elain le blanc	Elain le blanc	Alain le blanc
Mordret	Mordret	Mordret	Mordret	Mordes
Persydes	Persides	Patrides	Patigres	
801. 25-6, your cousin	99 f. 519 ^v col 1: vostre cousin	abs.	abs.	abs.
827. 29, fyve hondred knyghtes	500	—	—	—

In addition to MSS. B.N. fr. 99 and Chant. 316 I have occasionally referred, for the sake of convenience, to the text of MS. Add. 5474 where the latter did not seem to differ much from the other two MSS., and where Sommer's transcript of it published in *Modern Philology* (vol. v) seemed reasonably trustworthy.

791. 6-21. *there cam in an ermyte, &c.* In *F* the hermit foretells the coming of the Grail 'a la Pentecoste qui devoit estre' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 508^v, col. 1).
792. 23-8. *Than this lady seyde to sir Launcelot, &c.* There is no dialogue in *F*.

793. 25-6. *And furthwysshall there was uppon the table all maner of meates and drynkes.* *F* supplies an important detail: the dove having brought the 'censer' into the dining hall flies away, still holding the censer in her beak, 'en une chambre'. Two servants then bring in the tables, 'si s'asieient li un et li autre sauf che que nus ne deist mot ne nus n'i parloit de cesti cose' (Add. 5474, f. 144^v, col. 2), and Lancelot sits down to the meal with the others, but asks no questions, for he sees 'qu'il sont tous en proieres et en orisons'. *M*, having omitted to mention that the dove flew out of the hall carrying the 'censer', gives the impression that the 'censer' not only produced 'a savour as all the spycery of the worlde had bene there', but supplied the 'meates and drynkes'.

793. 32-6. *this is the rycht thyng . . . that ye have here seyne.* There is no such account of the Grail in the corresponding place in *F*, and it is difficult to imagine *M*'s French source containing anything exactly corresponding to the words *whan this thyng gothe abrode the Rounde Table shall be brokyn for a season*.

794. 4-8. *the kyng knew well that sir Launcelot shulde gete a pusyll uppon his doughtir, &c.* The whole of this prophecy is added by *M* for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with the rest of the Arthurian Cycle.

794. 9. *Than cam furth a lady that hyght dame Brusen, and she seyde unto the kyng, &c.* In *F* Brusen is sought after by the king: 'lors s'en vint il a Brisene' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 510^r, col. 2).

794. 22-4. *this man brought a ryng from quene Gwennyver, &c.* The ring is substituted for a false message delivered by Brusen on behalf of Guinevere (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 510^v, col. 2).

795. 7-8. *dame Brusen brought sir Launcelot a kuppe of wyne.* In *F* Brusen sends the drink with a maiden. Cf. also p. 796, ll. 12-14.

795. 9-10. *he myght make no delay, but wythoute ony let he wente to bedde.* In *F* Lancelot wonders whether he ought not to wait until his lady has sent for him.

796. 1-3. *for I have in my wombe bygetyn of the that shall be the moste nobelyste knyght of the worlde.* This is not in *F* where Elaine simply appeals to Lancelot's mercy 'pour icele pitié que Diex ot de la Virgene Marie' (MS. 5474, f. 145^v, col. 2).

796. 10-11. *for she was a fayre lady, and thereto lusty and yonge* corresponds to *F*'s: 'et s'estoit mise toute nue devant lui a jenous, et il esgarde sa biauté et son vis, si la vit tant bieles qu'il en fu tous esbahis'. To this *M* adds: 'and wyse as ony was that tyme lvyngye'.

796. 12-14. *I may nat wyte [this to] you, but her that made thys enchaunte-
mente.* See 824. 16.

796. 17-18. *nyght. And than.* Between *nyght* and *And* both *C* and *W* insert a sentence which belongs to the next paragraph. The repetition was obviously induced by the recurrence of *And*.

797. 16. *God forbede that ye spare hym* = 'God forbid that you find him'.

799. 32. *sir Bors semed* = 'it seemed to sir Bors'.

800. 17. *my name ys sir Bedywere (C: Pedywere) of the Streyte Marchys.* In *F* the knight remains anonymous. Caxton's reading—*Pedywere*—is an attempt to identify him with a character in the *Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot* (cf. pp. 284-6). *Pedywere* may well be a corruption of *Bedywere*, but it is highly improbable that *M* himself saw any connexion between the two characters, even though he described them both as being 'of the Streyte Marchys'.

801. 10-33. *And than the olde man had an harpe . . . he shall have many hys bettyrs.* *F* says less about Lancelot and more about the Grail: 'Atant s'en parti li hom sans plus dire. Si li voloit encore Boors demander plusours choses, mais chil entra en sa chambre comme chil qui n'avoit congieit de plus demourer, ains entra en la chambre dont il estoit issus. Adont ne demora gaires que par mi la verine entra li blans coulons qui en son bec portoit l'encensier d'or (*M: lytell golden sensar*). Si entra en la chambre dont li Greaus estoit issus la nuit devant. Maintenant fu li palais cois et seris et raempris de toutes les boines odours du monde, et il flairoit ausi souef com se toutes les epees del monde i fuissent espandues. Maintenant issirent d'une chambre enfant qui estoient tant biel qu'il sambloient mie qu'il fuissent enfant terrien, mais esperituel. Si portoient quatre candelles en quatre candelers, et après eus aloit un hom vieus anchiens et tous kenus qui portoit en sa main un enchensier. Si estoit vestus comme prestres, sauf che qu'il n'avoit point de casure afulee et portoit en une de ses mains une lanche. Et quant Boors le vit il s'en esmerveilla mout durement, car il vit ke du fer de la lanche chaoient gouttes de sanc qui degoutoient l'une après l'autre aval le fust, mais il ne set que eles devienent. Et Boors pense que che soit sainte cose et digne, si s'agenoille encontre et l'encline. Et chil qui la portoit vint droitement a la chailiere, si s'asist dedens, puis dist a Boort: « Sire, vous estes li plus purs et li plus [haut] nés qui onques mais entrast chaisiens de la maison le roi Artu, si porrés dire, quant vous venrés en vo pais, que vous avés veue la Lanche Vengeresse. Si ne savés que c'est, ne ne sarés, devant chou que li sieges de la Table Reonde que on apiele Perillez ara trouvé son lieu et son maistre. Mais par celui qui s'i asserra, sarés vous la verité de ceste lance, et qui l'aporta en cest pais, et dont ele vint. Et nepourquant se Lancelot se fust ausi bien gardés comme vous estes des le commencement, il meist tot a fin, dont vous estes ore en paine, car il est tant boins chevaliers que nus plus, car il n'a son per el monde. Mais il est d'autres vises si enpiriées que toutes les boines vertus qui estoient en lui sont mortes par foeblece des rains » (*MS. Add. 5474, ff. 148^v, col. 2-149^r, col. 1*).

801. 34. *four jantyllwomen; F: 'XII damoiselles.'*

802. 2. *W: four pylloures; C: foure pyllowes.* *F* proves *W* right: 'il i vit une table d'argent qui estoit sour quatre fuisiaus, mais li fuisiel estoient tant biel et tant riche comme chil qui tout estoient couvert d'or, mais encore estoit

- cascuns plus merveilleus'. In the next sentence *F* refers for a more detailed description of the *fuisiaus* to the *Queste del Saint Graal*: 'si con l'escripture du Saint Graal le devise et devisera quant lieus et tans en sera' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 149^r, col. 2), but the reference is inaccurate: in the *Queste* the *fusiaus* are the pillars supporting the bed of the Maimed King (cf. *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 210), and to explain their origin the *Queste* gives a long account of the legend of the *Arbre de Vie* (pp. 210-26) beginning with the fall of man and leading up to the time when Solomon's wife ordered the tree to be cut down: 'mes il n'i orent gueres feru quant il furent tuit espoantés, car il virent tout apertement que de l'Arbre issoient gouttes de sanc ausi vermeilles come roses. Et lors vouloient lessier a ferir, mes ele lor fist recomencier, ou il vousissent ou non. Et tant en osterent que il em porent avoir un fuissel.' The Queen then said: 'Je voil que vous me façoiz de cest merrien trois fuissiax, et en soit li uns en costé de cest lit et li autres encontre de l'autre part, et li tierz aille par desus, si que il soit chevilliez en ambedeus' (op. cit., p. 224). There is no connexion in the *Queste* between the pieces of wood here described and the making of the Grail table.
802. 15-25. *And so the noyse sprange, &c.* This paragraph is an attempt to anticipate the denouement of the story, but the remark *and so the quene hylde sir Launcelot exkused* is as much out of keeping with *F* as with *M*'s own account of subsequent events.
802. 23. *And as the booke seythe.* MS. Add. 5474 (f. 149^v, col. 2) shows that the reference is correct: 'Or dist li contes que li rois Artus estoit venus de conquerre le roi Claudas de la Deserte, ensi con l'estoire de Lancelot raconte.'
803. 3-5. *twenty knyghtes and ten ladyes and jantyllwomen, to the numbir of an hondred horse.* *F*: 'dames et damoiselles et escuiers tant qu'elle fu son xle' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 517^r, col. 1).
804. 2. *in a chambir nygh by the quene and all undir one rooff.* *F* says that Guinevere gave Elaine a corner of her own room 'pour metre de ses coses une partie' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 150^r, col. 1).
804. 3. *W: as the kynge commaunded. C: as the quene commaunded.* There is no counterpart to this in *F*, and it is therefore difficult to decide which of the two readings is correct, but *W*'s is more in keeping with the habits of Arthur's household.
804. 5-13. *'other ellys,' seyde the quene, 'I am sure that ye woll go to youre ladyes bedde, dame Elayne.'* Not in *F*, where the queen simply says to Lancelot 'que ele l'envoieroit querre par une damoisele au premier somme'. He promises to come 'tantost qu'il orroit le mesage, comme cil qui mout amoit sa dame la roine' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 150^r, col. 2).
804. 17-22, 27-8. *'Alas!' seyde she, 'how shall I do?' 'Lat me deale,' seyde dame Brusen, &c.* This dialogue is made out of the following passage: 'Brisane . . . li creanta que ele li amenroit anuit Lancelot a son lit, asseur en puet estre. Et ele dit que ce li plaisoit mout, car moult amoit Lancelot de grant amour' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 150^r, col. 2). But there is no counterpart to the words *I am redy to go wyth you whother ye woll have me*.
804. 29. *so Launcelot threwe uppon hym a longe gown.* *F*: *il saut sus en braies et en chemise* (loc. cit.).
804. 30-1. *toke hym by the fyingir.* *F*: *le prent par la main* (loc. cit.).

804. 36-805. 1. *Now leve we them kyssynge and clyppynge as was a kyndely thyng.* In *F* the scene is described in the conventional courtly style: 'chil se couche delés lui, et ele le rechoit a grant joie, et il li fait autel soulas et autel joie comme il avoit a coustume a faire a sa dame la roïne, car il quidoit vraiment que che fust ele. En tele joie et en tel deduit s'endorment cil d'une part et cele d'autre, et se tint cascuns a boin eure, cil de sa dame que il quide tenir, et cele del home del monde que ele plus aime.'

805. 11-12. *Launcelot had a condicion that he used of custom to clatir in his slepe.* *F* does not seem to suggest that there was anything peculiar about Lancelot's 'condicion': 'Lancelot se commença a plaindre tout en dormant, si comme il avient par maintes fois que gens se plaignent en dormant' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 150^v, col. 1).

805. 31-806. 5. *And therewyth he toke suche an hartely sorow . . . that he felle doune to the floure in a sowne . . . and there wyth thornys he was all to-cracked of his vysage and hys body.* In *F* he goes out 'tout ainsi comme il estoit sans armeures et s'appareille et vint a la court aval. . . . Lors veissiez homme doulent et courroucié et faire duel merveilleux . . . et esgratignier sa face si que le sang en sailloit de toutes pars' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 518^r, col. 1).

806. 6-7. *was as wylde [woode] as.* The omission in *W* must have been induced by some such spelling as *woode*.

806. 7. *And so he ran two yere.* *F*: one month.

806. 19-34. *And, yf ye were nat, I myght have getyn the love of my lorde sir Launcelot, &c.* This part of the dialogue seems to be entirely original. In no French version of the story does King Pelles's daughter look upon Guinevere as the real obstacle to her happiness with Lancelot.

808. 2-15. *and whan she saw sir Bors she wepte as she were wood, &c.* Not in *F*, where Bors and Lionel are introduced a little earlier (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 519^r, col. 1) and their conversation is disposed of in one sentence: 'Et lors vint Boort a Hector et a Lionnel et leur dist qu'ilz preignent leurs armes.'

809. 23-5. *Now turne we unto sir Launcelot, &c.* This paragraph belongs to a much later passage. *M* seems to have inadvertently turned four or five pages of his French book, started on a new section, and then, realizing his mistake, gone back to where he left off; but he omitted to delete the three redundant lines which had thus crept into his text. Curiously enough, when he finally reached the Lancelot section and had to deal with the same passage again, he did not render it in the same way; on both occasions he shortened it, and omitted a number of details, but some of the details left out here reappear later and vice versa. The two renderings put together would, however, make a fairly accurate translation of the French text:

F (MS. Add. 5474, ff. 155^v,
cols. 1-2)

il ot del tout perdu le sens . . . si
erra . . . si comme aventure le portoït
et fu mout enpiriés de ce que tant
se travailloit et petit mangoit. . . . Un
jour d'iver qu'il faisoït moult froit,
&c.

M [Second rendering]:

ever ran wylde woode frome place
to place (p. 817, ll. 23-4).

M [First rendering]:

speke we of hys care and woo,
and what payne he there endured;
for colde, hungir and thyrste he
hadde plenté.

810. 1-20. *And than she kneled . . . in the myddys of the courte.* This scene is largely *M*'s own. Perceval's speech (*hit ys oure kynde to haunte armys and noble dedys*) is one of the clearest examples of *M*'s faith in lineage and the distinction between noble and churl. On the significance of the 'pyteous complaynte', see my *Malory*, pp. 6-7.
810. 21-5. *afir them she sente a squyar wyth spendynge inowoghe. And so whan the squyar had overtake them they wolde nat suffir hym to ryde wyth them but sente hym home agayne to comforte there modir, &c.* In *F* the squire has strict orders to accompany the knights on their journey and cannot be dismissed so easily: to get rid of him Perceval must escape while he is asleep. He acts in a more youthful, not to say childish, way than in *M* and has no such thought as to *comforte there modir praynyng her mekely of her blyssynge*.
811. 11-24. *What ys that there, &c.* There is no dialogue in the corresponding passage in *F*, and a comparison of the two texts provides an interesting illustration of *M*'s method of turning a narrative into direct speech. The French original reads as follows: *Ensi con Perchevaus esgardoit le vallet* (here *M* interpolates Aglovale's remark: 'What ys that there that ye beholde so faste?'), *issi de laiens un vallés et une damoisele* ('a good woman' in *W*, 'a good man' in *C*) *et il lor demanda qui le vallet avoit ochis* ('How was he slayne, fayre modir?' In *C*: *fayr felawe*). *Et il li dist tout maintenant que li sires du castiel l'avoit ochis pour l'amour d'Agloval dont il se clama* (MS. Add. 5474, ff. 152^v, col. 2-153^r, col. 1). Nothing more is said in *F*, and the speech of the 'good woman' in *M* is a clever expansion of the last two lines of the passage. It is not clear whether *M* had, like *W*, 'good woman' in l. 11 and 'fayre modir' two lines below, or, like *C*, 'good man' and 'fayr felawe'. The French 'un vallés et une damoiselle' would justify either rendering.
813. 9-10. *she proffyrd me to be her paramoure and I refused her.* In *F*, the knight acts in a more 'courtly' fashion: 'la dame me vit biel che li fu avis qu'ele me requist d'amors, et jou li dis que jou n'en feroie rien se ele ne s'en venoit od moi, et ele le me creanta'. As they are leaving the castle 'pour aler el roiaume de Logres', they are attacked by the people of the castle: 'si mirent la dame es aniaus et moi loierent' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 154^r, col. 1).
814. 6-10. *'A, madame,' seyde sir Percyvale, &c.* In *F* Perceval does not reproach the lady of the castle with her *shamefull custom* or threaten to *fordo all her false customys*.
814. 14-815. 11. *he bade sir Parsydes ryde unto kyng Arthure, &c.* The story of Parsides' errand is not in *F*, but *F* alone can account for Perceval's remark about Kay's and Mordred's *mokkys and scornys*, for it says that Kay's unkind remarks about Perceval had forced him to leave Arthur's court. *M*'s purpose in digressing at this point is probably to put forward the view that no discouragement can prevent a noble knight from achieving success, as long as *hys fadir and hys bretherne were noble knyghtes all*. Cf. 810. 1-20.
815. 13-14. *he mette wyth a knyght, &c.* This is a very unusual case of a knight bearing a well-known name in *F* and becoming anonymous in *M*. The knight 'wyth a brokyn shyld and a brokyn helme' is no less a person than Hector de Mares, 'qui tex estoit atournés que toutes ses armes ne

valoient se petit non, car ses escus estoit si depechiés qu'il n'i paroit se tronçons non, et ses hiaumes estoit si desfroissies et il estoit mout travailliés'. *F* explains how this came about: 'che n'estoit mie merveille, car il avoit chevaucié deux ans tous entiers sans avoir point de repos' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 154^v, col. 1).

816. 35. *the mayden that bare hit*. In *F* the Grail is carried by *encensiers* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 538^r, col. 2).

817. 9-10. *W*: 'but yff hit be by man'; *C*: 'but yf hit be by a parfyte man.' *C*'s *parfyte man* is an awkward phrase, unlikely to have occurred in this context in *M*, and most probably contaminated with *parfyte mayden* of p. 816, l. 36. The suggested emendation (*but yff hit be by an holy man*) supplies, apart from satisfactory sense, the necessary conditions for the homœoteleuton in *W*.

817. 27-9. *And other clothyng had he but lytyll*, &c. *C*'s reading (. . . *but lytel but his sherte and his breche Thus*) makes excellent sense, while *W*'s (*but lytyll but in his shurte and his breke And thus*) seems at first sight corrupt. But the seemingly inexplicable *in* is paralleled in *F* ('aventure amena Lancelot *en* braies et *en* chemise tout depechiés a deux paveillons'), and precisely because it is meaningless in *W* it is more likely to be a survival of an older reading than a scribal addition. To discover the reading to which it belongs it is enough to assume that in *W* the word *And*, which is absent from *C*, is spurious, and that otherwise *W* is authentic; the text would then read: 'And other clothyng had he but lytyll, *but in his shurte and his breke*, thus as sir Launcelott wandered here and there, *he cam into a fayre meadow* where he founde a pavelon.'

818. 11. *scarlet furred with menyvere*. *F*'s 'une riche robe d'esquarlatte qui estoit moult richement fourée' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 539^r, col. 1).

818. 32-3. *And there was a lady that lay in that bedde*. In *F* the lady escapes as soon as she sees Launcelot.

821. 11-12. *W*: *to a roche faste by an ermytaye*; *C*: *to a tree fast*, &c. Neither reading is traceable to *F* where the wild boar stops 'en une valee'. The 'ermytaye' in *M* is an anticipation of the next episode ('And therewythall came oute the ermyte', &c.).

821. 12-20. *M*'s account of Lancelot's fight with the wild boar is on the whole fuller than that which he found in *F*. He added *rove oute the longys and the harte of the horse* (*F*: 'fiert le cheval par mi les flans si qu'il le porfent tout mort en mi le chemin') and *the browne of the thyghe up unto the howghe boone* (*F*: 'si li met le dent par mi la quisse et li fait plaie grant'), but shortened the last sentence: 'Lancelot le fiert par mi la teste si grant coup qu'il li fait la cervelle espandre. Si l'abat mort' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 157^r, col. 2).

822. 10. *the ermyte gate a carte*. *F*: 'biere chevaleresse' (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 541^r, col. 2).

822. 15-18. *and so he empeyred and wexed fyble, bothe of body and of hys wytte*, &c. *F*: 'Mais pour la paine qu'il traioit et pour la povre viande que il n'avoit mie a prise enpira il mout durement, et fu pales et maigres et afebloies et mal vestus, dont il fu plus mas et plus hors du sens qu'il n'estoit devant.'

822. 26. *he threw them*. *F*: 'il lor commencha a jeter pierres' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 157^v, col. 1).

823. 2-4. *And so every day they wolde throw hym mete and set hym drynke, but there was but few that wolde brynge hym mete to hys hondys.* In *F* the people of the castle do not treat Lancelot as an outcaste: 'il ot a mangier et a boire a grant plenté, et le revestirent de lor viés dras li serjant de laiens. Et pour ce et pour le repos que il trova amenda il mout en poi d'eure et revint en sa biauté et en sa forche' (MS. Add. 5474, f. 157^v, col. 2).
824. 16. *I shall throw an inchauntemenie.* It is only in *M*'s account that Brusen appears as an enchantress. Lancelot speaks of her (p. 796) as being the cause of the 'enchantment between him and Elaine', whereas in *F* she does no more than serve the magic drink which causes Lancelot to mistake Elaine for Guinevere.
826. 10-11. *castell of Blyaunte. F: l'Isle de Joie.*
826. 18-35. *Than cam a knyght whyche was called sir Gastor, &c.* Not in *F*. The only purpose of this interpolation, introduced with less than the usual sense of coherence, is to show that Lancelot's assumed name was a thin disguise and that there was no real mystery about the 'knight that had trespassed'.
827. 4. *an ilonde beclosed envyrowne wyth a fayre watir. C: an Iland beclosed in yron with a fayr water.* The misprint has reappeared in all modern editions.
827. 16. *three leagis. F: 'une demi-lieue'.*
828. 7-10. *her name is dame Elayne . . . and he callyth hymself Le Shyvalere Mafete.* Neither name is given in the corresponding place in *F*. It is only when Perceval and Ector meet Lancelot that they discover who the castle belongs to.
828. 12. *'Truly,' seyde the damesell.* In *F* this story is told by King Pelles.
830. 22-3. *And now turne we unto sir Bors de Ganys and unto sir Lyonell.* *M* anticipates this from a later passage in *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, ff. 546^r, col. 2-547^v, col. 1).
831. 32-3. *hyt hath coste my lady the quene twenty thousand pounds.* In Arthurian romance this remark is the first and, to my knowledge, the only instance of an estimate of expenses involved in a knightly quest. There is nothing in *F* that could have suggested it.
832. 3-4. *they toke [their horses] and made redy, and anone they toke there leve.* This is *C*'s reading with the exception of the words *anone they* which *C* omits, and *them* which he inserts after *made*. The omission of *their horses* in *W* is probably due to the fact that having written *they toke* the scribe, looking back at the text, thought he had jumped straight from *they* to *there leve*. He then went back a little, but not far enough to bring in *their horses*.
832. 30-833. 8. *'A, Jesu!' seyde kynge Arthure, &c.* *F* does not give this conclusion but *M* seems to need it to round off his account. Arthur's explanation of Lancelot's madness (*I and many othir deme hyt was for the love of fayre Elayne*) helps to recall the central event of the story and to anticipate what is to come (*men sey that he shall do many mervaylouse thyngys*), while the reference to Lancelot's 'kynnesmen' who *knew for whom he wente oute of hys mynde* strengthens the link between the two main themes of the Cycle, those which centre round the characters of Guinevere and Galahad.

XV

CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Löseth, E., op. cit., p. 277, note 2.
2. Scudder, V. D., *Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory and Its Sources* (London and New York, 1921), p. 419.
3. Vinaver, E., *Le Roman de Tristan*, pp. 77-9, 218-19.

SOURCES

Malory concludes his Tristram Romance by saying *Here endyth the secunde boke off syr Trystram de Lyones wyche drawyn was oute of Freynshe by sir Thomas Malleoré knyght as Jesu be hys helpe. Amen. But here ys no rehersall of the thirde booke.* A similar division is found in MSS. B.N. fr. 99 and Chant. 316: *Cy finist le secont liore de Tristan Cy après s'ensuit le tiers liore de Tristan* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 560^v). As in Malory, this is followed in the two French MSS. by the *Quest of the Holy Grail*. Of the seven MSS. which contain the episodes forming the conclusion of Malory's *Tristram* (B.N. fr. 97, 99, 101, 349, 758, Add. 5474, Chant. 316), B.N. fr. 99 and Chant. 316 are therefore probably the nearest extant representatives of this section of his source.

839. 7-8. *La Beall Isode tolde off the grete feste that sholde be at Pentecoste.* According to *F*, it is Tristram who tells Isode of the grete feast (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 548^v, col. 1-2).

839. 8-18. *And there she tolde hym how sir Launcelot had bene myssed two yere, &c.* Not in *F*. The whole of this passage is intended as a transition from the previous section to the concluding episode of *M's Tristram*.

839. 23-5. *for thorow me ye bene marked of many good knyghtes, &c.* *M's* is the only version of the story in which Isode declines to go to the tournament for fear of causing Tristram *much more laboure*; unlike most courtly ladies she does not want him to do too much fighting on her account.

840. 11. *I woll ryde on Tewysday next comynge.* In MS. B.N. fr. 99 the great feast is to take place on Wednesday or Thursday; in MS. Add. 5474—on Friday or Saturday.

840. 16-845. 9. *And within a myle way aftir sir Trystram sawe afore hym where sir Palomydes had stryken downe, &c.* Although *F* relates neither Tristram's fight with Palomides nor the latter's conversion, it seems likely that at least the first part of the episode—the single combat—was in *M's* source. It would certainly be contrary to *M's* usual practice to replace a friendly conversation between two knights, such as is found in the extant French MSS., by a fight.

840. 33. *stroke togydys six grete strokys uppon hys helme.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 99, f. 549^v, col. 1): 'si durement . . . qu'il fait le glaive voler en pieces'.

842. 32. [*ye*] *ye*. The omission of *hys* before *ye* is a normal scribal error; but it was probably facilitated by the not uncommon *ye* spelling.

844. 27, 29. *and sytthyn I [ha]d [o]ffended, &c.; that [o]ffence.* The readings in *W* (*I deffended* and *that deffence*) are probably the result of some such series of variants as *I had offended* > *I have deffended* > *I deffended*, the substitution of *deffended* for *offended* being due to contamination.

845. 6-7 (cf. 451. 20). *W: all my evyll wyll God forgyff hyt you, and I do. C: alle thyn evylle wil god forgyue it yow and I doo.* *C* seems at first glance to make better sense, but *W* has none the less preserved the more authentic reading. *Evylle wyll* is a literal translation of the Old French *mautalent* ('anger') and 'I forgyff you my evyll wyll' is modelled on the Old French phrase 'Je vous pardonne mon mautalent', meaning 'I forgive you' (more literally, 'I cease to be angry with you'). But since 'I forgive you my evil will' meant the same as 'I forgive you' (perhaps with a different degree of emphasis), 'my evil will' in the former phrase was naturally reduced to a mere adverb of emphasis, and through a process of *catachresis* lost the literal sense of 'my anger'. Hence *M* could use the phrase 'forgive my evil will' with a subject other than the personal pronoun *I*, or at any rate with two subjects one of which was not the personal pronoun *I*. He could say 'My evil will may God forgive you if I do', meaning simply, 'May God forgive you if (as) I do'. *C*'s rendering is probably due to a misunderstanding of this construction. Thinking that 'my' was a mistake, he changed it to 'thyn' with the result that 'evil will' could no longer mean 'anger'. The only thing that *C*'s reading as a whole can mean is 'God will forgive you your evil will if I do'—a curious remark for anyone to make, and one which *C* himself would no doubt have been at a loss to explain.

845. 28-30; 846. 4-5. *by sir Thomas Malleorré knyght as Jesu be hys helpe.* *C* has suppressed not only *M*'s name, but the words *as Jesu be hys helpe* and *Have on thy knyght*.

THE QUEST OF THE HOLY GRAIL

MALORY's *Tale of the Sankgreall* is the least original of his works. Apart from omissions and minor alterations, it is to all intents and purposes a translation of the French *Queste del Saint Graal*, the fourth branch of the thirteenth-century Arthurian Prose Cycle. And yet the actual text which Malory used is not to be found in any one of the thirty-nine extant MSS. of that branch.¹ In so far as these differ among themselves, they fall into two groups, usually described as *A*² and *B*³; and while Malory's rendering agrees more often with *A* than with *B*, it occasionally goes over to *B* and sometimes even combines the readings of both groups. Out of a total of twenty-six passages which call for consideration fifteen belong to the first of these categories,⁴ four to the second,⁵ four to the third,⁶ and the remaining three⁷ agree with isolated MSS. All this suggests that Malory's source belonged to neither group and was more closely related to their lost common original than any one of the extant French MSS. can claim to be. Hence the possibility of bringing Malory's readings to bear on the textual problems of the French *Queste*, and the difficulty of using the available French material for the study of Malory's adaptation; for so long as no single French version can be said to represent as authentic a state of the work as that to which he had access, none can be relied upon to show the exact extent of his originality. For the purpose of my

¹ MSS. B.N. fr. 98 (*M*), 110 (*P*), 111 (*Q*), 112, 116 (*N*), 120 (*O*), 122 (*L*), 123, 339 (*A*), 342 (*D*), 343 (*B*), 344 (*R*), 751 (*V*), 768 (*B*), 771, 1423-4 (*T*), 12573, 12580 (*U*), 12581 (*C*), 25520 (*U*¹), nouv. acq. fr. 1119 (*Z*); Arsenal 3347, 3480 (*Ac*), 3482 (*Ad*), 5218; Lyons, Palais des Arts 77 (*K*); Brussels 9627-8; British Museum Royal 14 E. iii (*S*), 19 C. xiii, 20 C. vi; Add. 10294, 17443; Bodley Rawl. 814 (*F*), 899 (*E*), Digby 223 (*G*); Manchester, John Rylands Library Fr. 1; Cheltenham, Philipps Collection 130, 1046, 3630.

² MSS. KRZPNYSVAdTMQLUU¹EG, &c.

³ OADBCAcF, &c.

⁴ See notes 858. 12-16, 883. 21, 893. 33, 895. 26-7, 925. 26-9, 928. 23-4, 930. 3-6, 932. 10-11, 932. 32, 942. 14, 942. 17-18, 961. 30, 963. 30, 975. 17-19, and 998. 13-16.

⁵ See notes 864. 2, 889. 1-2, 889. 10, and 987. 24.

⁶ See notes 908. 3-4, 908. 26-7, 911. 10, and 917. 19.

⁷ See notes 941. 13, 1033. 25-6, and 1036. 1

commentary I have referred to a MS. which seems nearest to the 'French Book' (O, or MS. B.N. fr. 120), supplementing it by some other MSS. of group B (*A, Ac, V, S*) and the three best MSS. of the other group (*K, R, Z*), but I have naturally refrained from attributing to Malory every single detail in which he differs from these texts. As a safeguard against such attribution, I have listed separately, at the end of this prefatory note, words and sentences which, although not traceable to the extant MSS., may conceivably have come from Malory's immediate source.

The more reliable results of my word-for-word comparison of Malory's text with the French reveal, however, a number of alterations, additions, and excisions which have to be accounted for either in the light of his attitude to his source or, in some cases, on grounds of certain peculiarities of his style and manner. His attitude may be described without much risk of over-simplification as that of a man to whom the quest of the Grail was primarily an *Arthurian* adventure and who regarded the intrusion of the Grail upon Arthur's kingdom not as a means of contrasting earthly and divine chivalry and condemning the former, but as an opportunity offered to the knights of the Round Table to achieve still greater glory in *this* world. When, for instance, he found in the French the traditional formula *qu'il prient Nostre Seigneur qu'il ait merci de l'ame de moi* he replaced it by the familiar *lieu commun*: 'Whan ye com to the courte recommaunde me unto my lorde Arthur and to all them that be lefte on lyve;¹ and he made a lady in distress appeal to Sir Bors 'for kynge Arthures sake', not, as in the French, *sus la foi que tu doiz a Celui cui hom lige tu es et en qui servise tu t'es mis*.² The same Sir Bors, when asked to explain the purpose of the Grail quest, says that 'he shall have much ertly worship that may bryng hit to an ende'.³ And so throughout the story Malory is primarily concerned with 'ertly worship', not with any higher purpose, and his one desire seems to be to secularize the Grail theme as much as the story will allow. Ignoring the contrast between *la chevallierie celestiale* and *la seculiere*, Malory replaces the

¹ See note 945. 10.

³ See note 955. 9-10, 12.

² See note 961. 5 ff.

former by 'virtuous living',¹ and even uses the phrase 'knyghtly dedys and vertuous lyvyng'² to describe the duties of a good Christian.³ Naturally enough, when he comes to assess Lancelot's virtues and vices he finds himself unable to follow either the spirit or the letter of the French.⁴ Lancelot's main fault, according to Malory, is that 'he ys nat stable'; if he were, he would presumably have been worthy, in Malory's view, of achieving the Grail. His main virtue in the *Queste* is his readiness to repent; in Malory it is his reluctance to 'murder' his opponents in battle;⁵ and it is the absence of this same virtue that accounts for the condemnation of Lionel, a 'murtherer' who 'doth contrary to the Order of Knyghthode'.⁶ There is nothing in Lionel's record in the Arthurian Cycle to warrant this description, and the reason why Malory uses it is simply that he can think of no better secular equivalent of the French *n'a en soi nule vertu de Nostre Seignor qui en estant le tiegne*.

But the substitution of the Arthurian for the Christian scale of values is perhaps best illustrated by the attempt to *rehabilitate* Lancelot. In the French *Queste* Lancelot was an example of earthly chivalry humbled in the endeavour to make itself worthy of divine grace, and Lancelot's humiliation was as necessary a part of the story as Galahad's triumph. Malory takes it upon himself to protect Lancelot against this treatment. Not only does he omit important passages which might reflect discredit on his hero,⁷ but he insists on his past greatness,⁸ and assigns to him a role which he could never have played in the traditional version. In Malory, as in the *Queste*, Lancelot is a repentant sinner; but he is far less conscious of his ultimate failure to achieve the quest than of his relative success in it. He thanks God for what he has seen in his search for the Grail; and what he has seen

¹ See note 886. 18.

² See note 891. 33-4.

³ Cf. F: 'pour ce que vous feussies sergans a Nostre Creatour et deffendissies Sainte Eglise et que vous rendissies a Nostre Seignour le tresor que vous avés a garder, ce est la vie (*var.* l'ame) de vous.'

⁴ See p. 948, ll. 19-28.

⁵ For another characteristic case of confusion between 'stability' and holiness, see note 956. 2.

⁶ See note 968. 11-12 and cf. note 948. 18-19.

⁷ See notes 896. 1-9 and 925. 4.

⁸ See notes 863. 28-9 and 930. 14-18.

'suffices him': he returns from his adventures with a feeling of having once more accomplished a great task. He even places on record, as only the Grail knights themselves could have done, 'the adventures of the Sangreall that he had sene'.¹ That this change enabled Malory to go beyond his source in the direction of characterization and achieve something aesthetically far more valuable than a consistent exposition of doctrine, has been shown elsewhere.² But it is now possible to see how the change came about and how Malory arrived at his notion of the Grail legend. What is clear is that the decisive influence upon him was not that of some moral teaching inconsistent with that of the *Queste*, but simply and solely his confidence in the unfailing merits of Arthurian chivalry and in the undisputed greatness of its protagonist.

The *Queste* was, of course, too solid and too elaborate a structure to be so easily upset, and the few alterations made by Malory could neither conceal its purpose nor obliterate its character. Taken as it stands, his *Tale of the Sangreall* still preserves the essential characteristics of its source. The hermits are fewer in number and less explicit in their utterances; but there are still quite enough of them, and they are far from having abandoned the habit of expounding each adventure in the bitterest detail. If, then, the work is to be judged as a whole, it should be judged like any other translation regardless of its substance. That it provides admirable material for the study of the art of translation will be obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to compare it with the *Queste*. Not that it can always serve as a model of that art. To translate the French phrase *rendre la coustume* (= 'to comply with the custom') by the English *to yield the custom*³ is to indulge in purely mechanical rendering without regard for sense, and to use such strange gallicisms as *play* for 'wound'⁴ or *porte* for 'gate'⁵ is to mistake the task of a translator for that of a copyist. Sometimes it is even difficult to decide whether Malory is deliberately mis-translating or whether he is trying to force upon an English

¹ See note 1036. 19-1037. 7.

³ See note 1000. 18-19, 26-7.

⁵ See note 996. 2-3.

² See *Introduction*, pp. lxxvi-lxxviii.

⁴ See note 885. 30.

word an entirely new meaning. *Le feu du Saint Esprit est si en toy esprits et si alumés* becomes *the fyre of the Holy Goste ys takyn so in the*,¹ and the reader is left to wonder whether Malory has just mistaken the French *espris* (= 'aflame') for *pris* or whether he has deliberately used *takyn* in the sense of 'aflame'. But the most interesting examples of fanciful translation are those which show the author so attracted by the sound of French words as to lose sight of their real meaning. He must have known, for instance, that *une grant eve rade* meant 'a large and swift stream'; but instead of using some English phrase to this effect he made it into a *rowghe watir whych rored*.² The symbolical bulls clamouring for food *crye*, in Malory's rendering, *for lacke of wynde that fayled them*,³ partly because *wynde* is the nearest English phonetic equivalent of *viande*; the French *Nostre Sires sacra* becomes *oure Lorde succoured*,⁴ *orties* (= 'nettles') *wortis* (= 'roots'),⁵ and *il se parti de chiés un vavas seur* gives rise to an impressive place-name: '[he] departed frome a place that hyght Abblasowre'.⁶

But it would be wrong to treat all such cases as examples of carelessness; their primary importance lies in the fact that they show the author's sensitiveness to the sound-value of words—a quality of mind which is liable to be wasted on a mere search for homonyms, but which can be turned by a creative artist to real advantage. *The crakyng and cryyng of thundir*,⁷ suggested to Malory by the French *escrois de tonnerre*, has all the evocative power which the French phrase lacks, and the same is true of *rowghe watir whych rored* with its combination of onomatopœic and alliterative effects. These and the like are manifestations of stylistic sensibility; and they acquire more significance as the comparison of Malory's text with its source unfolds itself. The French *Queste* was a treatise on grace,⁸ with hardly a page or a line not intended for doctrinal exposition. It was written by someone who was clearly an expert in

¹ See note 1025. 15-16.

² See note 912. 2.

³ See note 942. 16-17.

⁴ See note 1029. 9.

⁵ See note 945. 25.

⁶ See note 887. 1-2. For similar examples see *Introduction*, p. xlvii, note 2.

⁷ See note 865. 17.

⁸ Cf. Étienne Gilson, 'La mystique de la grâce dans la *Queste del Saint Graal*', *Romana*, vol. li, pp. 323-47.

theological discussion, but whose mind never grasped the picturesque possibilities of the story, and whose language never extended to imaginative expression. The work was designed, as Pauphilet puts it, 'pour l'esprit et non pour les yeux': 'La réalité matérielle est absente de ce livre; les personnages y flottent dans un décor étrange, impossible, et qui ne parle guère à la sensibilité; les formes et les couleurs s'y dissolvent en abstractions. . . . C'est peut-être le charme le plus singulier de la *Queste* que l'esprit y est continuellement suspendu entre l'in vraisemblable et l'abstrait.'¹ Hence, on the one hand, a remarkable precision in the expression and elucidation of abstract thought, and on the other, a complete indifference to physical reality. Form, colour, movement—those are things which the French author never seems to notice except in so far as they can provide material for allegory. He carefully describes the colour of the horse symbolizing the fiend, just as he spares no detail in speaking of the priest's habit, because these objects serve his argument; but whatever cannot be used in this way, whether it be scenery or costume or character, is either ignored or sketched in conventional terms.

The fact that for this method of expression Malory substitutes one which can in a very real sense be described as imaginative constitutes his main claim to originality. When he finds a conventional simile such as *comme une mote de terre* he replaces it by the remark: 'he myght nat stonde nother stirre no membir that he had.'² The lion following Perceval does not merely, as in the French version, 'make great joy': he goes 'allwey aboute hym, fawnynge as a spaynell'.³ The long-winded and amorphous phraseology of the French *Queste* is thus transformed into crisp and spontaneous idiom. Instead of

'il estoit ore a ce menés que ceste mesaise qu'il a commencié li plaist tant a souffrir et embelist qu'il n'essaia onques mais riens qui tant li pleust, et pour ce ne li greve riens qu'il face',

Malory writes simply: 'He toke hyt mekely and suffirde the payne,'⁴ just as he uses the phrase 'for natural love' instead of literally translating *por ce qu'il le doit garder et*

¹ *Études sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, p. 174.

³ See note 912. 34.

² See note 1016. 21.

⁴ See note 931. 9-10.

aimer.¹ And no one will mistake the significance of the contrast between Malory's 'the wordis wente to hys herte' and the French *lez . . . paroles n'a il mie oubliees ne oubliera ja mais tant qu'il vive*.²

The qualities of style revealed by these examples are precisely those which are least characteristic of early French prose, whether classical or medieval. The prose of Froissart was a means of conveying facts and ideas, not of suggesting colour, shape, or sound; the joy of verbal invention, of the evocative use of words was experienced, as it were by accident, by such truly great artists as Villehardouin, Christine de Pisan, and Alain Chartier; but the majority of medieval writers, and especially the anonymous romance writers of the thirteenth century—the founders of French secular prose—whether they dealt with ordinary narrative or with doctrinal matters, were confined to colourless and conventionalized phraseology, designed to please the intelligence, not to stir the imagination. What some of these writers possessed to a high degree was a sense of sentence-balance, a strong feeling for rhythm and cadence, indicative of a close link between prose and oratory and typical of the French conception of prose style throughout the first centuries of its development:

'Mes por ce que vous m'avez dit que je n'ai mie encore tant alé que je ne puisse retourner, se je me vuel garder de renchaoir en pechié mortel, creant je premierement a Dieu et a vos après que ja mes a la vie que je ai menee si longuement ne retournerai, ainz tendrai chasteé et garderai mon cors au plus nettement que je porrai.'³

This is not a mere accumulation of clauses; it is, as the most superficial analysis will show, an elaborate composition in which the sense-values are so distributed as to be emphasized by the rhythm, and the rhythmical units so shaped as to be able to bear the full weight of the sense. Examples of this method are common enough to suggest that long before Bossuet French prose writers mastered the use of musical cadence. I have shown elsewhere⁴ that Malory was equally conscious of the rhythmical possibilities of prose, even

¹ See note 981. 30.

² See note 895. 32.

³ *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Pauphilet, pp. 70-1.

⁴ Cf. my *Malory*, pp. 106-8.

though he followed a colloquial rather than an oratorical pattern. His rendering of the passage just quoted illustrates both this preference and the essential similarity in the handling of sentence structure:

‘« Sertes, » seyde sir Launcelot, « all that ye have seyde ys trew, and frome hensforwarde I caste me, by the grace of God, never to be so wycked as I have bene, but as to sew knyghthode and to do fetys of armys. » ’¹

The *tempo* is different, but the writer’s skill is as noticeable here as in the French model. And yet it is obvious that the main attraction and the real power of Malory’s style lie in a different sphere: not in structural grace, but in the quality of the material he employs, a quality which in the most modern idiom of literary aesthetics would rank as *l’état essentiel de la parole* and which alone makes his truncated and often incoherent adaptation of the great epic of the Grail² significant and convincing. He may have misunderstood the Grail doctrine, confused the whole spiritual issue and omitted some essential parts of the narrative; for all this, it is through his version and not through the French *Queste* that the symbol of the Grail has reached in our imagination that degree of reality without which no symbol can live:

‘Than anone they harde crakyng and cryyng of thundir, that hem thought the palyse sholde all to-dryve. So in the myddys of the blast entyrde a sonnebeame, more clerer by seven tymys than ever they saw day, and all they were alyghted of the grace of the Holy Goste. Than began every knyght to behold other, and eyther saw other, by their semyng, fayrer than ever they were before. Natforthan there was no knyght that myght speke one worde a grete whyle, and so they loked every man on other as they had bene doome.

‘Than enterd into the halle the Holy Grayle coverde with whyght samyte, but there was none than myght se hit nother whom that bare hit. And there was all the halle fulfyllled with good odoures, and every knyght had such metis and drynkes as he beste loved in thys worlde.’³

¹ Pp. 898–9.

² For examples of complete incoherence see notes 929. 32–3, 946. 26–8, 947. 9–11, and 958. 13–20.

³ P. 865.

It is on achievements of this order, more than on anything else, that the survival of prose fiction ultimately depends.

SOME WORDS AND SENTENCES 'NOT IN *F*'.

This list includes words and sentences in Malory's text which I have not been able to find in the extant MSS. of the French *Queste*, but which may have been suggested to him by the version he used, as well as some of the minor points 'not in *F*', too insignificant to be recorded in the body of the Commentary.

854. 19 semely and demure as a dove. 854. 26 that nyght sir Launcelot had passyng good chere. 855. 7, 11 golde lettirs; of golde (cf. 907. 30 and 1034. 11). 865. 8-10 sir Launcelot ys com . . . Cryst. 865. 22-3 eyther saw other by their semyng fayrer than ever they were before. 867. 12 for of deth we be syker. 867. 15 dolefull. 872. 14 that ever I syghe you. 883. 4 and of what kynred he was com. 887. 18 myschyff. 889. 33-890. 1 within three nyghtes afir that she was thus forsed. 890. 6 sette them in grete ease of harte. 891. 1 'Nother yet we' seyde sir Gawayne. 892. 23 and bytaught hym unto God. 892. 33 hys fadir. 893. 8-9 all alowde that sir Launcelot and Percyvall myght hyre. 895. 2 but he took repentaunce afir that. 897. 29-31 Sir, loke that your harte and youre mowth accorde, &c. 906. 10 on Whytsonday. 906. 12-14 And that same knyght . . . none erthely mannys hande. 906. 32 whyght bullis. 907. 30 golde (cf. 855. 7, 11 and 1034. 11). 910. 3 cryyng. 910. 14-15 I am ryght hevvy for you for a good horse wolde beseme you well. 914. 18-19 he was passyng fyeble. 914. 30-1 here I am in grete duras . . . of thys wyldernes. 918. 1 he thanked her. 918. 4 she seyde 'yee, ye shall have inowghe'. 918. 29 and grace. 918. 31 and the sygne of the crucifex [ther]in. 919. 12-13 Sitthyn my fleyssh woll be my mayster, &c. 919. 26-7 thys noble knyght was sore ashamed of hymself, and therewith he fylle in a sowne. 919. 28 waykely. 925. 13 passyng fyne clothe. 925. 17-18 and sir Launcelot. 925. 30 he levith nat well. 928. 35-929. 1 used wronge warris with vayneglory for the pleasure of the worlde more than to please me. 929. 9 thou deddist me grete unkyndnes. 931. 1-2 thou faryst muche the better for hys prayer. 933. 22 whan kynge Arthure hylde courte. 934. 11-12 hit ys nat worth a peare. 934. 21-3 of all erthly knyghtes I have moste pit   of the, for I know well thou haste nat thy pere of ony erthly synfull man. 944. 8 thorow the breste. 944. 17-18 for Goddys sake and youre jantilnes. 949. 5 nor grasse. 949. 12-13 'Well,' seyde the good man, 'thou were better

to be counceyled. 956. 9 for hungir. 956. 10 which was grete and sherpe. 956. 20 lusty. 957. 34-5 tyll that he had mette with the queste of the Sankegreall. 959. 10-11 full lothe I am there sholde be ony batayle. 959. 14-16 Than there was the cry made, &c. 960. 14-16 she thanked hym . . . but he refused hit. 961. 15 which she shall never gete agayne. 961. 29 lyffte. 962. 12-13 for I, nother none of my fadirs men, myssetrusted hym nat. 962. 27 stronge. 967. 3-5 And than he told hym . . . to ete brede and watir. 968. 4 for he knew thou were tendir-herted. 970. 6-8 inasmuch as sir Lyonell was hys elder brothir, wherefore he oughte to bere hym reverence. 972. 30 offtyn. 973. 15 as a fyndely man. 974. 8-9 for he drad last God had takyn vengeaunce uppon hym. 975. 17 and ever they were in theyre prayers. 982. 6 that was seyd of sir Launcelot. 983. 3 within thys three dayes. 984. 5-6 but hit com of Goddis grace. 988. 8 as ony cole. 990. 1 and Holy Chyrche. 993. 28-9 Now here ys a wondir tale of kyng Salamon and of hys wyff. 995. 23 to gyff you corrayge. 998. 3 to be confessed and howseled. 1000. 11 commended the good man to God. 1002. 8 spare nat for me. 1002. 32 better ys one harme than twayne. 1004. 16 as all the erthe wolde a brokyn. 1005. 24 sore wepte at theyre departynge. 1012. 18 askyd hym hys blyssynge. 1016. 15 semyngede dede to all people. 1031. 9 with hys fyngirs. 1032. 22-3 to se the Blyssed Trinité . . . and the majesté of oure Lorde Jesu Cryste. 1034. 11 of golde (cf. 855. 7, 11 and 907. 30). 1036. 2 a full holy lyff.

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[The above list is limited to publications dealing with the French *Queste del Saint Graal* and with Malory's treatment of it. A bibliography of critical works on the other Grail romances and on the origins of the Grail legend will be found in J. D. Bruce's *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, vol. ii, pp. 398-412].

I

THE DEPARTURE

853. 1-7. The first paragraph of *M's Tale of the Sankgreal* is a faithful translation from the French:

La Queste del Saint Graal,
ed. A. Pauphilet, p. 1:

A la veille de la Pentecoste, quant li compaignon de la Table Reonde furent venu a Kamaalot et il orent oï le servise et len vouloit metre les tables a hore de none, lors entra en la sale a cheval une moult bele damoisele; et fu venue si grant oïrre que bien le pooit len veoir, car ses chevaus en fu encore toz tressuez. Et ele descent et vient devant le roi; si le salue, et il dit que Diex la beneie.

M, 853. 1-7:

At the vigyl of Pentecoste, whan all the felyship of the Table Rownde were com unto Camelot and there harde hir servyse, so at the laste the tablys were sette redy to the meete, ryght so entird into the halle a full fayre jantillwoman on horsebacke that had ryddyn full faste, for hir horse was all beswette. Than she there alyght and com before the kynge and salewed hym, and he seyde, 'Damesell, God you blysse!'

Characteristic here are the stylistic simplification (*si grani oirre que bien le pooit len veoir car ses chevaus en fu encore toz tressuez* > full faste for hir hors was all beswette) and the substitution of direct speech for narrative—a device so frequent in *M* that I have had to refrain from giving further examples of it.

854. 20-1. *so fayre a fourme of a man* (*C*: a man of fourme; *F*: 'si bele forme d'ome'). *W*'s reading is supported by *F*, and is clearly preferable to *C*'s on grounds of sense.
854. 22. '*Commyth thys desyre of hymselff*.' Not in *F*. Impressed with Galahad's *simplece*, Lancelot is only too anxious to make him a knight: 'par la simplece qu'il i voit i espoire il tant de bien qu'il li plect molt qu'il le face chevalier. Si respont as dames que de ceste requeste ne faudra il ja', &c. (*ibid.*, pp. 2-3).
855. 34. *I bethought me nat of none olde custom*. This provides an interesting contrast with the solemnity of Arthur's declaration in *F* (op. cit., p. 5): 'Ceste costume ai je toz jors tenue et la tendrai tant come je porrai.'
856. 8. *unto the ryver*. *F*: 'a la rive'.
856. 9-11. *and the pomell thereof was of precious stonys wrought with lettirs of golde subtyllé*. The reading agrees word for word with *F* ('et en estoit li ponz d'une pierre preciose ovrez a letres d'or molt soutilment'); *C*'s *subtyle letters of gold* is an obvious corruption.
856. 20. *full sobirly*. *F*: 'toz corouciez'.
856. 22-3. *for hit longith nat to hange be my syde*. The corresponding sentence in *F* has much the same force, but the way in which *M* arrived at his rendering is worth noting. *F* has 'je ne suiz mie dignes ne soffisanz que la doie prendre'. *M* seems to have mistaken *prendre* for *pendre* and the phrase *la doie prendre* for *la doit pendre*.
857. 3. '*Sir, he seyde, 'sauff youre good grace, I shall nat do that*.' In *F* Gawain explains his refusal as follows: 'puis que messires Lancelot n'i velt essayer, g'i metroie la main por noient, car ce savez vos bien qu'il est assez mieldres chevaliers que je ne sui' (op. cit., p. 6).
857. 4-5. *W*: *assay to take the sverde for my love and at my commaundement*; (*P*: 'assaye to take the suerd & assaye at my comandement'; *R*: 'assaye to take the suerd and at my commaundement'. *R*'s reading is probably a misprint, as is the omission of *assaye* in *P*.
858. 3-4. *Than were there [no] mo* (*W*: there mo; *R* there moo; *P*: there no moo). *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 523^v, col. 1): 'si n'y a nulz mais nul si hardi qui main ose mettre' ('qui' = 'qui i'). The agreement between *R* and *W* once made me think (cf. my *Note on the Two Earliest Printed Texts of Malory's 'Morte Darthur'* in the 'Rylands Bulletin', April 1939) that *M*'s reading must have been the same as theirs, and that *M* had misread *F*. But nothing is easier than the omission of a word such as *no* before *mo*, and the error may well have occurred independently in *R* and in *W*. *C*'s original probably had the correct reading (*no moo*); having omitted *no* in *R*, Caxton must have taken care to insert it in *P*.
858. 10. *yonge men that were good knyghtes served them*. In *F* they are waited upon by 'quatre roi tuit coroné, et avec aus tant de hauz homes que a merveilles le poist l'en tenir' (op. cit., p. 7).

858. 12-16. Two phrases in this passage—*by themself* (*tout a par eulz*) and *greitly* (*grantment*) are traceable to MS. B.N. fr. 120, but not to the KRZ group of MSS. nor to M. Pauphilet's edition of the *Queste*.
859. 8. *sauff a scawberd hangynge by hys syde*. Not in F. The remark seems to have been added in anticipation of the next episode.
859. 12. *a yonge knyght*. F: *le Chevalier Desurré*.
859. 13. *of the kynrede of Joseph of Aramathy*. F: 'estrais du hault lignage le roy Daniel (so in MS. B.N. fr. 120; *David* in other MSS.) et du parenté Joseph de Bausmachie' (*Arimathie* in other MSS.).
860. 3-4. *was in a cote of rede sendell and bare a mantell uppon hys sholder that was furred with ermyne*. F (ibid.): 'et il li baille maintenant a afubler ung mantel vermeil de samit qu'il portoit sur l'espaule, et par dedens estoit fourrés de blanches hermines'. It is not clear why M made two garments, a coat and a mantle, out of the French *mantel vermeil de samit*.
860. 11. *the Hawte Prynce*. Not in F. Confusion between Galahad and 'Galehoult li Haut Prince', 'li Sires des Longtaines Isles'—a prominent figure in the Prose *Lancelot* and in the *Tristan* (see *Index*).
861. 1-2. *my grauntesyre kyng Pelleas, and . . . my lorde kyng Pecchere*. F: 'mon oncle (= "grandfather") le roy Pelleas et mon aieul (= "great-grandfather") le roy Peschour'.
861. 4-5. *twenty noble squyers*. F: 'escuiers jusques a xv'.
861. 9-10. *wyste nat from whens he com but all only be God*. The first part of this remark is a mistranslation of the French *il ne scevent dont grace lui puint venir* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 524^r, col. 1), which forms the logical antecedent of *but all only be God* ('se seulement de la grace Nostre Seigneur n'estoit').
861. 11. R 'this he'; P 'this is he.' These variants seem to corroborate the view that P represents Caxton's revised issue of this page. Cf. 857. 4-5 and 858. 4-5.
861. 13-14. *Than sir Launcelot behylde hys sonne and had grete joy of hym*. In F *Lancelot* does not recognize Galahad as his son, but as 'cil qu'il avoit fait chevallier nouvel huy. Si en a grant moult grant joie' (ibid.). It is possible, therefore, that in M's *behylde hys sonne* the sense of recognition is not intended.
862. 18. *that* = 'that which'.
862. 24. *and (so they) shewed her the stone*. C has *and shewed hem*, the subject being presumably 'the queen'. In W (*and shewed her*) the subject is 'many ladies'. Neither reading is satisfactory, but W's is more easily traceable to F: 'Quant eles furent a l'ave e li chevalier les virent venir, si comencierent a dire: « Tornez vos, veez ci la roine! » Si li font maintenant voie tuit li plus proisié.' If it is assumed that M mistook *font . . . voie* for *font voir* and translated it *so they shewed*, the loss of *so they* in front of *shewed* can be accounted for as a case of *saut du même au même*.
862. 30-1. *for the sureté of thys swerde*. F: 'et pour la seureté que je avoie a ceste espee avoir n'en aportay je point si comme vous peustes veoir' (MS. cit., f. 524^r, col. 2). M's *sureté* seems to have all the force of the corresponding French word: 'the certainty of possessing'.
863. 3-9. *Now have I the swerde, &c.* The remarks about Balin, the original

- owner of the sword who slew his brother Balan, are not in *F*. The whole passage is an attempt on *M*'s part to link up the *Quest of the Grail* with the *Tale of King Arthur*.
863. 10. *the kyng* 'and all' *aspyed*. *F*: 'regardent tout contreval la rive.' *M* must have mistaken *tout* for the subject of the verb. 'Aspyed' is preferable to *W*'s 'had aspyed' because it accounts for the omission of 'and all' in *W*.
863. 28-9. *F* has neither Lancelot's modest admission, '*I know well I was never none of the beste*', nor the damsel's reply: '*Yes, seyde the damesell, that were ye and ar yet, of ony synfull man of the worlde*.' Both remarks have the effect of toning down the damsel's condemnation of Lancelot, and were obviously inserted for that purpose.
864. 2. *and fedde* is traceable to the *KRZ* group of MSS. ('et repestra les compaignons de la Table Reonde'), but not to MS. B.N. fr. 120.
864. 15. *all thys mewynge of the kyng* = 'all that the king thus arranged'. In the corresponding French phrase — *le roy qui tout ce ot esmeu* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 524^v, col. 2) — 'tout ce ot esmeu' means 'arranged it all', and it seems certain that *M* intended his rendering to have exactly the same meaning.
864. 35-6. *that the quene myght se hym in the vysayge*. *F*: 'pour ce que touz le veissent appertement' (ibid.).
865. 17. The phrase *crakyng and cryyng of thundir*, which characteristically combines rich alliteration with an onomatopœic effect, was, like so many of *M*'s descriptive phrases, suggested to him by the words he found in his source (*escrois de tonnere* = 'thunderstroke'); but the adaptation has more descriptive force than the original.
865. 20-1. *they were alyghted of the grace of the Holy Goste*. 'Alyghted' = 'illuminated'. Cf. *F*: 'comme s'il feussent en lumiere de la grace du Saint Esprit' (ibid.).
866. 23. *in ony realme*. *W*'s *corealme* is a case of 'contamination' resulting from a confusion of two synonyms in the mind of the scribe: 'country' and 'realm'.
866. 26-867. 1. *hit forthynkith nat me a litill* (= . . . 'me not a little') is perhaps too literal a rendering of the French *si ne m'en poise pas petit*. Puzzled by the word-order, *C* deleted the negation instead of putting it in its normal place.
867. 8. *I have grete doute*. *Doute* = 'fear'. Cf. *F*: 'trop ay grant doubte' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 525^r, col. 2).
868. 1. Since *W*'s *at hys table* agrees both with *P* (*at his table*) and with *F* (*a sa table*), *R*'s *at this table* is clearly a misprint.
868. 8-9. '*I merwayne, seyde she, &c*'. In *F* this forms part of a dialogue between the queen and a varlet who tells her how the knights were sworn in: 'Si me merveille moult comment mesires le roy qui tant est sages l'a souffert. Car la meilleur partie de ses barons et de sa chevalerie s'en departira a cest point' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 525^v, col. 1).
869. 2. *for hit ys nat to do in so hyghe a servyse*. *F* adds: 'qui ne chiee en pechié mortel', but *M* seems as yet reluctant to use the term. This is the first time that *F* describes the seemingly harmless pursuits of courtly knights as sinful, and the condemnation must have come to *M* as a surprise. At this

stage he was probably as ignorant of the real purpose of the quest as were King Arthur's knights when they first swore to find the mysterious object which had 'beguiled' them.

869. 8-9. 'And sonne unto sir Launcelot?' 'she seyde'. As to that 'he' seyde nother yee nother may. C's reading (*she seyde* in the first sentence, and *he* instead of *she* in the second) is supported by F, for in F, too, Galahad refuses to name his father: 'il respont qu'il ne scet mie tres bien qui filz il est. « A! sire, fet elle, vous le me celés! Pour quoy faïttes vous ce? Si m'aïst Dieulx, ja de vostre pere nommer n'arés honte, car il est li plus biaux chevalliers du monde », &c. (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 525^v, col. 1-2). '... « Dame, fait il (cf. C's 'he seyde'), puisque vous le cognoissies si certainement vous le me povés bien dire. Et se (MS.: *ce*) c'est celui a qui je croy estre filx, je vous en tendray a voir disant; et se ce n'est il, je ne m'y pourray acorder pour chose que vous me deüssiés. »' W's *she seyde* for *he seyde* in the second sentence is a case of contamination with the first, just as C's *he was* is a contamination with the previous line.

869. 12. *of the strene of all parties of kynges*. F: 'estrais de toutes pars de roys et de roynes'. P's *strene* is probably a misprint.

871. 7. *hevy me* = 'grieve me'. Cf. F (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 526^r, col. 1): 'me grev[er]a'.

871. 16. *Than aftir servyse*, &c. M omits here the oath of the Grail knights. First, King Bagdemagus suggests that the knights take the oath 'comme font ceulz qui en ceste queste doivent entrer'. The relics are then brought in and placed upon the table. Arthur asks Gawain to swear first, as it was he who first proposed the quest, but Bagdemagus insists that Galahad, 'seignour et maistre de la Table Ronde', should come before all others. The wording of the oath is as follows: '... que il maintendra en ceste queste ung an et ung jour et plus encores s'il le convenoit faire, ne jamais a court ne vendra devant qu'il savra la verité du Saint Graal s'il le povoit savoir en nulle maniere' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 526^r, col. 2).

872. 20-1. *the kyng turned away and myght nat speke for wepyng*. In F there is no description of the king's grief. Arthur rides with the Grail knights as far as Castle Vagon and calmly bids them farewell (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 526^v, col. 1).

872. 29-30. *every knyght toke the way that hym lyked beste*. In F each knight tries to choose the least accessible part of the forest: 'la ou il [l]a voient plus empanse' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 526^v, col. 2). 'The way that hym lyked beste' may of course mean much the same thing as 'la plus empanse'.

II

THE MIRACLES

880. 23-4. *And so by fortune that tydynges com unto a worthy man that hyght Mondrames.* 'Mondrames' is a misreading of *Mordrains*, name given to Evalac on his baptism. *M* clearly fails to realize that the 'worthy man' to whom this sentence refers is Evalac.

881. 27. *'If I wolde <have ony felyshyp I wolde> nat refuse you.'* Most previous editors leave this sentence unemended, and make it into a question: *If I would not refuse you?* meaning presumably, 'And what would you say if I granted your request?' Apart from the difficulty of attributing to *M* a construction he never uses elsewhere, the sense is clearly unsatisfactory. Pollard makes an ingenious emendation: *Yea* for *C*'s *Yf* (*Yea, I would not refuse you*), but the simplest solution is suggested by *F*:

« Certes, fait Galahad, se je voulsisse avoir compaignie, je ne refusasse mie la vostre. »

« Sire, fait le varlet, dont vous requier que vous me faciés chevaillier, et je vous die que chevaillierie sera moult bien employé en moy, se Dieu plaist. » (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 528r, col. 1.)

This corresponds almost word for word with *C*'s and *W*'s reading of ll. 28-30, except that in l. 28 both *C* and *W* omit *je voulsisse avoir compaignie*. That the omission is due to a copyist (possibly to *X*), will be readily seen once the missing words are inserted in the appropriate place: *'If I wolde <have ony felyshyp I wolde> nat refuse you.'* This reading has three claims to authenticity: it restores the sense; it is in keeping with *F* in a passage where *M* hardly deviates from his source; and above all it accounts for both extant readings. No doubt, it may still be incomplete; thus *M* may well have written *ony knyghtes felyshyp* or *ony manner felyshyp* instead of just *ony felyshyp*. But it is difficult to escape the conviction that he wrote the five words in caret brackets, and that their absence from the two extant texts is the effect of an ordinary homœoteleuton.

882. 11-12. *go agayne there where I have bene so longe.* *F*: 'remuer du lieu ou j'ay tant esté' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 528r, col. 1). This means 'to depart from the place', &c., not, as *M* seems to have thought, 'to return to the place'.

882. 19. *may nat deare the* = 'may not resist thee'. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 528r, col. 2): 'si que mes poyvoirs ne peut durer encontre toy'.

882. 22-3. *lette remove thys body*, &c. In *F* the speaker is 'le vieulz hons qui avoit l'aventure contee a Galaad'.

882. 28-35. *'Sir, I shall telle you,'* &c. These lines summarize a long sermon on the significance of the tomb, of the body, and of the voice. *M* gives a brief note on the tomb, but omits to explain the other two tokens: 'et le corps mort signifie eulz et leurs hons qui touz estoient mors par leurs pechiés mortelz dont il ne se poyvoient mie oster de ligier; et la vois signifie, qui de la tombe issoit, la doloireuse parole qu'il dirent a Pilate le provost

de Roume: « Et li sanc de nous soit sur lui [*sic*] touz et sur nos enfans. » Par ceste parolle furent il honny' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 528^v, col. 1).

882. 29. *that that coverde the body* = 'that which', &c. Cf. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 528^v, col. 1): 'la tombe qui couvroit le mort'.

883. 9. *ye ought to be a myrroure unto all chevilyr*. *F*: 'il doit apparoir sur tous autres chevalliers en bonté aussi comme li rais du soleil pert soubz les estoilles'.

883. 21. *Munday*. 'Lundi' in MS. B.N. fr. 120. 'Mardi' in other MSS. and in M. Pauphilet's edition.

883. 26. *defendith the that thou ne go*. *F*: 'te deffent que tu n'y entres'.

883. 32. 'lette me'. This reading is the obvious common denominator of *C*'s *telle me* and *F*'s *laissés moy* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 529^r, col. 1).

884. 6-7. *there was a fayre lodge of bowys. And than he aspyed in that lodge a chayre wherein was a crowne of golde*. *F* has 'une chaire belle et riche . . . ou il avoit une couronne d'or'. There is nothing corresponding to the 'fayre lodge of bowys' in *F* except the word *chaire* which *M* may easily have mistaken for *charire* ('clearing').

884. 8. *ryche and subtyly wrought*. *F*: 'trop belle'.

884. 8-9. *clothys coverde uppon the erthe*. In *F* the crown and the *delycious metis* (*biaus mengiers*) are placed upon the tables.

884. 33-4. 'Hit shall be done . . . where ys he that hath wounded you?' Not in *F*. A question without an answer is a characteristic feature of the dialogue form in *M*, but there are no examples of it in his source.

885. 16. *Galahad sewed faste aftir hym*. *F*: 'Galaad ne l'enchauche plus comme cil qui(!) n'a plus talent de lui mal faire.' Through sheer force of habit *M* makes Galahad as eager to pursue his enemies as if he were an ordinary 'earthly' knight. Cf. 888. 18-19.

885. 30. *of hys play* = 'of his wound'. Caxton has removed the gallicism.

885. 30-1. *within the terme of seven wykes*. *F*: 'dedens ix moys'. Other MSS.: 'un mois'.

886. 2. *turned into helpynge* (= 'recovery'). *F*: 'tournés a guarison'.

886. 5-6. *And thys knyght and I were in the same quest of the Sankgreal*. In *F* this remark is addressed to the monks, but refers as in *M* to Melias. What makes it difficult to understand it in *M* is that Galahad appears to be speaking to Melias while referring to him in the third person.

886. 7-10. *M* clearly intended the first remark ('for hys synne', &c.) to be addressed to Galahad and the second ('And I mervayle', &c.) to Melias.

886. 13. *the way of a good trew lyver*. A curious contraction of *F*'s 'la voie . . . ou li bon chevalier Nostre Seigneur Jesucrist aurent par nuit et par jour, de jours selon l'ame, de nuit selon le corps' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 529^v, col. 1).

886. 16-17. *that made you to be overthrowyn* (= 'to fall'). *F*: 'par ce cheis tu en pechié mortel'.

886. 18. *vertuous helpynge* stands here for the French *chevallierie celestiale* as contrasted with *la seculiere*. *M* corrects himself in the next sentence by saying that the *wrytyng on the crosse was a significacyon of hevynly dedys and of knyghtly dedys in Goddys workys, and no knyghtes dedys in worldly workis*.

886. 24. *in covetyse and in theffie*. In *F* there is no question of 'theft'. Melias

is charged with 'orgueil et convoitise' (*La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 45, l. 32; not in MS. B.N. fr. 120).

886. 24-5. *all this was no knyghtly dedys*. *F* explains this as follows: 'il (= "the fiend") se mist tantost en guise de chevallier pecheur et l'enticha [*sic*] tant a mal faire comme cil qui(l) siens estoit qui eust talent de toy occire, et t'acourut lance levee, et t'eust occis, mais la croiz que tu feis te garandi'.

886. 27. *thè two dedly synnes*. Cf. 886. 24.

886. 32-4. *Than sir Melias seyde*, &c. Not in *F*.

887. 1-2. *a place that hyght Abblasowre* (*C*: 'a place or a Castel the whiche was named Abblasoure'). There is no such 'place' or castle in *F*, and *Abblasowre* is a mere misreading of *vavasour* or *vavasseur*:

MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 529^v, col. 1-2:

M:

Ung jour li avint qu'il se parti de . . . and departed frome a place that
chiés ung *vavasseur*. Si n'eut mie hyght *Abblasowre*, and had harde no
oy messe. masse.

887. 12. *with depe dychys*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 529^v, col. 2): 'fort et bien seant'.

887. 27-8. *Ye have the watir to pass over* makes better sense than *F*'s 'vous avés passés les bonnes' (other MSS.: « vos avez les bosnes passees »), et il dist que ja pour bonne ne remainr[a] que il ne voist ou chastel'.

888. 4. *hast my nedys*. *F*: 'me haste ma besoigne'. Although *besogne* in this context can only mean 'task', it was frequently used in Old French as a synonym of *besoing* (= 'need', 'urgent task'), Cf. *Yvain*, 4041-5:

Se trop n'eusse grant besoing
Et mes afeires ne fust loing,
Demorasse encore une piece
Por les nevez et por la niece
Mon seignor Gauvain, que j'aim mout.

M has obviously taken it in this sense, and the most likely meaning of *hast my nedys* in his rendering is 'hasten to do what I want'.

888. 18-19. *Galahad chased hem*, &c. *F* expressly states that Galahad 'ne les encauche point, ains vient au pont par ou on entroit ou chastel' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 530^r, col. 1). Cf. 885. 16.

889. 1-2. *boundyn with golde*. *F*: 'bendé d'or moult richement' (*d'or* omitted in MS. B.N. fr. 120).

889. 3-4. *two myles aboute*. MS. B.N. fr. 120: 'de toutes pars'; other MSS.: 'de dis lieues'.

889. 8. *a seven yere*. *F*: 'x ans'.

889. 10. *dyuke Lyanowre*. MS. B.N. fr. 120: 'duc Lenoir'; other MSS.: 'Lynor'.

889. 17-18. *undir grete servayge and trewayge*. *F* is even less explicit: 'il prendrent l'estre sur ceulz de ceans et manderent chevalliers et sergans'. Nor is there any means of knowing whether *C*'s reference to the 'robbing and pilling' of the 'common people' is authentic.

890. 24-5. *he woll nat of youre felyship*. In *F* the monk says that it would

not be proper for Galahad and Gawain to be together: 'la compaignie de vous deulz ne seroit mie convenable'.

891. 9. *for the love of sir Galahad* = 'on account of Arthur's love for Sir Galahad'.

891. 25-6. *I wolde wete how hit stondith betwixte God and you*. In *F* the hermit is less abrupt: '« je voudroie s'il vous plaisoit moult savoir de vostre estre ». Et lors commença a parler de confession et lui a traire avant trop biaux exemples des Evangilles trop merveillieusement, et le semont qu'il le face confesser a lui et il le conseilera de quanqu'il pourra.'

891. 32-3. *Knyghtly dedys and vertuous lyyng* is a secularized rendering of *F*: 'pour ce que vous feussiez sergans a Nostre Creatour et deffendissiez Sainte Eglise, et que vous rendissiez a Nostre Seignour le tresor que vous avés a garder, ce est la vie (*other MSS.*: l'ame) de vous'.

892. 8. *in preson*. *F*: 'si tot comme l'ame issoit du corps, quelle qu'elle fust, ou de preudomme ou de mauvais, maintenant aloit en enfer'.

892. 17-21. '*Sir, what penaunce*,' &c. This dialogue is an elaboration of *F*'s remark: 'et cil dist que de penitance faire ne pourroit il la painne souffrir, et le preudons le laisse a tant que plus ne li dist car il voit bien que de lui amonester seroit painne perdue' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 531^r, col. 2).

892. 31. *a waste forest*. *F*: 'la Forest Gastee.' Cf. 981. 3.

893. 13-14. *Than perceyved they bothe that he was sir Galahad*. In *F* Galahad is not recognized and the two knights discuss at some length the various ways in which they might discover his identity. In the end Perceval decides to ask the recluse. When *M* comes to relate the dialogue with the recluse he forgets that in his account the recognition has already taken place.

893. 33. *to the chapell dore*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 531^v, col. 1): 'a l'uis de la chappelle'. MSS. KRZ: 'a une chapele'.

893. 34; 894. 3. *and within he founde a fayre awter*. *F* adds an interesting detail: 'et la treuve dedens mis a l'entree bonnes broches de fer (*other MSS.*: prones de fer) qui y estoient moult bien serrees et jointes en telle maniere que on n'y peut mie legierement entrer. Et il regarde par mi les broches et voit la dedens ung autel', &c. This explains why, when Lancelot tried to enter the chapel, *he coude fynde no place where he myght entir*.

894. 27-8. *Fayre swete Lorde whych ys here within the holy vessell*. In *F* the sick knight says (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 531^v, col. 2): 'Biaux sire Dieulx, qui de cest Saint Vaissel que je voy ci venir tant bel miracles avés fait en cest pais et en autres terres', &c. *F* never suggests that the Grail 'contains' God, and if *M* is to be reconciled with *F* on this point, *here within* must be taken in the figurative sense.

894. 30. *he touched the holy vessell and kyst hit*. This would be unthinkable in the French *Queste*. In *F* the sick knight kisses the silver table on which the Grail is placed: 'fait tant qu'il baises la table d'argent et touche a ses yeulx'. Cf. *Introduction*, p. lxxvii.

895. 26-7. *than ys the lyeff of the fygge-tre*. MS. B.N. fr. 120: 'que fueille de figuier'. MSS. KRZ: 'que figuiers'.

895. 32. *tho wordis wente to hys herte*. *F*: 'lez trois paroles n'a il mie oubliées ne oubliera ja mais tant qu'il vive'.

896. 1-9. In *F* Lancelot, instead of referring to his successes in *worldly adventures*, stresses his 'deadly sin': 'car puis que je fui chevallier premierement ne fu il heure que je n'eusse de tenebres de pechié mortel, car tout adés ay habité en luxure et en la vanité (*other MSS.*: vilité) du monde plus que autres homs'.
896. 11. *than somewhat he was comforted*. In *F* the singing of the birds and the sight of a bright spring morning with the sun shining through the trees, *dont il s'estoit mainte fois esbaudi*, bring home to Lancelot all his misery and wretchedness and make him realize that 'Nostre Sire s'est courrouciés a lui'.
896. 24-6. *Ye, forsooth, &c.* In *F* Lancelot reveals his name but does not refer to his reputation. The hermit is already well aware that he is 'li homs du monde dont chascun disoit plus de biens' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 532^r, col. 2).
896. 29-897. 7. '*Sir, seyde the ermyte, &c.*' This is a very brief and inaccurate summary of the hermit's speech in *F*. Whereas in *M* the hermit blames Lancelot for attempting 'to be in Hys presence where Hys fleyssh and Hys blood was', in *F* he makes no such remark; indeed his whole purpose seems to be to show that Lancelot has made too little use of the great gifts bestowed upon him. The parable of the *mauvés serjanx* (Matt. xxv) is quoted as a warning. Cf. A. Pauphilet, *Études sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, pp. 184-6.
897. 18-19. *for hir sake wolde I do batayle were hit ryght other wronge*. From *F*'s point of view it matters little whether Lancelot fought on the right side or not. By the standards of the *Queste* whatever he did on Guinevere's behalf was part of his sinful life.
898. 8. *Now take hede, &c.* *M* omits to explain the allegory of the water and the stone: 'car la parolle du Saint Esp[er]it qui est la douce yaue et la douce pluie ne peut estre en son cuer'.
898. 15. *wheresomever thou cam*. After this sentence *M* leaves out one of the most important doctrinal comments: 'Toutes ces choses te presta Nostre Sires le Créateur pour ce que tu fusses son chevallier et son sergant: il ne te donna mie ces vertus pour ce que elles fussent en toy peries, mais creues et amendees.'
899. 2-3. *but as to sew knyghthode*. *But as* = 'except for'. *F* makes it clear that while Lancelot promises 'never to be so wicked' as he has been, he cannot give up 'knight hood' and 'feats of arms': 'Car (*other MSS.*: mes) de suivre chevallierie ne de faire armes je ne me pourroye tenir tant comme je soie si sains et si haitiés comme je suis' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 533^v, col. 1). But whereas both in *M* and in *F* the hermit agrees with this and allows Lancelot to do 'such penance as he might do and to sew knight hood', in *F* he adds that by forsaking 'le pechié de la royne' Lancelot will eventually acquire enough strength of mind to achieve those things which at present are beyond his reach ('mainte chose ou vous ne pouvryés avenir par vostre pechié').
899. 11-12. *And than sir Launcelot repented hym gretly of hys mysdedys*. *F*: 'Lancelot se repent moult de la vie qu'il a menee, car il scet que s'il mourroit en tel point il perdrait l'ame et le corps, et par aventure il en fust moult ma[u]baillié s'il peust estre de ce atains, pour ce que il se repente moult qu'il eust oncques fole amour envers la royne, car il y a usé son temps.'

III

SIR PERCEVAL

905. 6. *he kneled at hir wyndow.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 533^v, col. 1): 'si hurta a la petite fenestre a la rencluse'. *Kneled*, although attested by *C* and *W*, is a likely misreading of 'knocked'.
905. 24. *thorow outeageousnes.* *F* (loc. cit.): 'par leur oultrage' (= 'recklessness').
906. 17. *by ryght* (= 'truly'). *F*: 'a droit'.
908. 3-4. *shuldrys, armys, and wysayge.* MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 535^r, col. 1: 'et lez piés et les bras et les espaules et le pis'. Other MSS.: 'et les paumes et les braz et le vis'.
908. 14-34. '*Sir, seyde the good man . . . shall they never close.*' For a full account of this episode, see *La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, pp. 83-6.
908. 18. *in the cité of Sarras.* By omitting to mention that the city of Sarras is 'vers les parties de Jerusalem' *M* suggests, perhaps intentionally, that it is within the boundaries of Arthur's kingdom.
908. 26-7. *that I may se hym opynly that shall encheve the Sankgreall.* This reading combines those of the two groups of French MSS.: *OAcAS* and *KRZ*. The former has: 'cil qui doit les merveilles dou Saint Graal veoir appertement'; the latter 'cil qui doit les merveilles dou Saint Graal mener a chief'. *M*'s immediate source probably had: *cil qui doit les merveilles dou Saint Graal mener a chief et veoir appertement*.
910. 5. *blacker than ony beré.* *F* (loc. cit.): 'plus noir que meure'. All *M*'s editors have interpreted *beré* (*W* *beare*) as *bear*, and judging by the spelling, the Winchester scribe may have done so too. In the light of *F*'s reading there can be no doubt as to what *M* meant. Cf. 915. 35.
910. 6-8. '*as ever y may do . . . that ye woll lende me that blacke steed*'—'*I praye you*' or '*I requyre you*' is either understood or omitted before *that ye woll*. Cf. MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 536^r, col. 2: 'Biaux amis, fait Parceval, je vous pri en touz services et en touz guerredons et pour ce que je en soie vestres chevalliers ou premier lieu que vous me requerrés, que vous me prestés ung cheval tant que je aye ataint ung chevallier qui la s'en va.'
911. 10. *Cowarde and false-harted.* MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 536^v, col. 1: 'Mauvaiz chevalliers et faillis de corps'. Other MSS.: 'Faillis de cors, coars de cuer'. *M*'s immediate source certainly contained *coars de cuer*.
911. 31. [*y*]nly *black*. Neither the meaning nor the derivation of *ynly* seems clear. *F* throws no light on either: 'si noir que ce iert merveilles a veoir'. The most probable, though by no means certain, etymology is *Inde* (= 'dark blue') + *ly*; on the other hand, *ynly* may be a scribal error for *ynkly* or *ynky*, in which case *ynly black* would mean 'as black as ink'.
911. 31-3. *Whan sir Percyvale behylde that horse he mervaylde that he was so grete and so well apparayled.* *F* has warned the reader that the lady who brought the horse was the fiend (*li anemis*). Having omitted the warning *M* has to substitute *he mervaylde*, &c., for *si li en prent grant hideur* (MS. cit., f. 536^v, col. 2).

912. 2. *rowghe watir whych rored*. *F* (MS. cit.): 'une riviere moult grant et moult rade'. Other MSS.: 'une grant eve rade'. *M* reproduces both the sense and the sound of the French *rade*: the former in *rowghe*, the latter in *rored*.
912. 7. *felte hym* (= 'himself') *so charged*. Cf. *F*: 'l'ennemy se senti chargiés du fais (other MSS.: dou fessel) de la crois qui trop lui estoit pesans et grief'. Cf. 914. 18, 971. 5-6, and 972. 19.
912. 18. *he wente downe into a valey*. A 'valley' seems out of place in this context and has no counterpart in *F*: 'lors regarde et voit en my l'isle de mer une roche moult grant et moult merveilleuse ou il ne cuidoit avoir garde de nulle beste sauvage se il y estoit mis' (f. 537^r, col. 1).
912. 31-3. *his shyld whych was brokyn . . . he was gretly chaffed with the serpente*. In *F* Perceval's shield is not broken, but burnt by the flames which come out of the serpent's mouth. Hence the phrase *gretely chaffed* (*F*: *eschauffé*).
912. 34. *fawnyng as a spaynell*. MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 537^r, col. 2: 'aloit tousjours criant et courant après lui et faisant grant joye'. Other MSS.: 'aloit adés après lui coetant (= "wagging his tail") et fesant grant joie'. The simile is clearly *M*'s own.
913. 5. *as the tale tellith*. The reference to the 'tale' is for once correct. Cf. *F*: 'car il estoit un des chevaliers dou monde qui plus parfaitement creoit en Nostre Seignor'.
913. 8-9. *the sonne spared nat the fadir*. For an account of the custom, see *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 95.
914. 5. *of jantiller nature* = 'de plus gentil (= "nobler") nature'.
914. 18. *blyssed hym*. Cf. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 537^v, col. 2): 'et lieve sa main, si se seigne'. For other examples of the use of *hym* in the reflexive sense cf. 912. 7, 971. 5-6, and 972. 19.
914. 23. *at the helme*. *F* has 'et quant il (= Perceval) voit (*var.*: vient) au bort'. *C*'s *at the bord stooode*, modelled on this phrase, is probably more authentic than *W*'s reading, although it makes less satisfactory sense.
915. 18. *the olde law*. MS. B.N. fr. 344: 'la Synagogue, la viez loi'; MSS. B.N. fr. 751 and 339: 'la Synagogue, la premiere loi'; MS. B.N. fr. 120: 'le margoges (= the stain) de la vieille loy'.
915. 18. *that serpente betokenyth a fynde*. *F* expounds the allegory as follows: 'ce est l'Ecriture mauvesement entendue, et mauvesement esponse, ce est ypocrisie et heresie et iniquitez et pechié mortel, ce est li anemis meismes; ce est li serpenz qui par son orgueil fu gitez de Paradis; ce est li serpenz qui dist a Adam e a sa moillier: « Se vos mengiez de cest fruit vos seroiz ausi come Dieu », et par ceste parole entra en aus covoitise' (*La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 103). MS. B.N. fr. 120 has *vanités* instead of *heresie et iniquitez*.
915. 20. *hit betokenyth nothyng (aboute) the serpente ye slewe*. The emendation is based partly on *F* and partly on the combined evidence of *C* and *W*. It assumes that the word in caret brackets dropped out in *C* by homœoteleuton and was contracted to *but* in *W*. The reading given in all the existing editions of *M* is at best meaningless: 'it betokeneth nothing; the serpent that thou slewest betokeneth the devil that thou rodest upon to the rock.'
915. 20-1. *that betokenyth the devyll that thou rodist on to the roche*. *M* has

here telescoped two different remarks: (a) 'Elle ne se plaint mie du serpent que tu ocis(is) hier devant celle roche, ains dist de celui serpent *que elle chevauche*'; (b) 'Et scés tu ou tu li feis celui dueil dont elle se plaint? Tu li feis au point que l'ennemy te portoit quant tu venis *a celle roche*, a celle heure que tu feis le signe de la vraye crois sur toy' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 538^v, col. 1).

915. 35. *coverde with sylke more blacker than ony beré* (C, W beare). F (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 538^v, col. 2): 'toute couverte de draps noirs de soie ou de lin' (var.: ne sai de soie ou de lin). 'Blacker than ony beré' is clearly a translation of the well-known phrase *plus noir que meure*. Cf. 910. 5, and p. 962, l. 28.

916. 30. *mete*. F: 'terrienne viande'.

916. 31-2. *nyghe thes three dayes*. F: 'to-day' (*hui*).

917. 8-9. *whyche was, &c.* = 'who would have been' (*qui fusse la plus riche du monde se je ne fusse de mon heritage desheritee*).

917. 19. *none of my counceyle nother of my courte* combines the reading of MS. B.N. fr. 120 (*de nullui qui a mon court tenist*) and that of most other MSS. (*qui a mon acort se tenist*). M's source probably had: *qui a mon acort ni a ma court tenist*.

917. 24. *I and my serwauntes wer(r)e ayenste hym*. F: 'ainsi sui en guerre nuit et jour encontre celui qui m'a desheritee'.

918. 8. *the strengyst wyne that ever he dranke*. F explains that 'a celui temps n'avoit en la Grant Bretaigne point de vin, se ce n'estoit en trop riche lieu, ains beuvoient communament cervoise et aultre boire qu'il faisoient' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 539^r, col. 2.).

918. 29. *naked*. In F it is not until the lady has departed that Perceval sees 'qu'il est touz nus fors de ses braies'.

919. 9. *that hit semed all the water brente*. F describes this as a real occurrence: 'Et toute la mer fut maintenant plaine de flambe si merueilleusement qu'il sembloit que en l'iaue fussent touz le feu du monde espris.'

920. 3. *thou arte a foole*. F's *seras tu nices* refers to Perceval's traditional character.

920. 3-10. *that jantillwoman was the mayster fyende, &c.* These few lines do less than justice to the eloquent discourse in which the *preudoms* expounds the significance of Perceval's temptation. The following important details are omitted: (a) the *fiend* whom Perceval saw in the shape of a beautiful woman had caused the fall of man: 'ce fu li serpenz que tu veis avant hier la vieille dame chevauchier, ce fu la damoisele qui ersoir te vint veoir'; (b) the tent in which she asked Perceval to rest until the sun went down, 'qui ert reonz a la maniere de la circonstance dou monde, senefie tout apertement le monde, qui ja ne sera sanz pechié . . . Ele te pria que tu te reposasses tant que la nuiz viegne, ce est a dire tant que morz te sorpreigne'; (c) the sun symbolizes the true light of faith; hence the lady's desire to prevent Perceval from sitting in the sunshine, 'car quant li solaux, par quoi nous entendons Jesucrist, la veraie lumiere, eschaufe le pecheor del feu del Saint Esperit, petit li puet puis forfere la froidure ne la glace de l'anemi, por qu'il ait fichié son cuer el haut soleil'.

920. 13. *And than the good man vanysshed*. Before the *preudoms* vanishes,

Perceval says to him (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 540^v, col. 2; *La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 115): 'onques puis que vous venistes devant moi ne senti mal ne dolor, ne plus que se je onques n'eusse plaie; ne encor tant come vos parlez a moi n'en sens je point, ainz me vient de vostre parole et de vostre regart une si grant douçor et un si grant asouagement de mes membres que je ne croi pas que vos soiez hons terriens, mes esperiteus. Si sai de voir, se vos demoriez toz dis o moi, je n'avroie ja ne fain ne soif. Et se je l'osoie dire, je diroie que vos estes li Pains vis qui descent des cieus, dont nus ne menjue dignement qui pardurablement ne vive.'

IV

SIR LAUNCELOT

925. 1. *Whan the eremyte had kepte sir Launcelot three dayes.* Here *M* omits a long sermon the main theme of which is summarized in these words: 'sachiez que [en] ceste Queste ne vous peut riens vostre chevaillerie valoir, se li Sains Esperis ne vous fait la voie en toutes les aventures que vous trou-verriés (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 540^r, col. 2) . . . car ce service ou vous estes entrez, n'appartient de riens aux terriennes choses, mais aux celestiaux' (f. 540^v, col. 1).
925. 3. *departed (and rode) untill the oovre of none.* That *untill* is more authentic than *C's about* is shown by *F*: *quant il a chevauchié jusques a heure de midi*, but it is clearly necessary to insert in front of *untill* a verb corresponding to a *chevauchié*.
925. 4. *And than he saw.* *F* relates here a long conversation between Lancelot and a *varlet* who calls him *le plus maleureux chevaillier du monde* and foretells his failure in the quest of the Grail: 'Chetifs! bien estes enfantosmés par cele (MS. celi) qui ne vous aime se petit non. Elle vous a si atornés que vous en avés perdue la joye des cieulz et la compaignie des anges et toute honneur terrienne, et estes venuz a toutes hontes recevoir' (ibid., f. 540^v, col. 2).
925. 16. *more than an hondred wynter.* *F*: 'plus de trente ans' (ibid., f. 541^r, col. 1).
925. 26-9. *and whether he be saved or dampned . . . How may that be.* *M* here agrees with MSS. *O*, *Ac*, *S*, and *A* (B.N. fr. 120): ' . . . s'il est perilz ou sauvez ». *Lors parole l'ennemi a voix orrible et espoventable et dist* « . . . n'est mie perilz mes sauvés. » « Et comment », &c. MSS. *KRZ* omit the italicized passage.
926. 11-12. *by hys wysedom and hardines.* *F*: 'si le fist si bien de toute chevaillierie'.
926. 12. *and three of hys lordys.* *F*: *a la tierce journee qu'il assemblarent.* The reason for the alteration is not clear.
927. 19-21. *entred . . . Launcelot.* *C's* reading (*loetryd in to the quest of the Sancgreal ye sir sayd syr launcent*) shows that the compositor transposed the *n*

of *entryd* and the *lo* of [*launce*]*lot*. Each of these words occurred at the beginning of a line, as follows:

entryd in to the quest . . . *launcelot* Thenne vpon the morne

The *n* of *entryd* and the *lo* of *lot* must have dropped from the forme and been replaced the wrong way round:

loetryd in to the quest . . . *launcent* Thenne vpon the morne.

928. 23-4. *uppon their kneys*. So in MSS. O, *Ac* ('a genoulz'), *S* and *A* ('a genoillons'). MSS. KRZ have 'a oroisons'.

929. 3. *M* omits the conclusion of Lancelot's dream: 'Et quant cil ot ceste parolle, si s'en fuiot d'entre lez autres et crioit mercy tant doulans que nuls plus. Et li home disoit: « Se tu veulx, je t'aimeray; et se tu veulz, je te harray. » Et cil se departoit maintenant de toute la compaignie. Et li homs qui devers le ciel estoit descendus, venoit a l'autre chevalier joine; si le meuoit en semblance de lyon et li donnoit elles et disoit: « Biaux filz, or pûes voler par dessus toute chevallierie. Et cil commanchoit tantost a voler, et si devenoient ses elles si grans et si merveillieusses que tout le monde en estoit couvers. Et quant il ot tant volé que tout le monde le tenoit a merveille, si s'en aloit contremont vers les nues. Et maintenant ouvroit les cieulz pour lui recevoir, et il entroit dedens sans plus demourer' (MS. cit., f. 542^v, col. 2).

929. 31. *fourty yere*. *F* (ibid., f. 543^r, col. 2): 'quarante deus ans'.

929. 32-3. *preched of the victory of kyng Ewelake, &c.* This seemingly meaningless remark is but a mosaic of words borrowed from the following passage in *F* (loc. cit.): 'pour *preschier* et pour anoncer . . . la verité et Nouvelle [Loi] et lez commendemens de Sainte Eglise. Quant il avint en la cité de Sarras, si trouva ung *roy* païen; *Evalac* avoit a nom. Et avoit guerre a ung sien voisin riche et poissant. Et quant il fu acointiez du roy, il le conseilla en telle maniere qu'il eust *la victoire* de son ennemy et le vainqui en champ' (cf. *he had . . . the bettir of his enemies*).

929. 33-6. *and of the seven kynges and the two knyghtes the firste, &c.* The transition from Ewelake's victories to Lancelot's genealogy cannot be understood without reference to *F*: 'Et quant li roys (= Evalac) fu crestiennez et il ot sa loy guerpie, il crust si bien en Dieu et tant ama son Creatour que il fu aussi comme pilliers et fondemens de foy. Et bien fu apparans chose qu'il fu preudoms et vrays, la ou Nostre Sires li lascia veoir lez grans secrés et lez respoutailles du Saint Graal, dont oncquez chevallier a celui temps n'eut veu gaires se Joseph non, ne puis ne fu chevallier qui riens en veist se ce ne fu aussi comme en dormant ou en songant. A celui temps vint en avision au roy Evalac que d'un sien neveu qui estoit filz Nascien issioit ung grant lac de son ventre, et de ce lac issioient neuf flun moult bel et moult grant. . . . Si t'en moustr[er]ay ore la signifiante. . . . De ces neuf sont lez set roys et lez deus chevallier', &c. (MS. cit., f. 543^r, col. 2-543^v, col. 1). According to the *Estoire del Graal*, 'Nascien', the son of Nappus, was so named in memory of his great-grandfather 'Nascien d'Orberique', the brother-in-law of Evalac. Nascien d'Orberique married Evalac's sister Flegentine, and their son Celidoine was the father of Nappus (*F*: Narpus, Arpus, Warpus).

930. 3-6. *wente into Walis and toke there the daughter of Manuell, whereby he had the londe Gaule. And he com to dwelle in thys contrey, and of hym*

- com kyng Launcelot.* The corresponding passage in *F* (preserved in MSS. *O*, *Ac*, *A*, *S*, *Z*, and *V*, but not in *K* or *R*) makes it clear that Jonas went to the kingdom of Gaul (*Gaulle*), not to Wales, as in *M*, married the king's daughter *whereby he had the londe of Gaulle* ('dont il ot le roiaume de Gaulle') and a son called Lancelot who eventually *com to dwelle in thys contrey* ('maindre en cest pais'). In *M*'s context *he com to dwelle* refers to Jonas; in *F* the subject of 'vint maindre en cest pais' is his son Lancelot.
930. 10. *hit signyfieth, &c.* This refers to one of the passages omitted by *M*. Cf. 929. 33-6.
930. 10-11. *the angels seyde thou were none of the seven felysship.* The only reference to angels in *F* is the remark: 'il te fut avis que devers le ciel venoit uns homs a grant compaignie d'anges et descendoit sur eulz et donnoit a chascun la beneicon . . . car il n'y a nul d'eulz (= 'les set personnes que je t'ay nommés') que nous ne cuidions qui soit en la compaignie des angles' (MS. cit., f. 543^v, col. 2).
930. 12. *he was signyfyed.* See 929. 33-6 and 930. 10.
930. 14-18. *And thou ought to thanke God more than any othir man lyvyng, &c.* Not in *F*. The addition is an example of *M*'s tendency to stress Lancelot's superiority over all 'earthly' knights.
931. 7. *And than sir Launcelot and he wente to supere.* *M* omits Lancelot's prayer: 'Lui prie qu'il me vaille et aist et ne me laist dés ore mais ca[oi]r es mains de l'ennemy, si que je Li puisse rendre celui tresor qu'il me donna, c'est l'ame de moy, au grant jour espoventable que Il dira aux pecheurs: « Alés de cy, maleoites gens, ou feu pardurable »' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 544^r, col. 1). There is a similar omission after l. 4 on p. 929.
931. 9-10. *he toke hyt mekely and sufferde the payne* is a free, but justifiable, rendering of the French 'il estoit ore a ce menés que ceste mesaise qu'il a comincié li plaist tant a souffrir et embelist qu'il n'essaia oncques mais riens qui tant li pleust, et pour ce ne li greve riens qu'il face' (loc. cit.). There are few better examples of the contrast between the diffuse and nerveless phraseology of the *Queste* and the terse simplicity and directness of *M*.
931. 24-5. *Than thought sir Launcelot for to helpe there the wayker party in incresyng of his shevalry.* Not in *F*. The 'incresyng of shevalry' represents *M*'s own idea of Lancelot's ambition. He was clearly unable to realize its incongruity in the context of the Grail quest.
932. 10-11. *were overcom for the defaughte of hym.* *F* (MSS. *O*, *Ac*): 'furent maintenant vaincus qu'il lor failli'. MSS. *ASV*: 'furent vaincus puis qu'il lor failli d'aide.' MSS. *KRZ*: 'furent failli qu'il lor failli'.
932. 18. *synfuller than ever I was.* *F* says, more cogently, 'plus pecheur que nuls aultres homs'.
932. 22. *an appyll-tre.* *F* (MS. cit., f. 544^v, col. 1): 'ung grant pueplier'.
932. 25. *an olde man* stands here as elsewhere in this episode for 'uns homs qui moult bien sembloit estre preudoms'.
932. 32. *he saw a chapell where was a recluse.* In *F* the sight of the chapel makes Lancelot reflect on his 'wickedness': 'si dist que voirement il est meschant et que ses pechiez le destournent de touz biens: car la ou il est ore, vint il de telle heure que bien peust estre alés a la chappelle touz le

- jours et demander conseil de son estre' (loc. cit.). The phrase *a chapell where was*, &c., is traceable to MSS. O, Ac, and A (*une chappelle ou il avoit une rencluse*), but not to MSS. KRZ (*une recluse*).
932. 32-3. *a recluse which had a window, that she myght se up to the awter.* F (loc. cit.): 'la rencluse qui avoit une petite porte par ou elle vaoit a l'autel'. It is not clear why *M* has substituted the window for the door.
933. 15. *there was none enchaumentement.* F (ibid., f. 544^v, col. 2): 'sans faille nulle et sans decevement' (= 'unmistakably').
933. 23. *erthely kynges and erthely knyghtes.* F (loc. cit.) 'lez chevalliers terriens et li celestial'. The alteration accounts for the apparent inconsistency between this sentence and the next: 'Of thes the erthely knyghtes were', &c.
933. 32-934. 3. *for bobbaunce and pryde of the worlde . . . and good beleve.* Not in F.
934. 6-7. *there appered the Sankgreall unto the whyght knyghtes.* There is no such incident either in the *Queste* or in *M*'s version of it. F has: 'quant tu fus avant hier entrés en la queste du Saint Graal et il s'apparat a toy' (loc. cit.).
934. 9 ff. *thou turned to the synners*, &c. F: 'et quant tu te fuz partis d'eulz, tu ne retournas mie a la voie ou tu avés esté devant, ce est a dire que tu ne reveins mie a pechié si mortelment comme tu faisoies devant. Et non-pourquant, puis qu'il te souvient de la vaine gloire de cest siecle et ton orgueil que tu souloies mener, tu commenças a faire ton dueil de ce que tu n'avoies tout vaincu, dont Nostre Sires se deust avoir courroucié a toy. Et bien le te monstra en ton dormant, quant il te dist que tu estoies de povre foy et de male creance' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 544^v, col. 2-545^r, col. 1). The subtle balance of good and evil, so vital for the understanding of Lancelot's character in the French *Queste*, is lost in *M*, and the whole meaning, not only of the hermit's speech, but of Lancelot's part in the story, is distorted. For there is no justification either in F or in *M*'s own version for saying that after his first experiences in the quest Lancelot 'turned to the sinners': this the hermit in F plainly denies, and in fact contrasts Lancelot's pious attitude with the pride which made him long for worldly successes even after he had left the world. If *M* ignores this vital distinction and simplifies the case, it is because he does not really take anything the hermits say seriously.
934. 24. *she commaunded sir Launcelot to dyner.* F: 'elle li fait apporter pain et yaue, et il entre en la maison au chappelain; si prent tel charité que Dieux li a envoyé' (ibid., f. 545^r, col. 1).
934. 27. *ryver that hyght Mortays.* On this reading see *Introduction*, pp. ciii-civ.
934. 28. *hedyous.* F: 'rade et perilleuse'.

V

SIR GAWAIN

941. 5. *that pleased hym*. *F* (*La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 147): 'qui a conter face'.
941. 13. *twenty knyghtes*. MS. *R*: 'xx chevaliers'. *O*, *Ac*, *K*, *Z*, *S*: 'x'. *A*: 'xxx'.
941. 20-2. *And if one thyng were nat, sir Launcelot he had none felow of an erthely man . . . uppon hym*. Not in *F*. Gawain seems to suggest that Galahad, Perceval, Bors, and Lancelot are the four best knights in the world, and that but for 'one thyng' (his sin?) Lancelot would have been the best of all living men. His next remark apparently means: 'He is like the rest of us, even though he exerts himself more than we do.' It is somewhat strange that Gawain should censure anyone in this way, unless of course he is referring to Lancelot's 'sin' against courtly love.
941. 24-5. *hit ys in waste of all the remenaunte to recover hit*. *F* (ibid., p. 148): 'li autre n'i recovreront mie'. *Recover* is here used intransitively, with the sense of 'to succeed': 'if Galahad fails in the quest of the Grail, no one else will succeed in it.' *M*'s *recover* cannot be taken in that sense since it has a direct object; its most probable meaning is 'to secure'.
941. 28-9. *no man nor woman thydir repayred*. This sentence consists entirely of words chosen from *F*: 'il chevauchierent par mi une forest grant et estrange ou il ne troverent home ne fame. Au soir lor avint qu'il troverent . . . une chapele vielle et anciane qui tant ert gaste par semblant qu'il n'i reperoit ame.' In the process the verb *reperier* has changed its meaning from 'inhabit' to 'repair'.
942. 1-2. *mervaylous adventures*. *F* (loc. cit.): 'une avision merueilleuse qui ne fet mie a oublier, ainz la doit len bien amentevoir en conte, car assez i a grant senefiance'. To *M* the 'avision' was obviously an 'adventure' which he valued quite apart from its *grant senefiance*.
942. 4. *a rake of bullis* is not, as some editors suggest, a 'herd', but a 'rack': 'un rastelier ou il menjoient cent et cinquante toriaus'. Cf. 946. 13.
942. 5. *proude and black*. *F* (loc. cit.): 'orgueilleux et tuit vairié' (= 'spotted'). Cf. 946. 19.
942. 6. *a blacke spotte*. *F* (loc. cit.): 'signe de tache'.
942. 14. *that one com agayne and no mo*. A literal rendering of the reading found in MSS. *O*, *Ac*, *A*, and *S*: 'revenoit li uns et li autres dui remanoient'. MSS. *KRZ* have instead: 'remenoit li uns et li autre revenoient'.
942. 16-17. *there rose up a grete crye for lacke of wynde [that] fayled them*. A comparison with *F* shows that *wynde* is *M*'s rendering of the French *viande* (= 'food'): 'si montoit entr'ax un tel estrif que la viande lor faillloit.' What is not clear is whether *wynde* is used here in the sense of 'breath' or in that of 'pasture'. In the former case *M* must have deliberately used a word similar in sound but different in meaning and failed for one brief moment to keep the two languages apart.
942. 17-18. *one here and anothir there*. As in l. 14 (see note 942. 14) *M*

- agrees with MSS. O, *Ac*, *A*, and *S* ('li uns ça et li autres la'). MSS. *K* and *R* have 'li un et li autre', *Z* 'li un de l'autre'.
942. 27. *fulle of knottis*. *F* (ibid., p. 150): 'pleine de frangons' (= 'holly leaves').
942. 32. <he had>. Both *C* and *W* have *the hede* which must have resulted from two successive corruptions: *he had* > *the had* (by contamination with *thidir*) > *the hede*.
942. 33-4. *he trowed that hymself, sir Ector, rode, &c.* Both *C* and *W* have a spurious *and* between *hymself* and *sir*—a clear case of contamination. *They* for *he* in the next line is a natural result of this error. In none of the existing editions of *M* has any attempt been made to remove the absurdity involved in the phrase *hymself* (= Ector) *and sir Ector*.
942. 36. *here ys no place for you*. *F* is less abrupt and more precise: 'ceenz n'entre nus qui si haut soit montez com vos estes' (loc. cit.).
944. 4. *aythir embraced other to juste* is probably a mere misreading of *F*'s 'Lors met lance sor fautre et embrace l'escu et lesse corre au chevalier' (op. cit., p. 152).
944. 32-3. *we were sworne togydir*. Not in *F*. Cf. 945. 4.
945. 1-2. *that somtyme was sone unto kyng Uryen*. *F* provides no clue to this use of *somtyme*.
945. 4. *the tone sworne brother hath slayne the other*. *F* (loc. cit.): 'vos m'avez ocis'. Cf. 944. 32-3.
945. 10. *unto my lorde Arthur*. *F* (op. cit., p. 154): 'toz nos compaignons que vos troveroiz vis, car je sai bien qu'il en morra assez en ceste queste, et si lor dites, par la fraternité qui est entre moi et els, qu'il lor soviegne de moi en lor proieres et en lor oroisons et qu'il prient Nostre Seigneur qu'il ait merci de l'ame de moi'. It is significant that *M* replaces this formula, which in fact never occurs in the 'secular' branches of the French cycle, by the traditional message addressed to King Arthur. Cf. 961. 5.
945. 22. *to the rowghe mountayne*. *F* (loc. cit.): 'au pié dou halt hermitage'. *M*'s reading seems to have been influenced both by the reference on p. 943, l. 26, and by the remark in *F*: 'Lors se metent en un estroit sentier qui aloit amont ou tertre et le troverent si roiste et si anuiex a monter qu'il sont tuit las et travaillié ainz qu'il vieignent amont.'
945. 25. *wortis* (= 'roots'). *F*: 'orties' (= 'nettles'). Cf. 912. 2, 942. 16-17, 1029. 9, and *Introduction*, p. xlv, note 2.
945. 31-2. *to speke with you for to be confessed*. In *F* Gawain expresses no such wish; he explains his and Hector's visit to the hermit by saying, 'la grant fain et le grant desirrier que nous avions de parler a vos, por estre conseillié de ce dont nos estions desconseillié et por estre certain de ce dont nos somes en error' (op. cit., p. 155).
946. 5-6. *the rak therein ought to be undirstonde the Rounde Table*. *F* (op. cit., p. 156): 'car ausi come ou rastelier a verges qui devisent les espaces, ausi a il a la Table Reonde colombes qui devisent les uns des sieges des autres'.
946. 7-8. *bene allwey grene and quyk*. *F* (op. cit., p. 156): 'qui toz jorz sont vives et en lor force'.
946. 16. *blacke*. *F*: 'vairié'. Cf. 942. 5, and 946. 19.
946. 18. *for their synne and their wyckednesse*. *F* (ibid.): 'par lor luxure et

- par lor orgueil'. *M* avoids the more precise definition of the sins of Arthur's knights.
946. 19. *bene blacke; blackenes ys as much to sey.* The bulls in *F* are not black, but spotted, because 'lor pechiez ne pueent atapir (= "hide") dedenz els, ams les estuet paroir par dehors' (loc. cit.). Cf. 942. 5 and 946. 19.
946. 26-8. *And why tho three were tyed by the neckes, &c.* A detail which does not occur in *M*'s own description of Gawain's dream (p. 942). Cf. *F* (loc. cit., p. 149): 'Cil troi torel erent lié par les cox de jox forz et tenanz.'
947. 1. *shall be so megir that hit shall be mervayle to se them.* *F*: 'cil qui revendront seront si essorbé (= "blinded") de péchié que li un avront ocis les autres; qu'il n'avront nule vertu en ax qui home tiegne en estant qu'il ne chiee en enfer, et seront garni de totes ordures et de toz pechiez mortielx.'
947. 2-3. *the one shall com agayne and the other two never.* In *F* this is explained by the remark that of the three pure knights two will not come back because they will find so much sweetness in the 'viande dou Saint Graal' that once having tasted it they will not be able to leave it; the third knight will return to court, not to partake of earthly food, but 'por anoncier la bone pasture que cil ont perdue qui sont en pechié mortel'.
947. 9-11. *But what ys to meane that sir Launcelot felle doune of hys horse?* Cf. *F* (op. cit., p. 150): 'Maintenant se departoient et erroient mainte jornee, et tant que Lancelot chaoit de son cheval.' *M* has omitted to mention this in his own account of Hector's dream (p. 942).
947. 22-3. *the more men desyre hit to take hit, the more shall be their desyre.* *F*: 'de tant come il plus l'asavore (= "enjoy"), de tant en est il plus desiranz' (op. cit., p. 159). The tautology in *M* is probably due to the fact that he either took the French *asavore* to mean 'desire'—a natural error—or simply misread *lasavore* as *la desire*.
947. 23 ff. *So whan he cam nyghe the Sankgreall he meked hym, &c.* The events to which this refers have not yet taken place. *M* has simply mistaken the future tense for the past: 'Quant il venoit a la fontaine, il descendoit, ce est a dire que quand il *vendra* devant le Saint Graal, il *descendra*, si qu'il ne se *tendra* pas a home [. . .], por ce qu'il onques chaï en pechié. Et quant il *s'abessera*, ce est a dire quant il *s'agenoillera* por boivre et por estre rasaziez de sa grant grace et repeuz, lors se *repandra* la fontaine, ce est li Saint Graax' (op. cit., p. 159). On the French text see next note.
947. 24-5. *so that he hylde hym nat the man worthy to be so nyghe the holy vessel.* This helps to fill an important gap in *F*: *si qu'il ne se tendra pas a home [. . .] por ce qu'il onques chaï en pechiés.* To make the best of this truncated reading, H. O. Sommer in his edition (*Vulgate Version*, vol. vi, p. 114) has changed *home* to *honni*. The missing words in the French must have been identical in meaning with *M*'s *worthy to be so nyghe the holy vessel*.
947. 28-9. *there he saw grete provydençe of the Sankgreall; and for he hath served so longe the devyll he shall have, &c.* The Winchester scribe who, like *M*, seems to have made little attempt to understand this passage, has inserted two words which were obviously not in his original: *and before there* (and *there* being the normal way of beginning a sentence) and *that before he shall*—no doubt as a counterpart to *so longe*.
948. 3, 4. *she* refers to 'charity'.

948. 7. 'And whan *He* wente *He* seyde. In *F* this is part of the hermit's speech referring to the words which Gawain and Ector heard in the chapel (cf. *supra*, p. 943, ll. 13-16): 'Quant ce fu donques chose que charitez et abstinence et veritez vindrent devant toi . . . ce est a dire quant Nostre Sires vint en son ostel en sa chapele, qu'il n'avoit pas edefee a ce que li pecheor vil et ort et conchié i entrassent, mes por ce que veritez i fust anonciee, et quant il vos i vit, il s'en ala . . . et quant il s'en ala il vos dist: « Chevaliers pleins de povere foi et de male creance . . . », &c. (op. cit., p. 160). *C*'s reading (*he wente*) is obviously better than *W*'s (*they wente*), but neither makes perfect sense.
948. 18-19. *to good men signifieth othir thynges than murthir*. *F*: 'Si ne devez mie cuidier que ces aventures qui ore aviennent soient d'omes tuer ne de chevaliers occire; ainz sont des choses esperitueux, qui sont graindres et mielz vaillanz assez' (op. cit., p. 161).
948. 19-28. *For I dare sey . . . he hath no felow of none erthly synfull man lyvyng*. This assessment of Lancelot's sins and virtues is characteristically out of keeping with the spirit and the letter of the French. *M* seems to think that Lancelot's main fault is that 'he ys nat stable', and that but for this he would have been as worthy of achieving the quest of the Grail as any knight apart from Galahad; and he praises Lancelot not, as the French author would have done, for his readiness to repent, but for his abstinence from murder. The suggestion that Lancelot 'shall dye ryght an holy man' is as strange in the context of the Grail story as it is typical of *M*.
948. 23. *nere were*. Confusion between *nere* (= 'were it not') and *were it not*.
949. 5. *leeff* (*F*: 'feuille'). Misled by *C*'s spelling (*lyf*) modern editors, with the exception of Thomas Wright (vol. iii, p. 121), read 'life' instead of 'leaf'.
949. 6-7. *bethynke the that thou yelde to our Lorde the bare rynde*. *F* (loc. cit.): 'te porpense tant, se mes non, que Nostre Sires en eust (= "take care that our Lord has at least") la moele et l'escorce'. This suggests that *M* took *se mes non* to mean 'no more than' and failed to notice the resulting difficulty.

VI

SIR BORS

955. 2. *a religious man*. *F* (op. cit., p. 162): 'un home de grant aage qui ert vestuz de robe de religion'.
955. 9-10, 12. *he shall have much erthly worship that may bryng hit to an ende*. Nothing is more alien to the *Queste* than the phrase 'earthly worship' as used here. *F* (ibid.) has: 'ou cil avra tant honor, qui a fin la porra mener, que cuer d'ome mortel nel porroit penser'. There is a similar contrast between *M* and *F* in l. 12: *the beste knyght of the worlde and the fayryst of the felyship* stands for *F*'s 'li plus loiax serjanx et li plus verais de toute la queste'.

955. 13-14. *there shall none attayne hit but by clennes, that ys pure confession* (cf. *F*, *ibid.*: 's'il n'i vient par la porte de netée, ce est par confession'). This is all that remains in *M* of a long sermon on the virtue of confession which is followed in *F* by an equally long dialogue between Bors and the priest (op. cit., pp. 162-5).
955. 19. *he was clene confessed*. *F*: 'Lors entrent en la chapele, et cil comence vespres' (op. cit., p. 165). In *F* an account of Bors's confession is given later in a passage (pp. 166-7) which corresponds to *M*'s p. 956, ll. 1-4.
955. 29-30. *in sygne of chastisement*. *F*: *si sera signes de penitance et vaudra un chastement a la char* (p. 166). *M*'s *chastisement*, although suggested by the French *chastement*, should probably be taken to mean 'penance'.
956. 2. *in so mervales a lyffe and so stable*. *F* (*ibid.*): 'de si bone vie et de si religieuse qu'il s'en merveille toz'. A significant confusion in *M* between 'stability' (in the worldly sense) and holiness. Cf. 948. 19-28.
956. 7-8. *uppon that olde tre, &c.* *F* (op. cit., pp. 167-8): 'vit un grant oiesel voler par desus un arbre viel et sec et deserté'.
956. 24. *and many deyntees*. Not in *F*, where the meal is described as consisting of large meat dishes ('granz mes de char'), the symbolism of which is eventually explained in detail.
958. 9. *And thou serve me to-morrow*. *F* ('il convient que tu me serves demain') makes it clear that *and* is here a copulative conjunction.
958. 13-20. The meaning of this vision is explained on p. 968. To understand the remark about the 'good man' who *departed them that they towched none othir* it is necessary to recall that according to *F* he sat in a *chayre* which separated the dry tree from the flowers.
958. 15. *was <a> worme-etyne and fyeble tre*. I have supplied the indefinite article because in *W* the word *was* occurs at the end of a line and the indefinite article could easily have dropped out. The reading *the tre besyde hit*, which *C* found too puzzling to be reproduced, suggests that the scribe first mistook *tre* for *the*, then wrote *tre* and forgot to expunct *the*.
958. 27-8. *that thou never se such adventure befalle the* = 'if such an adventure came your way you should not let the flowers perish in order to save the rotten tree' (*F*: '... se tu voiz tele aventure avenir, que tu ne lesses pas ces flors perir por le fust porri secorre').
959. 21-2. *there horsis betwene their leggis*. *F* (op. cit., p. 173): 'par desus les croupes des chevax'. *M* has taken the phrase to imply that the two knights fell down *with*, instead of *from*, their horses.
960. 2-3. *be allway towarde hir*. An adjective seems to be missing after *allway*. Cf. *F* (op. cit., p. 174): 'me tendrai toz coiz'.
961. 5 ff. *a knyght of the Rounde Table, &c.* *F* (op. cit., p. 175): 'si pense que ce soit des chevaliers erranz de la Queste'. There is a similar discrepancy in the next sentence: in *M* the lady refers to Bors's allegiance to King Arthur, 'which I suppose made the knyght', while in *F* she appeals to him in the name of God: 'je te conjur sus la foi que tu doiz a Celui cui hom lige tu es et en qui servise tu t'es mis'. Cf. 945. 10.
961. 17. *creature*. *F* (*ibid.*): 'hons lige'. The fact that *M* regarded 'liege-man' and 'creature' as synonyms, if it has no other historical implications, shows a curious misunderstanding of the true nature of feudal relationship.

961. 19. *for pité of you and for mylde Maryes sake.* F (op. cit., p. 176): 'por pitié de vos et por misericorde'. 'Por pitié de vos' means 'by your mercy', and it is possible that M had this meaning in mind when he wrote *for pité of you*.
961. 30. *at the pullyng oute of sir Bors spere.* MSS. *Ac*, *O*, *A*: 'au retraire du glaive qu'il fist'. The whole of this passage (from it *went thorow to sowmed*) is reduced in MSS. *K*, *R*, *Z*, and *S* to the remark 'par mi le hauberc li met le glaive et cil se pasme de l'angoisse qu'il sent'.
962. 10-11. *wote I never [with] what engyne the fynde enchaffed hym.* F (p. 176): 'je ne sai par quel engin de deable li anemis l'avoit echaufé.' The most likely sense of *engin* (*M's engyne*) is 'device'.
962. 14-15. *and shamed and dishonoured for ever.* In F this refers to the lady herself: 'et moi desennoree a toz jorz mes'. *I had ben* may easily have dropped out between *and* and *shamed*.
962. 19-20. *to her fadir, a grete lorde, &c.* Not in F where the knights simply ask Bors to come with them.
962. 32-4. '*A, sirs Bors, discomforte you nat . . . for truly he ys dede.*' In F the news is broken to Bors more gently: 'se je ne cuidioie que vos vos descomfortissiez trop, et que vos n'en chaissiez en desesperance, je vos en diroie ce que j'en sai, et le vos mostreroie as eulz' (op. cit., p. 177).
962. 35-6. *lyyng in a buyssh.* F (op. cit., p. 178): 'voit un corps gesir a terre'.
963. 14. *an olde, fyeble chapell.* F (ibid.): 'une meson viez et gaste en semblance de chapele'.
963. 15. *in the tombe.* In F the body is placed upon the tomb until morning. Hence the remark in ll. 17-18: *we com hyre agayne to do hym seroyse*.
963. 30. *fayre and ryche.* MSS. *O*, *Ac*, *V*, and *D*: 'belle et riche'. There is no corresponding phrase in MSS. *A* (B.N. fr. 120), *K*, *R*, *Z*, and *S*.
963. 32-3. *signifieth the grete birde which shall make the to warne hir.* M seems to have misread F's '*Li noirs oisiax senefie ton grant pechié qui la te fera escondire*' as . . . '*senefie li grant oisiax qui la te fera escondire*'. Hence the otherwise inexplicable appearance of the 'great bird' in place of the 'black bird'.
963. 35. *for thou woldist nat do hit for to be holdyn chaste.* This probably means: 'you will refuse to do this [not for fear of God, but] so that you may be thought chaste.' Cf. F: 'Car por crieme de Dieu ne por bonté que tu aies en toi ne l'escondiras tu pas, ainz le feras por ce que len te tiegne a chaste' (op. cit., p. 179).
964. 5. *whyh* refers to Lionel.
964. 9. *hast thou harde* = 'hast thou understood'. Cf. F (ibid.): 'As tu oïe la senefiance de ton songe?'
964. 20. *whan he was in his dublette.* F (p. 180): 'quant il est en pur cors' (= 'naked'). Clearly a deliberate alteration.
964. 25-6. *more rycher beseyne than ever was quene Guenyver.* F (ibid.): 'si richement vestue come s'ele eust a chois esté de toutes les beles robes dou monde'.
965. 2, 15. *she salewed hym and he her.* F seems less indifferent to courtly

- etiquette: 'si la salue et ele li rent son salu.' In the passage corresponding to l. 15 the French author takes great care to explain that the lady violated the rules of polite behaviour: 'Et saichiez, se je ne vos amasse plus que onques fame n'ama home, je ne vos en requeisse pas: car ce n'est mie costume ne maniere que fame prit avant home, encore l'aimt ele bien. Mes la grant baance que j'ai toz jorz eue a vos meine mon cuer a ce et efforce qu'il covient que je die ce que j'ai toz jorz celé' (op. cit., p. 181).
966. 11-12. *nother no chapell where he brought hys brothir to.* In *F* everything vanishes from sight except the chapel and Bors's armour: 'fors solement ses armes qu'il avoit la aportees et la meson ou il cuidoit avoir lessié son frere mort' (op. cit., p. 182). But when Bors goes to look for Lionel's body inside the chapel he finds that it has vanished like the rest and thus realizes that the vision of Lionel's death was a *fantosme*.
966. 16-17. *on hys ryght honde.* *F*: 'a senestre'.
967. 9-10. *there was the tokyn and the lyknesse of the Sankgreall that appered afore you.* In *F* the allegory of the bird is here treated as a 'token and likeness' not of the Grail, but of the Crucifixion: 'Quant li filz Dieu vit ce, si monta en l'arbre, ce fu en la Croiz, et fu ilec feruz del bec dou glaive, ce est de la pointe, ou costé destre, tant que li sanz en issi' (op. cit., p. 184).
967. 13. *F* confirms *W*'s reading and *nedy*: 'le monde ou il n'avoit alors se male aventure non et povreté et soufreté'.
967. 18-19. *the law of oure Lord Jesu Cryst.* The phrase is modelled on *F*'s *le droit heritage de Jesucrist*, and there is no support in *F* for *C*'s *newe lawe*.
967. 27. *how the swan ys whyght* = 'why the swan was white'.
967. 28-9. *hit ys ipocresye, which ys withoute yalew or pale . . . but they.* The change from the singular (*ipocresye*) to the plural (*they*) is due to the fact that in *F* there is a similar transition: 'ce est li ypocrites, qui est jaunes et pales, et semble bien, a ce qui defors en apert, que ce soit des serjanz Jesucrist' (op. cit., pp. 185-6).
967. 31. *so evyll* must be taken here in the adverbial sense. Cf. *F* (op. cit., p. 186): 'il engigne trop malement le monde.'
968. 11-12. *for he ys a murtherer and doth contrary to the Order off Knyght-hode.* In *F* Lionel is condemned for a totally different reason: 'n'a an soi nule vertu de Nostre Seignor qui en estant le tiegne' (op. cit., p. 186).
968. 14. *y<e> wounded.* *W*: *ys wounded*; *C*: *was wounded*; *F*: 'que vos navrastes ier'. The filiation of scribal errors is: *ye > ys > was*.
968. 17. *and hymself bothe.* Not in *F*. In a later passage, however, *F* makes it clear that Bors saved both the knight and the lady: 'il fussent andui dampné par mort subite.' Cf. l. 20.
968. 17-20. *And, sir Bors, ye had bene a grete foole, &c.* In *F* this is introduced as a quotation from the 'good man's' speech which Bors heard in his dream. Cf. p. 958, ll. 22-4.
968. 34-5. *the ladyes newew off Hervyn.* *F* (op. cit., p. 188): 'del conte des Plains, fet il, et de la veve dame de laienz'. The name of Hervyn, which occurs nowhere else, can only be explained as a misreading of the italicized words which *M* took to mean *neveu dame de Hervins*.
969. 4. *all armed.* *F*: 'toz desarmez'. On grounds of sense *M*'s reading

- would seem to require an emendation (*disarmed?*) so as to fit in with Lionel's remark 'that shall ye fynde as sone as I am armed' and with l. 26.
969. 11-12. *ye may nat make none avaunte*. Not in *F*, but 'il ne defailli mie avant 1er en vos que je ne fui ocis' probably accounts for *M*'s use of the phrase *none avaunte*.
969. 22-3. *to forgyff hym hys evyll wyll* = 'to forgive him', on the analogy of the French *lui pardonner son mautalent*. Cf. 451. 20 and 845. 6-7.
971. 1-2. *nat halff so much as for his woll be*. The sense is much the same as in *F*, but the phrase *nat halff so much* is a curious rendering of *ne sera mie si grant*.
971. 4-5. *hys hede yode off bacwarde*. *F*: 'li abat le haterel par derriere' (= 'strikes him in the back of the neck').
971. 5-6. *he rescowed hym nat of hys evyll wyll* (= 'his wrath did not abate') is modelled on *F*'s *ne se refraint point de son mautalent*, *hym* being used in the reflexive sense to translate the French *se*. On *M*'s use of the phrase *evyll wyll* in the sense of 'wrath' cf. 451. 20, 845. 6-7, and 969. 22-3.
972. 18-20. *Than bekyldde he sir Bors whych sate dressyng upward hymself, which seyde*. The second 'which' refers to Collegrevaunce.
972. 19. *dressyng upward hymself*. *F*: 's'ert dressiez'. Cf. 914. 18.
973. 3-4. *to save a worthyer man myght I never resceyve the dethe*. *C*'s reading—to saue a worthy man—is clearly incomplete. The omission of *myght I never resceyve the dethe* may have been caused, in one of the early copies, by the similarity between the *m* of *myght* and the *w* of *wyth* (l. 5). In an attempt to restore sense *C* quite appropriately changed *worthyer* to *worthy*.
973. 14. *bare hym dede to the erthe*. *F*'s 'le rue mort a terre' confirms *W*'s reading.
973. 16-17. *And he, as he that was full of humilite* is a close rendering of *F*'s *Et cil, en qui humilitez estoit si naturellement enracinee*. *C*'s reading is either a homœoteleuton (*And he as he > And he*) or a deliberate attempt to remove a gallicism.
973. 24-31. *'fayre brother . . . I defende my lyff ayenst my brothir'*. Except for the last sentence (cf. *F*: 'ne me soit establi a pechié se je deffent ma vie contre mon frere') there is no counterpart to this speech in *F*. Characteristic of *M*'s attitude is his attempt to make the miracle seem somewhat less sudden by describing it as a natural answer to Bors's prayer.
974. 3-4. *alyght a clowde betwyxte them in lykenes of a fayre and a merwaylous flame*. *F* (op. cit., p. 193): 'descendi entr' els deus uns brandons de feu en semblance de foudre, et vint de vers le ciel, et en issi une flamme si merveilleuse et si ardanze que andui lor escu furent brui.' It is difficult to account for the change from *uns brandons de feu en semblance de foudre* to a 'cloud in likeness of a fire'.
974. 15-17. *forgyffe me . . . and I do gladly*. In *F* neither of the knights asks the other to forgive him. Bors, having told Lionel to bury Collegrevaunce, departs, 'si come la vois devine m'a fait entendant'.
974. 24. *at a brokyn wall*. Bors, anxious as he is that the people of the abbey should not notice his departure, 'troeve par derriere le mur percié ou il avoit bone voie' (op. cit., p. 194).

975. 17-19. *Than seyde sir Percivale, 'We lak nothyng but sir Galahad, the good knyght.'* MS. B.N. fr. 120 (also *Ac, A, V, D*): 'et Perelsvaus dist que or ne li faut il maiz rien fors Galahad que sa promesse ne lui soit rendue.' MSS. *K, R, Z*, and *S* omit this.

VII

SIR GALAHAD

981. 3. The *waste foreyste* ('forest gaste') is invariably associated in the *Queste* with the exploits of Galahad. It is there that the disinherited damsel sees Galahad's most marvellous adventure. Later on, the three knights, accompanied by Perceval's sister, find in it a white hart led by four lions. There is an unmistakable symbolism in the recurrence of this setting. In the words of F. Lot (*Étude sur le Lancelot en prose*, p. 418): 'Comparée au merveilleux jardin d'amour du *Lancelot* propre, la *Quête du Graal*, qui en forme la suite et la contre-partie, nous apparaît comme un désert aride: rien qu'un grand ciel brûlant au-dessus d'une terre morte, où ne s'épanouissent ni le parfum des fleurs, ni le chant des oiseaux.'
981. 30. *for naturall love*. *F*: 'por ce qu'il le doit garder et amer'. Not a single shade of meaning is lost in *M*, and the felicity of the phrase becomes apparent when contrasted with the amorphous wording of *F*.
982. 14. *Than was sir Gawayne, &c.* *M* omits, no doubt intentionally, a remark to the effect that Gawain's misfortune had caused distress to many people: 'si en furent molt corrouciez li plusor, car sanz faille il estoit l'ome dou monde qui plus ert amez d'estrage gent.'
982. 15. *in a rygh bedde*. Here as elsewhere the adjective *rich* replaces a variety of epithets. Cf. *F*: 'en une chambre coie et serie, loign de gent'.
982. 18-20. *he cam that nyght to the castell of Carbonecke. And so hit befelle hym that he was benyghied and cam to an armytage*. The contradiction is probably due to the fact that in the first sentence *M* mistook *il vint la nuit a deus liues de Corbenyc* for *il vint la nuit a Corbenyc*.
982. 29-30. *a jantylwoman that semyth she hath grete nede of you*. A confusion of two constructions: *that, it seemeth, hath need* and *that seemeth to have need*.
983. 9-10. *And by nyght*. This suggests that Galahad came to the 'castell in a valei' within a few hours of leaving the hermit. In *F* the journey takes longer: Galahad and the damsel ride till morning and enter a forest 'qui duroit jusqu'en la mer et estoit apelee Celibe'. They then continue their journey for a whole day ('en tele maniere qu'il ne burent ne ne mangierent') until they reach 'un chastel qui seoit en une valee'. A further peculiarity of *M*'s rendering is that owing to a contraction of *F* ('si entrent en une forest qui duroit jusqu'a la mer, et estoit apelee Celibe') the forest called Celibe has become *the see whych was called Collybye*.
983. 13-21. *for the lady of the castell was the damesels lady, &c.* Contrary to his usual practice *M* here adds to the *personnel* of the story by distinguishing the damsel from the lady of the castle. In *F* they are one and the same person.

Their conversation in *M*'s ll. 16 and 17 is modelled on the lady's dialogue with Galahad, but a complication arises in ll. 20-1 where *F* has 'la dame prent un *escrin* trop bel et trop riche et le met devant soi quant ele est montee', and *M* mistakes *escrin* for *escu* ('fayre shyldes and ryche'); realizing that it would not be proper for a lady to have a shield he then transfers it to Galahad: *the lady toke sir Galahad a fayre shyldes*.

983. 27-9. *he asked them what they were*. 'Sir,' seyde she, 'leve youre horse hyre, and I shall leve myne also' The reason why Galahad and the damsel seem to be talking at cross-purposes is that *M* has omitted to translate the words *si demande a la damoisele se ele descendra* which immediately precede the damsel's reply.

984. 21-4. *they myght nat londe, for there was a swalowe of the see* (*F*: 'regort de mer') *save there was another shippe and uppon hit they myght go withoute daungere*. *F* does not suggest that there was any obstacle to the landing: it says that the Graill knights saw *une autre nef*; they could not reach it except by walking across the rock which separated them from it: 'si virent devant ax une autre nef oultre une roche ou il ne poissent ja avenir se il n'i alassent a pié'.

984. 29-30. *two fayre lettirs*. The plural is probably due to a misunderstanding of the Old French use of the plural form *lettres*.

984. 30-1. *a dredefull worde and a mervaylous*: 'mout espoantable parole et douteuse'. The letter was written 'en caldieu'.

985. 3. *unto my wytyng* (*F*: 'a mon escient') = 'to my knowledge', 'so far as I know'.

985. 8-10. *entir nat in no maner of wyse (for than sholde ye perish) the shippe; for he ys so perfite He woll suffir no synner within Hym*. The punctuation adopted by previous editors—'for then should you perish the ship'—makes bad sense, for it is not the ship, but any unworthy person entering it that is threatened with destruction ('car bien sachiez que maintenant i peririez'). But it is perhaps possible to argue, as Mead does in his note on this passage, that *he ys so perfite* refers to the ship just as on p. 991, line 6, *he* refers to a tree. The reason why I have not accepted this is that *M* seems to me to have had in mind the 'perfection' of Jesus Christ, not of the ship. The term *perfite*, if applied to the latter, would be neither appropriate in the context nor in keeping with *F*.

985. 28-9. *ys calle there the serpente of the fynde*. *F*: 'si est appellez icil serpenz papalustes'. *Papalustes* being a *mot forgé*, *M* was at liberty to interpret it as meaning 'of the fiend'.

985. 30-1. *shall never be wery nother hurte*. *F*: 'il n'a garde de sentir trop grande chaleur' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 554^r, col. 2).

985. 34-986. 3. *shall have so muche wyll, &c.* *F*: 'ne li sovendra de joie ne de duel qu'il ait eu, fors seulement de cele chose por quoi il l'avra prise'. There is no counterpart in *F* to *so muche wyll*, but *that thyng that he beholdith before hym* is a paraphrase of *cele chose por quoi il l'avra prise* (= 'his purpose in handling it').

986. 4-6. *And as for thys swerde, &c.* These words, according to *F*, belong to the inscription found on the hilt of the sword. Cf. *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 203: 'les deus costes qui estoient en l'enheudeure de

l'espee . . . erent couvertes d'un vermeil drap trop riche, tout plein de letres qui disoient: « Je sui merueille a veoir et a conoistre. Car onques nus ne me pot empoignier, tant eust la main grant, ne ja ne fera, fors un tot sol; et cil passera de son mestier toz cels qui devant lui avront esté et qui après lui vendront. »

986. 16-18. *for who that drawith [m]e oute, wete you welle he shall never be shamed of hys body nother wounded to the dethe.* F: et qui autrement me trera, bien sache il qu'il n'en faudra ja (= "will never fail") a estre morz ou mehaigniez'. M must have taken *faillir* to mean 'to lack' instead of 'to fail'.
986. 23. *sauff only to you.* In F Perceval's sister says: *fors a un sol* and does not name the chosen knight.
986. 31. *where thys shippe was arywed.* F: *ou la nef estoit arivee* (= 'where the ship was anchored'). It is not clear how far M was conscious of this error.
987. 2-4. *the man of the worlde of all Crystyn in whom there is the grettist faythe. And whan kyng Hurlaine sawe kyng Labor he dressid this swerde and smote hym.* There is evidence of a 'combined error' in W: a 'duplication' after the words *kyng Hurlaine* brought into the text two lines from an earlier passage (*kyng Hurlaine was discomfite and hys men slayne . . . and there found thys swerde*); a homœoteleuton then swept away all that stood between these lines and *this swerde*. As a result W has omitted *sawe kyng Labor he dressid this*.
987. 21. *for the defens* is a reference to the warning contained in the letter which was found on the ship. Cf. F: 'por le deffens que les lettres dou bort fesoient'.
987. 24. *sylyver.* MSS. Ac, A, V, D: 'azur'; MSS. K, R, Z, S: 'argent'.
987. 28. *the body of hym* = 'he'. The phrase is modelled on F's *li cors de celui* which replaces the personal pronoun in emphatic position.
988. 3-4. *both in wyll and in worke.* F: 'en volenté et en oeuvre.' In M's phrase *worke* has all the force of the French *oeuvre* (= 'deed'). Cf. p. 1002, l. 21.
988. 14. *hit befelle.* M omits the remark to which this refers: '« En non Deu, fet Perceval a Galahad, ge vos voloie dire que vous preïssiez ceste espee, mes puis que ces letres dient qu'ele faldra au grant besoiing et qu'ele sera felonessie la ou ele devra estre debonere, ge ne vos loeroie pas que vous la preïssiez: car ele vos porroit honir a un cop, et ce seroit trop grant damage. » Quant la damoisele oit ceste chose, si dist a Perceval: « Biax freres, fet la damoisele, ces deus choses sont ja avenues », &c.
988. 16-17. *Nacien, the brothur-in-law of kyng Mordrains.* Cf. 929. 33-6.
988. 17. *was bore in a towne.* F: 'fu portez en une nue'. I can think of no better explanation of M's *towne* than that he mistook *nue* for *vile* (n for v and u for il).
988. 31-2. *he praysed hit muche.* F: 'si la prisat tant qu'il ne poist riens tant prisier.' M's *praysed* should be taken here in the same sense as the French *prisier*, 'to value', 'to welcome'.
989. 19. 'Go ye oute of thys shippe a litill whyle.' While it seems incredible that the voice from heaven should order the two kings to leave the ship 'for a little while' (there is clearly no question in M of letting them come

back once they have departed), the phrase may be accounted for as a careless reading of *F*'s 'issies de ceste nef et entrés en une aultre, car pour ung pou que vous ne chaiez en pechié', &c.

989. 23-4. *on the ryght foote*. *F* (ibid.): 'en l'espaule senestre'.

989. 31-2. *ye ar ryght wyse of thes wor(d)es*. Both *C* and *W* have *workes*, but *F* helps to restore *M*'s reading: 'de ceste parolle avés vous bien dit que sage.' The fact that the corruption must have occurred in the common source (*X*) of the two extant versions is additional evidence that *X* was distinct from *M*'s own MS. See *Introduction*, pp. lxxxix-xc.

990. 12-13. *tofore we com to hym*. *We* may well be a misreading of *ye*. Cf. *F*: 'jusques a celle heure que vous venrés a lui.'

990. 17. *abovyn the bed*, &c. *F* throws some light on this: 'en mi lieu du lit avoit par devant ung fuisel qui tout droit estoit, et estoit fichié par my le fust qui estoit du long du lit par devant se qu'il estoit droit tout contremont. Et d'aultre part derriere en l'autre partie de la forest en l'esponde en ravoit une aultre qui tout estoit droit, et si estoit tres endroit celui. Et de l'un de ces deus fuisiaux jusqu'a l'autre avoit tant d'espace comme le lit avoit de lé. Et sur ces deus avoit ung aultre fuisel menu quarré qui estoit chevillés en l'un et en l'autre. Et le fuisiau qui par devant estoit drecié estoit plus blanc que noif negié', &c. (MS. B.N. fr. 120, loc. cit.). *M*'s *there hynges two swerdys* is not in *F*.

990. 20-1. *of naturall coloure within, and withoute ony pay[n]tynge*. *F*: 'c'estoient naturelles couleurs sans nulle peinture, car elles n'y avoient pas esté mises par nul homme mortel ne par nulle femme.'

990. 22. '*These spyndyls, seyde the damesell*, &c. In *F* the whole story of the miraculous spindles as well as that of the tree of life is told not by the 'damsel' but by the author himself. It is introduced by the remark: 'Et pour ce que maintes gens le porroient oir qui a mençongié tendroient ceste chose se on ne leur devisoit comment ce pourroit avenir, si se destourne ung pou le conte de sa droite voie et de sa matiere pour deviser [f. 555^v, col. 1] la matiere des trois fuisiaux qui des trois couleurs estoient, si comme je vous ay devisé et deviseray encores ça en arriere en mon conte.' *M* has included this digression into the dialogue between Perceval's sister and the three knights.

990. 29. *M* omits some of *F*'s remarks on the significance of the tree: the branch that Eve had brought with her from Paradise signified that mankind was not doomed for ever; it was a symbol of redemption. The fact that the branch was carried by Eve, not by Adam, who was 'plus haute chose que la femme', was also a symbol: 'car la ou la femme le portoit signifioit il que par femme estoit la vie perdue et par femme seroit rescorte. Et ce fut signifiante et demoustrance que par la Vierge Marie seroit recouvrés le glorieux heritage' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 555^v, col. 2).

991. 1. *all* (= 'all the trees') *that com oute of hit*. *F*: 'pour la grant joye que il en orent en planterent il moult des aultres qui touz descendirent de celui, car si tost comme il en ostoient ung ram et il le fichoient en terre, si reprennoient de son gré, et touz jours retenoit la chaleur de l'autre' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 556^r, col. 1). Of all the trees only the original one turned green; the others remained unchanged: 'cil qui de lui estoient descendus

ne changierent onques leur premiere couleur, ne onques ne parut a nul d'eulz fors a celui seulement.⁵

991. 6. *he* = the tree.

991. 8. *all the plantis dyed thereof* = 'all the trees that were planted from it died'. Cf. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 556^v, col. 1): 'ne onques de celui ne pot nuls arbres aengier, ainçois mouroient toutez lez plantes que on en (est) faisoit, ne ne povoient a bien venir.'

991. 10-12. *and so ded the plantes that grewe out of hit tofore that Abell was slayne*. *F*: 'longuement dura cil arbres en tel color et en tel biauté come vos m'avez oï deviser, ne onques n'envieilli ne ne secha ne de nule riens n'empira, fors tant solement qu'il ne porta ne flor ne fruit puis cele hore que li sans Abel i fu espanduz; mes li autre qui de lui estoient descendu florisoient et portioient fruit ainsi come nature d'arbre le requiert' (op. cit., p. 219). *C*'s reading of this sentence is as correct as *W*'s (*and soo dyd the plantes that grewe out of it, &c.*), but *M*'s modern editors have spoilt it by printing *died* instead of *did*.

991. 15-16. *all the vertues of stonys and treys*. *F*: 'toutez lez vertus de pierres precieusses et toute la force des herbes'.

991. 17-18. *Salamon had an evyll wyff*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 556^v, col. 2) is more explicit: 'Et nonpourquant tout son grant sens ne pavoit durer encontre le grant engin de sa femme que elle ne deceust souvent quant elle y vouloit mettre paine, et ce ne doit on pas tenir a merveille, car sans faille, puis que femme met s'entencion et son cuer en engin, nul sens d'omme mortel ne s'i pourroit prandre. Si ne commença pas a nous, mais a nostre premiere mere.'

991. 19. *he dyspyed them in hys bookis*. *F*: 'en son livre que on appelle Parabole, « je ay, fist-il, avironné le monde et alé parmy en telle maniere comme sens mortels le puet encerchier, ne en tout cel avironnement que j'ay fait j'ay pou trouvé nulle bonne femme ». Ceste parolle dist il par couroux de la sienne a qui il ne pavoit durer. Si essaia en mainte maniere s'il le pourroit getter de cel mal sens, mais ce ne pouvoit estre. Et quant il vit ce si commença maintes foiz a demander par soy meismes pourquoy femme faisoit si volentiers couroux a homme. A ceste demande li respondy une voix une nuit que li y pensoit, si li dist « Salemon », &c. (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 556^v, col. 2).

991. 27-8. *Tha[n] preff had he by olde bookis the trouthe*. *W* seems to have mistaken *Than* for *That*. *C* changed *Than* to *Ț*, and *preff* to *perceyued* (wrong expansion of the *re* contraction), but as the word-order must then have seemed odd he placed the direct object immediately after the verb. In *F* there is no reference to 'olde bookis', but the sense is similar: 'Tant encercha et enquist que li Sains Esperis li demoustra', &c. (MS. B.N. fr. 120, loc. cit.).

992. 4-11. *ever he mervayled and studyed who that sholde be, and what hys name myght be*. In *F* Solomon's only concern is that the last of his descendants, Jesus Christ, should know that he had foreseen His advent. Since in *M* Solomon never explains this to his wife, her remark *I shall lette make a shippe* seems irrelevant; it suggests that by building a ship of the beste wood and most durable Solomon could discover *what hys* (= Christ's) *name myght be*.

992. 7. *cam to hym*. *F*: 'tant qu'elle vit ung soir qu'i[l] fut liés et joieux et estoit moult bien de lui, lors li pria que il li deist', &c. (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 557^r, col. 1). *M* has mistaken *vit* for *vint*.
992. 24-5. *make there a hylte so mervaylously that no man may know hit*. *F* (B.N. fr. 120, f. 557^r, col. 1): 'faittez une enheudure si merveillieuse que nulle ne soit si vertueusse ne si riche.' Whatever *M* may have meant by the words *that no man may know hit*, it is clear that he mistook the French *que nulle ne soit* for *que nul ne sait*, and translated it as if it were *que nul ne sache* (= 'so that no one should know').
992. 31-2. *and sette hir uppon the beddis hede coverde with sylke*. The pronoun *hir* should refer to the crown which Solomon placed upon the bed ('au chevetz mist le roy sa couronne'). In *M* it has no antecedent.
993. 18. *and so of the whyght tre*. Cf. 991. 1.
993. 19-20. *uppon the syler of the bedde*. In *F* the spindles are not fastened to the canopy of the bed, but fixed in three different positions: 'l'un . . . en cousté de cest lit et l'autre encontre de l'autre part; [le] tiers . . . par dessus, si que il soit chevilliés en touz deulz' (Pauphilet, p. 224: en ambedeus). Cf. 990. 17.
994. 1-2. *toke water whych was brought by an angell in a vessell of sylver, and besprente all the shippe*. The practice of some of the modern editors is to insert a comma after *angell*, which distorts the sense. Cf. *F*: 'si prenoit l'eve que li uns des anges aporloit en un saiel d'argent, si en arousoit tote la nef' (*La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 225).
994. 5. *other lettirs whych seyde*, &c. In *F* Solomon goes to the ship in the morning and finds there *lettres escriptes qui disoient*, &c. (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 557^r, col. 1).
994. 6-7. *I ne am but fayth and belyve* (= 'I am pure faith and belief') is modelled on the French: 'je ne suy se foy non et creance' (ibid.). In *F* the rest of the inscription is as follows: 'Et si tost comme tu guenchiras a creance, je te guenchiray en telle maniere que tu n'avras de moy ne soustenance ne aide, ains te lairay chooir de quelle eure que tu seras conceuz a mescreance.'
994. 13-14. *shall reste in this bedde*. *F*: 'se reposera en ce lit que tu as fait et savra nouvelle de toy.' Since the purpose of the ship is to let Solomon's descendants have *nouvelles de lui*, *M*'s omission of the words *et savra nouvelle de toy* makes the remark meaningless. For an example of a similar mistake, cf. 992. 4-11.
994. 21. *and there founde a ryche purse*. In *F* they find Solomon's crown (see 992. 31-2), and underneath it 'une aumosniere moult riche par semblant'.
994. 30-1. *gurdils which were semely wrought [with] goldyn thredys*. The golden threads, as Perceval's sister explains in the next paragraph, were made of her hair, but *M* omits to say that her hair was *si bel et si reluisant* that one could not tell it from threads of gold (*a peines conceust len le fil d'or des cheveux*). This trait is a reminiscence of the famous scene in Chrétien's *Cligés* where Soredamors mixes her own hair with threads of pure gold:

Es costures n'avoit nul fil,
Ne fust d'or ou d'arjant au mains.
Au cosdre avoit mises ses mains

Soredamors, de leus an leus,
 S'avoit antrecosu par leus
 Lez l'or de son chief un chevol
 Et as deus manches et au col,
 Por savoir et por esprover
 Se ja porroit home trover
 Qui l'un de l'autre devisast,
 Tant cleremant i avisast;
 Car autant ou plus que li ors
 Estoit li chevos clers et sors.

(*Cligés*, ed. Foerster, ll. 1156-68).

995. 4. *whyte that I was woman of the worlde*. This remark has no foundation in *F*; but it has had considerable influence on the modern English versions of the Grail story. Cf. Tennyson's *Holy Grail*:

... to prayer and praise
 She gave herself, to fast and alms. And yet,
Nun as she was, the scandal of the Court,
 Sin against Arthur and the Table Round,
 And the strange sound of an adulterous race,
 Across the iron grating of her cell
 Beat, and she pray'd and fasted all the more.

995. 15-16. *Mevear of Blood* (*C: meuer of blood*). *F*: 'memoire de sang.' On *M*'s rendering of these words, see my *Malory*, p. 110, note 1.

995. 16. *no man that hath blood in hym*. This unusual phrase can be traced to the French *nuls qui sans* (= 'sense') *ait en soy* misread as *nuls qui sanc ait*, &c.

995. 16-18. *ne shall never see that one party of the sheth whych was made of the tree of lyff*. This remark will puzzle any reader who happens to remember that the scabbard has since been seen by the three knights. The inconsistency results from the omission of a vital part of the corresponding sentence in *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 557^v, col. 2): '*nuls . . . ne verra ja l'une partie du fourrel qui fu fait de l'arbre de vie qu'il ne li doit souvenir du sang Abel*' (= 'no one . . . will ever see, &c., without remembering the blood of Abel').

995. 25. *gryped about hit with his fyngers a grete dele*. This should be taken to mean that Galahad gripped the hilt of the sword so well that his thumb went over his fingers: ('si li avint si a l'empoingner que a l'encontrer des doiz passa l[i] un assés l'autre'); had he not done this, but merely gripped the sword firmly 'with his fingers', he would have failed in the test.

995. 28-9. *whyche hath made* = 'because I have made'. *Whyche* has here the force of the French causal *qui*. Cf. *F*: 'il me semble que je soye la plus bonne euee pucelle du siecle qui [ai] fait le plus preudomme du monde chevallier.' The obvious assumption both in *M* and in *F* is that once Perceval's sister had 'gurte Galahad aboute the myddyll with the swerde' she completed his investiture as a Grail Knight.

996. 1. *Carteloyse*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 558^r, col. 1): 'Quarcelois' (other MSS.: 'Carcelois').

996. 2-3. *passed the porte* (= 'gate'). Cf. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 558^r, col. 1): 'quant il orent passee la porte'.
996. 23. '*That yeldyng, seyde they, 'shall be noyous unto you.'*' *F*: 'cil dient que du rendre est ce noient.' There is no doubt that *M* understood the word *noient* (= 'nothing') and this particular use of it (= 'they said that there could be no question of yielding'), but *noient* having suggested to him the adjective *noyous* he remodelled the sentence accordingly.
996. 27-9. *for they had no horse in that contrey, for they lefft their horsys whan they toke their shippe.* Not in *F*.
997. 3-4. *the grete multitude of the people that they had slayne.* In *M*'s account the Grail Knights deal with no more than ten opponents. In *F* they kill most of the knights and squires inside the castle *comme bestes mues*; the remainder escape through the doors and windows of the castle, *si se brisent cols et jambes*.
997. 15. *kneled adowne.* In *F* Galahad greets the hermit by taking off his helmet.
997. 28. *Hernox.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 558^v, col. 1): 'Ernoul'. Other MSS.: 'Hernolz'.
997. 32-3. *magré [her] hede.* 'Her' obviously refers to Hernox's daughter. The fact that *her* and *ther*, *ther* and *their* are interchangeable forms accounts for *W*'s *magré their hede*.
997. 35. [*a*] *cosyn.* *F*: 'u de ses nepveulz' (ibid.).
998. 1-2. *that oure Lordys serwyse myght nat be seyde* (*C*: served ne sayd). There is no reference in *F* to the suspension of services apart from the remark that the three brothers 'frent abatre deux chappelles qui laiens estoient'.
998. 5. *the olde erle made me to suffr.* Cf. *F*: 'je le souffri moult volentiers pour l'amour du Hault Seigneur en quel despit il le faisoient' (so in MS. B.N. fr. 120; other MSS.: 'por l'amor de celui Sire en qui despit il le fesoient'). *Hault Seigneur* (or *Sire*) mistaken for 'the lord of the castle'.
998. 13-16. *And they brought the erle Hernox . . . by revelacion of oure Lorde.* Not in MSS. *K*, *R*, *Z*, *V*.
998. 21-5. *And than one seyde on hyght, &c.* In *F* the speaker is Hernox: 'il parle au chief de piece et dist: « Ha, Galaad », &c. (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 558^v, col. 2).
999. 3-4. *in the armour of oure Lorde.* *F* (ibid.): 'revestu des armes Nostre Seigneur'. Cf. A. Pauphilet, *Études sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, p. 62: 'Quand un Cistercien parle de la vie sainte, de la tâche imposée au religieux, ou simplement d'un effort particulier commandé par le temps liturgique, c'est toujours en soldat qu'il parle, en « chevalier », pour traduire comme alors le mot *miles*.' Cf. also the Prologue to the *Regula* of the Cistercian order (ed. Guignard, p. 3): *Quisquis abrenuntians propriis voluptatibus domino Christo vero regi militaturus, obedientie fortissima atque preclara arma assumis.*
999. 18. *and were astoned.* Some of the MSS. of the *Queste* have *tox estenduz*, others, including B.N. fr. 120, *tox estourdiz*. *M* may have arrived at his translation by reproducing either the sense of the latter or the sound of the former.
999. 18-19. *And therewith was a grete clerenesse.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 559^r, col. 1): 'Car la voix y ot donné si grant clarté et si grant escrois qu'il leur fut bien avis que leur chappelle fut cheue.'

999. 29. *waxith yonge agayne in his whyght skynne*. *F*: 'se rajoinist en laissant son cuir et son poil en partie.'
1000. 16. '*Ye sir, seyde she, 'a mayde I am.*' In *F* the answer is given by Bors: 'Certes, fait Boors, pucelle est elle, voirement le sachiés.'
1000. 18-19; 26-7. *tofore ye have yolden the custum, &c.* *F*: 'devant que vous aïés rendue la coustume' (= 'until you have complied with the custom'). *To yield the custum* could hardly mean 'to comply with' or 'to yield to the custom' and it is not clear what sense, if any, *M* had in mind.
1001. 11-12, 29-30. '*Now, fayre lordis, seyde thes three knyghtes, &c.* In *F* the speaker is 'ung vielx homs' who adds: 'car certes ce seroit grant dommages, car trop estes preudomme et bon chevaler. Et pour ce vous vouldroie je prier, ainçois que on en feist plus, que vous rendissiés ce que nous vous requérons.' To simplify the *personnel* of the story *M* gives the old man's speech to two sets of characters already familiar to the reader. (On this method see my *Malory*, pp. 35 ff.) He soon finds, however, that the 'vielx homs' cannot be omitted altogether (ll. 29-30).
1001. 27-8. *And so they helde their journey*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 559^v, col. 1): 'Et tant se tindrent.' *M*'s immediate source probably had some such phrase as 'tant tindrent la jornee' (= 'held their own throughout the day').
1002. 15-16. *whyche both we and thys castell ys hers*. *F*: 'Voirs est . . . qu'il a ceienz une damoisele a qui nos somes et tuit cil de cest pais, et cist chastiax est suens et maint autre' (*La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 239). As Mead has pointed out in his note on this passage, *M*'s eyes were attracted by the words *qui nos* which he translated without considering that they were part of the clause *a qui nos somes*. The resulting construction is quoted by C. S. Baldwin (*Inflections and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur of Sir Thomas Malory*, § 112) as an example of *M*'s attempt to express the genitive of the relative.
1002. 16-17. *many yerys agone*. *F* (ibid.): 'ores a ii ans'.
1002. 17-18. *and whan she had lyene a grete whyle, &c.* *M* suggests that the lady's 'malodye' developed into 'a mesell' (see *Glossary*). In *F* her condition does not change, but the people of the castle do not discover what it is until long after: 'et quant ele ot grant piece langui nos resgardames quel maladie ele avoit' (cf. *La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 239).
1002. 21. *in wyllie and in worke*. *F* (ibid.) 'en voullenté et en oeuvre'. As in 988. 3-4. *worke* has here the sense of 'deed'.
1002. 21-2. *and a kynges daughter*. According to *F*, in addition to being a king's daughter the maiden must be 'suer Percesvaux, le vierge chevalier'.
1002. 27. *therefore lette me blede*. These four words replace the following oration: 'Par foi, fet ele, se je moroie por ceste garison, ce seroit honors a moi et a tot mon parenté. Et je le doi bien fere, partie por vos et partie por ax. Car se vos assemblez demain ausi come vos avez hui fet, il ne puet estre qu'il n'i ait greignor perte que de ma mort. Et por ce vos di je que je ferai a lor volenté; si remaindra cest estrif. Si vos pri por Dieu que vos le m'otroiez' (cf. *La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 240). All the advantages of a dramatic dialogue are clearly on *M*'s side.
1003. 31. *And than seyde a voice unto them*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 559^v, col. 2): 'et elle (= la damoiselle) leur dist'.

1004. 11. *blacke sylke*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 560^r, col. 1): 'drap de soie'.
 1004. 11-13. *so the wynde arose and droff the barge . . . of ther syght*. *F* (ibid.): 'quant il ne porent maiz la nef veoir si s'en revindrent en leur pais et en leur chastel.'
 1004. 16-17. *halff the castell turned up-so-downe*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 560^r, col. 2): 'y ot bien la moitié des murs du chastel versés par terre dont ilz furent moult esbahis qu'il ne cuidoient pas qu'en ung an peust estre ung si fort chastiau desconfist par tempeste comme cil leur semble.' *Turned up-so-downe* = 'was razed to the ground'.
 1004. 23. *cryed to hem*. The knight and the dwarf are addressing one person only, and the correct reading should be 'him' or 'hym' ('li crioit').
 1004. 29-30. *for hit ys nat for you, for he ys but one knyght*. *F*: 'il n'est mie mestier que vous pour ung chevalier vous mouvés' (ibid.). *Hit ys nat for you* = 'there is no need for you to do this'.

VIII

THE CASTLE OF CORBENIC

1011. 1-3. *whan sir Launcelot was com to the watir of Mortays as hit ys reherced before he was in grete perell*. Cf. p. 934, ll. 26-9. The *grete perell* is explained in *F* as follows (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 560^v, col. 1): 'si se vist enclos de troiz chosez . . . d'une part, de la forest qui grant estoit et desvoiage, d'autre part de l'aue qui noire estoit et parfonde, et d'autre part des roches qui haultes estoient et anciennes'.
 1011. 17. *I wote nait what joy I am in*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 560^v, col. 2): 'je ne say dont ce peut estre venu *se de Toy ne vient*'. The omission of the italicized words helps *M* to give the sentence a more natural turn without substantially altering the sense.
 1011. 23-5. '*a wrytte*' *whyche he rad that tolde hym all the aventures that ye have herde before, &c.* In *F* the 'wrytte' reads thus: « ceste damoiselle fut seur Perlesvaulx de Gales, et fu touz jours vierge en volenté et en oeuvre, et ce fut celle qui changa les renges de l'espee aux estranges renges, que Galaad, le filz monseigneur Lancelot du Lac, porte orendroit. » Après trouve ou brief toute sa vie et la maniere de sa mort, et comment elle morut, et quant lez troiz compaignons, Galaad et Boort et Perlesvaulx l'ensevelirent, ainsi comme est, et la mirent en la nef par le commandement de la voiz divine' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 560^v, col. 2).
 1011. 26-7. *sir Launcelot was a moneth and more*. *M* omits here a whole column of *F* containing Lancelot's conversation with a hermit. The latter explains the significance of Lancelot's last adventure and urges him to be 'chastes en penser et en oeuvre desores en avant, si que la chasteté de toy s'acorde a la virginité de li'. Otherwise, he adds, Lancelot will not be able to stay on the ship by the side of Perceval's sister.
 1011. 31-1012. 1. *he wente to play hym by the watirs syde for he was somewhat wery of the shippe*. Cf. *Introduction*, p. lxxxvii.

1012. 7. *dressed hym unto the shippe*. *F*: 'se drece en estant'.
1012. 11-12. *for much my herte geuith unto you*. *F*: 'moult le desir a savoir'. The remark *M* puts in Galahad's mouth suggests that he was not merely anxious to know the stranger's name, but drawn towards the man in whom he recognized his father.
1013. 8-11. *for tho adventures were with wylde beestes and nat in the quest of the Sancgreal, therfor the tale makith here no mencyon therof*. *F* does not mention the 'wild beasts', and dismisses the remaining adventures for a totally different reason: 'pour ce que trop y convenist a demourer qui tout vouldist raconter quan qu'il leur avenoit'.
1013. 13. *on a Mondaye*. *M* omits the following description of the spring: 'Au temps de Pasques, au temps nouvel que toute riens se traient a douçour, et les oysiiaux chantent parmy ces (*other MSS.*: les) bois leurs doulz chans et divers pour le commencement de la doulce saison, et toute riens se trait dont puis (*other MSS.*: tret plus) a joie que en aultre temps.' *M*'s *Mondaye* is probably a misreading of *midy*: 'a cellui point leur avint ung jour a heure de midy qu'il arriverent en l'orriere d'une forest' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 561^v, col. 1).
1013. 23-6. *I wote nat whan I shall se you . . . in Hys serveyse*. *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 561^v, col. 1): 'Je ne say se je vous verray jamaiz. Au vray corps Jesucrist vous commande je, qui vous maintigne en son service.' *M* must have thought that the words *Au vray corps Jesucrist* belonged to the first of these sentences and wrote: 'I wote nat whan I shall se you more tyll I se (*au vray* mistaken for *ainz verray*) the body of Jesu Cryste.' He then made the second sentence begin with *vous commande* and substituted Lancelot for Galahad.
1014. 17-19. *there cam [a dwerf sodenly and smote hym th]e arme so sore that the suerd felle oute of his hand*. The 'dwerf' is a misreading of the French *main* for *nain*: 'si regarde contremont et voit venir une main toute enflambee qui le feri si durement sur le bras que l'espee li vola de la main' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 561^v, col. 2).
1014. 25-6. *that Thou reprevyest me of my myssedede*. *F*: 'que vous me deigniez reprendre de mes meffez'. 'To reprieve' like the French *reprendre* means here 'to suspend the punishment', as distinct from remitting it.
1015. 12. *plesed The, Lorde*. My punctuation is based on *F*: 'se je onques fis chose en ceste voye qui te pleust, Sire, par ta pitié ne m'aies si en despit que tu me faces aucun demonstrement de ce que vois querant' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 562^r, col. 1).
1015. 31. *above the prystis hondys*. *F*: 'Et quant ce fut chose qu'il vould drecier *corpus domini*, si fust advis a Lancelot que dessus lez mains au preudomme en hault avoit trois hommes', &c.
1016. 14-15. *bare hym oute of the chambir doore* (*C*: *withoute ony amendinge of his swoune*). *C*'s reading may well be authentic, though it is not confirmed by *F*: 'Lors sent il plusors mains qui le prennent et l'emportent. Et quant il l'orent pris amont et aval, si le ruent fors de la chambre et le lessent ilec.'
1016. 19. *felie hys powse* (*C* *pouse*). In the corresponding place in *F* the people of the castle simply look at Lancelot '*au pis et au chief*' to know whether he is still alive. Later on, however, 'il regardent aux poux et

- aux veines et dient entre eulx: « Merveillez est de cest chevalier qui tout est vif et si ne puet parler. »
1016. 21. *he myght nat stonde nother stirre no membir that he had.* *F*: 'est aussi comme une mote de terre' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 562^r, col. 2).
1016. 29. *W*: 'of us all'; *C*: 'of yow alle'; *F*: 'de vous touz'. There is a *prima facie* case for adopting *C*'s reading as being the nearer to *F*; but it is conceivable that *M* mistook the French *vous* for *nous* and that *C* corrected *us* to *yow*.
1017. 2. *also many nyghtis* = 'as many nights'.
1017. 12-13. *had nat my synne bene.* *F*: 'se [ma] maleuretés et mes grans pechiés ne fust'. *C*'s absurd reading—*had not my sone ben*—is, of course, a misprint; and its recurrence in all the modern editions of *M* without as much as the editors' comment is the more surprising because it suggests that Lancelot blamed Galahad for his failure to see more of the mysteries of the Holy Grail.
1017. 20-2. *saw the hayre whych he had borne nyghe a yere; for that he forthoughte hym ryght muche that he had brokyn his promyse unto the ermyte.* It would seem that the sight of the hair-shirt which Lancelot had worn as a penance for nearly a whole year should, on the contrary, have been gratifying to him. *F* supplies the missing link: there Lancelot on his awakening realizes that during his sleep which lasted twenty-four days he did not wear his hair-shirt, even though he had worn it previously for a year: 'voit la haire qu'il avoit portee prés d'un an, dont il se voit ores desaisis, si l'em pose moult'.
1017. 28-9. *a shirte of small lynen clothe.* Cf. *F*: 'robe de lin fresche et neuve' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 562^v, col. 1). See p. 1018, l. 8.
1017. 31-1018. 2. 'Sir,' *seyde they, 'the queste of the Sankgreall ys encheved now ryght in you', &c.* The corresponding remark in *F* is to the effect that since Lancelot's quest is at an end, he need not wear his hair-shirt any longer: '« vous povés bien laisser la haire car vostre queste est achievee. »' *M* certainly did not intend to depart from *F* to the extent of saying that it was Lancelot who achieved the quest of the Grail. Whatever the emphasis he places on Lancelot's part in it (cf. pp. 1036-7, and *Introduction*, pp. lxxvi ff.) he obviously means to say here much the same as *F*. *Encheved in you* = 'completed so far as you are concerned'.
1018. 3-6. *Now I thanke God, &c.* On this passage see *Introduction*, p. lxxvi.
1018. 26-8. *on the morowde he toke hys leve at kynge Pelles and at all the felyship and thanked them of the grete laboure.* Not in *F* and singularly out of place here since Lancelot does not in the end leave King Pelles until after Hector's arrival.
1019. 19-20. *me forthynkis [sore of that I have] seyde.* The emendation, based primarily on *C*, supplies, with the aid of the stock phrase *me forthynkis sore*, the necessary conditions for the scribal error in *W* (*saut du même au même*).
1020. 15-17. *where sir Galahad dud the aventure . . . the rede crosse.* *F* says that Lancelot came to the cemetery *la ou les tombes estoient et lez espees dreciees*, but mentions neither Galahad's adventure nor Lancelot's *grete chere*.

1020. 20-34. *But many of the knyghtes . . . shall com home agayne.* This is an elaboration of the following: 'lez ungs et les aultres li firent moult grant joye si tost comme il le virent, car moult desiroient sa venue et celle des aultres compaignons dont il avoit encores moult pou de revenus. Et ceulz qui revenus estoient n'avoient riens fait en la Queste, dont il ont grant honte' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 563^r, col. 1). *M*'s ending is significant mainly in regard to his treatment of Lancelot (see *Introduction*, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii), but it is also characteristic of his tendency to emphasize wherever possible Arthur's affection for his knights. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

IX

THE MIRACLE OF GALAHAD

1025. 1. *many journeys.* *F*: 'mainte jornee'. Cf. 912. 1-2.

1025. 7. *whyh had layne blynde of longe tyme.* Mordrains (originally called Evelake) was struck blind because he approached the Grail 'so nyghe that oure Lorde was displeased with hym' (cf. *M*, p. 908).

1025. 11-12. *so that I may reste betwene thyne armys.* *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 563^r, col. 2): 'si que je puisse trespasser entre tes bras.' *Reste* = 'to die'.

1025. 15-16. *the fyre of the Holy Goste ys takyn so in the.* *F*: 'le feu du Saint Esperit est si en toy espris et si alumés.' It is difficult to be certain whether *M* has mistaken the French *espris* (= 'aflake') for *pris*, or whether he has tried to force the meaning of *espris* upon the English *takyn*.

1025. 18-19. *he embraced hym and all hys body.* *M* has telescoped two sentences: (a) *Galaad . . . l'embrace*; (b) *il* (= the Maimed King) *s'ancline vers lui et l'embrace par my lez flans*.

1025. 30-1. *hit was a sygne of lechory that was that tyme muche used.* In *F* the burning fountain is a symbol not of 'lechory that was that tyme muche used', but of man's sinful nature, and the 'miracle of Galahad' is his ability to destroy it: 'comme il ot mis la main, s'en parti l'ardour et la chalour, pour ce que en lui n'avoit oncques eu eschauffement de luxure.'

1026. 4-8. *the abbey where sir Launcelot had bene . . . had fayled.* While adding the name of Bagdemagus in order to localize the abbey visited by Galahad (he thinks it must be the same as that visited by Lancelot on p. 1020), *M* omits to give the name of the son of Joseph of Arimathea (*Galaad le roi de Hoselice*): 'si vint a l'entree de Gorre, ainsi come aventure le portoit, tant qu'il vint en l'abeie ou Lancelot avoit devant esté, la ou il avoit trovee la tombe Galaad le roi de Hoselice, le filz Joseph d'Arymacie, et la tombe Symeon ou il ot failli' (*La Queste*, ed. Pauphilet, p. 264). According to the Prose *Lancelot*, Galaad, the son of Joseph of Arimathea, became king of Hoselice (eventually named 'Gales') and married the daughter of the king of the *Lointaines Illes*; one of his descendants was Urien (Urience), father of Yvain. It is not clear what sort of transition *M* had in mind when he wrote *But he was fownder thereof*, 'he' meaning presumably Lancelot, but it is conceivable that some such words as 'not only' dropped out after *he was*.

1026. 22-3. *hath gyven you a good oovre*. *F* has *bonne grace vous a donnee*. *M*'s immediate source must have had *bon eur* (= 'good fortune') which he mistook for *bonne heure* (= 'good hour'), but the meaning he read into it must have been very much the same as *F*'s.

1026. 33-1027. 14. *And so he rode fyve dayes*. *F* makes it five years—'*v ans touz entiers*'—and adds: 'Et en toulx les cinq ans li unt Perlesvaux compaignie en quel lieu que il oncques alast. Et dedens celui termine orent si achievees les aventures du royaume de Logres que petit en y veoit on mais avenir se ce n'estoient demonstres de Nostre Seigneur ou signifianges merveilleuses. Ne oncques en place ou il venissent tant y eust grant planté de gens ne porent estre desconfis ne en esmay ne a paour' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 563^v, col. 1). If five years is perhaps too long a period to be dismissed in one line, five days is hardly enough for all the adventures of Logres to be 'encheved'. This is why *M* dismisses most of them with the remark that as Perceval inquired about Galahad, he was told 'how the adventures of Logrus were encheved'. But the result of this alteration is to separate Perceval from Galahad instead of making them share each other's adventures as they do in *F*. It is true that *F* never relates how they met, but states that for five years they were together 'en quel lieu que il (= Galahad) alast'. Traces of this are still found in *M*'s account: 'So on a day hit befelle that he (= Perceval) cam oute of a grete foreyste, and there mette *they* at travers with sir Bors which rode alone.' In the end *M* forgets that his Perceval is supposed to be riding alone, and writes: 'he (= Bors) salewed *them* (i.e. Galahad and Perceval), and *they* yelded to hym honoure and good aventure' (*F*: 'si le saluent et congnoissoient, et il eulz, et puis li demandent de son estre', &c.). Galahad who thus seems to have appeared from nowhere is to play a prominent part in the subsequent episode.

1027. 14. *they had fulfilled the Sankgreall*. *F*: 'il savoient bien que a ceste venue fauldroyent lez aventures du chastel qui tant longuement y avoient esté.' *Fauldroient* here means 'would come to an end', not 'would be fulfilled', but *M* seems to have been more impressed by its sound than by its sense, and substituted the Grail for the 'adventures of the Grail castle'.

1027. 17-18. *to say if he myght*. *Say* being a possible for of *assay*, no emendation is necessary, even though the reading may seem ambiguous. *C* probably failed to understand it and so omitted the verb altogether.

1027. 28. *hit myght no better be sette* (*C*: *better set*). *F* (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 564^r, col. 1): 'elle ne pourroit estre mieulx employee.'

1027. 30-2. *the swerde arose, grete and merevaylous, &c.* The miracle of the sword is but the result of a misreading of the French: '*ung vent leva, grant et merveilleulx*, qui le feri par my le palais, et fu plain de si tres grant chaleur que lez plusieurs d'eulz cuiderent bien estre ars et brulés, et lez plus d'eulx chairent pasnés de la grant paour qu'il orent.' *M* here translates *F* word for word with the exception of *ung vent* which he makes into *the swerde*. The most likely reason for this is that in the French MS. he used the two words were not divided and that he mistook *ungvent* for *unglaive*.

1028. 6-7. *so <there abode> thes three knyght(es), &c.* On this emendation see *Introduction*, pp. cii-ciii.

1028. 23-5. *in such angwyssh as I have <no man ellis myght have> suffrid longe*.

- F: 'en telle angoisse que nus aultres homs ne le porroit mie souffrir longuement.' See *Introduction*, pp. cii-ciii.
1028. 28-30. *There be two amonge you that be nat, &c.* There are three people at the table apart from the Grail knights: Pelles, his son, and his niece. In F all three depart as soon as they have heard the voice from heaven saying that none but the *compains de la Queste* should remain: 'si s'en ala hors le roy Pelles et Eliezer son filz et la pucelle.'
1029. 9. *oure Lorde succoured.* F: 'Nostre Sires sacra.' On this type of rendering see *Introduction*, p. xlv, note 2. Cf. also 912. 2, 942. 16-17, and 945. 25.
1029. 14-15. *there they saw angels.* These, F tells us, were the angels who had brought Joseph: 'si en voient issir les anges que Josephe avoient aporté, dont les deus portoient deus cierges', &c.
1030. 19. *Thys ys . . . the holy Dysshe.* M omits F's etymology of the Grail which would obviously have made no sense in an English context: 'C'est l'escuelle qui a servi a gré touz ceulz que je trouvoy en mon service; ce est l'escuelle que oncques creature mescreant ne vit qui ne greast moult; et pour ce que elle a servi a gré toutez gens, le doit on appeller le *Saint Graal*.'
1030. 31. *and with you take the swerde.* F: 'et illuec troveras la nef ou tu preis l'espee.' M must have mistaken *ou* for *o* (= 'with') and *preis* for the imperative.
1031. 30-1. [*and prayde hem, and*] *they com on that party, nat to forgete hit.* F: 'il dient que s'il viennent celle part il ne l'oublieront mie.' Although C's *and prayed hem* differs in meaning from the French *il dient* (in F the two knights promise Galahad not to forget his message, whereas in C he begs them, somewhat redundantly, not to forget it), it is clear that some such words as *and prayde hem* or *and they promysed hym* occurred in M. To avoid a purely hypothetical reconstruction I have adopted the former reading, but to account for its omission in W I have assumed that it was followed by *and they com*, not, as in W, by *yf they com*.
1032. 30. *as they wolde have loded they saw the shyp.* In F Galahad and his companions prepare to leave the ship because a voice from heaven tells them to do so.
1033. 1-2. *he toke hit to sir Percivale and to sir Bors to go tofore, and sir Galahad com behynde.* Taken as it stands this would suggest that Perceval and Bors carried the Grail table while Galahad walked behind, but both the context (cf. ll. 4-5 and 11-12) and F (*si la prist Boorz et Perceval par devant et Galaad par derriere*) show that the three knights carried the table together.
1033. 7. *but with crucchis.* F: 'sans aide d'autrui'.
1033. 11-12. *toke one parte ayenst sir Galahad.* F: 'la prent d'une part contre Galaad' (= 'held one side of it next to Galahad').
1033. 25-6. *was com of the lyne of paynymes.* MS. O, Ac, S, Z, V, D: 'comme cil qui tout estoit estrais de la maleoite lignee de paiens'. Not in MS. A.
1034. 10. *the selff Soday.* F: 'celui jor meismes' (MS. B.N. fr. 120, f. 565^v, col. 1).
1034. 16-17. *he cam to the sakerynge.* In the corresponding place F uses

the term *segré de la messe*. On the meaning and origin of the Grail liturgy, see A. Pauphilet, *Études sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, pp. 92-8.

1034. 17. *and anone made an ende*. If *F* is any indication of what *M* had in mind, this should mean that Joseph uncovered the holy vessel: 'quant . . . il ot ostee la plateinne de desus le saint vessel'.

1034. 26. *in this wrecched worlde*. *F*: 'en ceste terriene vie'.

1035. 3-5. *thou hast resembled <me> in to thynges: that thou hast sene*, &c. *F* ('tu m'as ressemblé en deus choses') makes it clear that *M*'s *to* is not a preposition but a numeral. The spelling seems to have induced one of the early copyists to take *in to* to mean *into* and delete *me* (cf. *C*: *resemblyd in to thynges*). But *C*'s *in that thou hast sene* may well be more authentic than *W*'s *that thou hast sene*.

1035. 11-12. *bydde hym remembir of this worlde unstable*. Not in *F*.

1036. 1. *a yere and two monethis*. MSS. *O*, *Ac*, *Z*, *S*: 'un an et deus mois'. MSS. *V* and *A*: 'un an et trois jorz'.

1036. 4. *in the spiritualités*. Probably a corruption of *in the spiritual paleys* (*F*: 'el palés esperitel').

1036. 19-1037. 7. *than sir Launcelot tolde the adventures of the Sangreall*. . . . 'Sir,' seyde he, 'as ye woll, so woll I.' Except for the reference to the *grete bookes* in which the Grail story was recorded (p. 1036, ll. 20-2), nothing in this passage can be traced to *F*. *M*'s object in adding it is to make Lancelot appear at the end of the Grail adventures as their main protagonist. Cf. *Introduction*, pp. lxxvii-viii.

THE BOOK OF SIR LAUNCELOT AND QUEEN GUINEVERE

THE first two episodes of the *Book of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere*—*The Poisoned Apple* and *The Fair Maid of Astolat*—belong to the French *Mort Artu*,¹ the last branch of the Arthurian Prose Cycle. They also occur, in shortened form, in the English *Le Morte Arthur*—a fifteenth-century stanzaic poem derived, directly or indirectly, from the same branch. But the much-debated question as to whether in addition to the *Mort Artu* Malory used the English poem,² need not detain us long; for so far as the *Book of Launcelot and Guinevere* is concerned there is simply no evidence of Malory's dependence upon the poem or even of his acquaintance with it.³ The real difficulty lies in another direction: granted that Malory's source was the French romance, how are the differences between the two texts to be explained? For not only is the order of the episodes radically altered in Malory, but numerous passages seem to have no counterpart at all in the French. Is it to be assumed that Malory is responsible for them, or that the discrepancies are due to some hitherto undiscovered intermediary—some lost version of the *Mort Artu*?

On this point the critics who disagree about most other things seem, strangely enough, to be almost unanimous. They all assume that, apart from some matters of detail, the content of Malory's work is identical with that of the

¹ The complete title is *La Mort le Roi Artu*.

² Cf. Sommer, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 220 ff.; J. D. Bruce's article in *Anglia*, vol. xxiii, the same critic's edition of *Le Morte Arthur* (E.E.T.S.), pp. xiii-xx, Sommer's note in *Anglia*, vol. xxix, pp. 529-38, and R. H. Wilson's article in *Modern Philology*, vol. xxvii, pp. 125-38.

³ Out of eight cases of 'agreement' noticed by the critics three can be dismissed altogether (see notes 1055. 21, 1065. 23-41, and 1071. 14-18), two are of a kind that would naturally occur where two independent authors are using the same source (see notes 1058. 36-1059. 2, and 1080. 22), and the remaining three merely point to the conclusion that Malory's immediate source contained certain minor traits which, while absent from the extant MSS. of the *Mort Artu*, have survived in *Le Morte Arthur* (see notes 1053. 25, 1069. 19, and 1092. 1-4).

source he used. According to Sommer,¹ it is not Malory, but the author of his source who 'altered the sequence of events'. J. D. Bruce is equally convinced of this; 'Malory's version' means to him 'an intermediate version of part of the Lancelot story';² and Professor R. H. Wilson, who is otherwise very critical of Bruce's and Sommer's theory, makes 'some modification' of the *Mortu Artu*, 'responsible for re-arranging the events'.³ While admitting in a footnote⁴ that some of the differences 'involving characterization' might be 'ascribed to Malory's originality', he explains that by these he means 'smaller alterations' and some of the 'lesser additions'. What the critics call a 'systematic recasting of the *Mort Artu*' such as is found in Malory's text is, then, in their opinion,⁵ the work of the unknown author of the 'lost source'.

To assess the value of this doctrine it is essential first of all to understand the exact nature of the 'recasting'. There are two main themes in the *Book of Launcelot and Guinevere*: that of the Poisoned Apple (*a*) and that of the Fair Maid of Astolat (*b*). The following table of concordances of the passages which Malory shares with the *Mort Artu* will show how the episodes belonging to either theme are arranged in the two texts:

	<i>Malory</i>		<i>Mort Artu</i> ⁶
<i>The Poisoned Apple</i> (theme <i>a</i>)	1045. 1-9	(<i>a</i> ¹)	3. 13-16
	1045. 10-21	(<i>a</i> ²)	5. 9-22
	1048. 11-1049. 23	(<i>a</i> ³)	61. 3-19
	1049. 24-1051. 6	(<i>a</i> ⁴)	68. 9-70. 10
	1052. 1-1058. 32	(<i>a</i> ⁵)	81. 18-84. 32
	1059. 26-31	(<i>a</i> ⁶)	63. 4-11
<i>The Fair Maid of Astolat</i> (theme <i>b</i>)	1065. 3-4	(<i>b</i> ¹)	5. 5
	1065. 7-24		5. 31-6. 4
	1066. 24-1076. 17		8. 6-16. 20
	1076. 32-4		14. 4-5
	1077. 19-1081. 22	(<i>b</i> ²)	19. 5-28. 17
	1081. 22-1082. 31		32. 20-33. 14
	1083. 12-1087. 30		40. 16-43. 33
	1089. 9-1092. 8		54. 14-55. 30
	1095. 15-1098. 22	(<i>b</i> ³)	70. 21-73. 14

¹ Op. cit., pp. 220-1.

² E.E.T.S. edition of *Le Morte Arthur*, p. xvii.

[For continuation of notes see next page.]

It is clear that in the *Mort Artu* the two themes *a* and *b* are interwoven: the narrative begins and ends with theme *a* (pp. 3 and 81-4), but the various fragments of it alternate with fragments of *b*. The second fragment of *b* is in its turn split into as many as seven shorter ones (pp. 5-6, 8-16, 14, 19-28, 32-3, 40-3, and 54-5), interspersed with stories belonging to neither theme. This curious pattern reveals one of the most characteristic features of thirteenth-century cyclic romances—a feature unpalatable to modern readers, and impossible to describe except by metaphors drawn from the language of tapestry. How strongly Malory resented it in his earlier works, and how consistently he tried to eliminate it, can be seen from his *Tale of King Arthur* and his *Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot*.¹ In those two romances he set himself the task of extracting from his sources reasonably short self-contained tales and of disentangling the interwoven threads of the French narrative. The *Tale of King Arthur* was his first attempt in this direction; and although he earnestly endeavoured to sort out the constituent elements of the French *Suite du Merlin* and arrange them in what he thought was the right order, the texture of his source was too complex and too firm to be unravelled in so simple a fashion. In planning his next work, the *Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot*, he must have realized that a mere transposition of episodes was not enough, and so chose from his source three extracts separated from one another by hundreds of pages. This enabled him to make each new sequence of episodes begin when the preceding one was at an end, and so build up a compact and coherent narrative. But it was not until he came to the *Book of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere* that he mastered this method. In reading through the *Mort*

[Notes continued from previous page.]

³ Op. cit., p. 137.

⁴ Ibid., p. 138.

⁵ In addition to the works already mentioned, see W. E. Mead, *Selections from Sir Thomas Malory's 'Morte Darthur'*, pp. 293-5, and J. E. Wells, *A Manual of Writings in Middle English*, p. 49.

⁶ The references are to M. Jean Frappier's edition of *La Mort le Roi Artu*.

¹ Cf. *Introduction*, pp. li-lv and the relevant sections of this commentary.

Artu he must have felt that to avoid any 'loose ends' such as those which had so often appeared in his earlier adaptations, all the passages referring to theme *a* ('The Poisoned Apple') had to be pieced together and separated from all those referring to theme *b* ('The Fair Maid of Astolat'). The material which in the *Mort Artu* formed the sequence

$$a^1 b^1 a^2 b^2 x b^2 y b^2 z b^2 m b^2 n b^2 p a^3 a^6 a^4 b^3 a^5$$

had to be rearranged in accordance with some such formula as

$$a^1 a^2 a^3 a^4 a^5 a^6 b^1 b^2 b^3.$$

Only thus could the mingling of the two themes with one another and the intrusion of themes unrelated to either (*x y z m n* and *p*) be successfully avoided. But when this was done Malory must have realized that there was still a good deal left for him to do before he could produce a smooth and continuous narrative, and so he proceeded to supply the necessary links between passages which in his source had stood apart. In this way his version acquired the two main features which distinguish it from the French: (*a*) a rearrangement of episodes consistent with Malory's own narrative technique, and (*b*) a series of connecting passages designed to link together the episodes so rearranged.

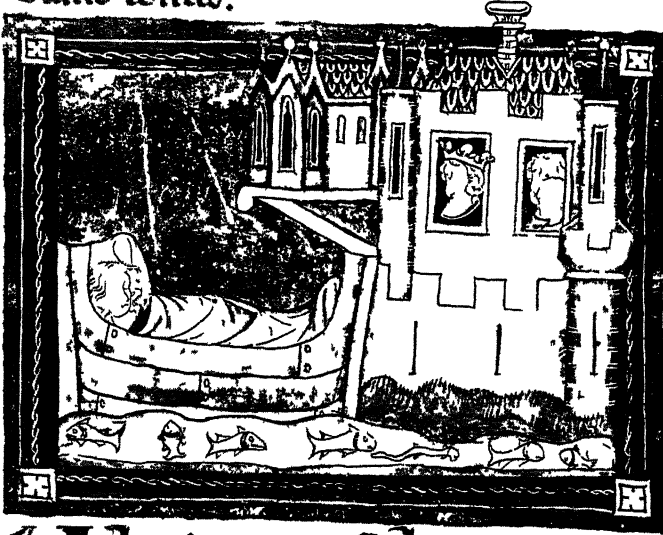
A closer analysis of the latter category makes it abundantly clear that far from pointing to a lost French source the connecting passages represent Malory's own contribution to the story. There are altogether five such passages (not counting minor expansions¹ and the opening and concluding paragraphs of each section). They vary in length from one or one and a half pages (1065. 24-1066. 23, 1073. 27-1074. 31, 1087. 31-1089. 8) to three (1045. 22-1048. 10 and 1092. 9-1095. 14), but they are all remarkably similar in character. They do not add to the narrative content of the work, but merely help to clarify it by means of ex-

¹ e.g. 1051. 7-34, 1065. 13-22, 1076. 18-32, 1076. 35-1077. 18, and 1082. 31-1083. 11. The passage beginning on p. 1058, l. 33, and ending on p. 1059, l. 25, may go back to Malory's source (see note 1058. 36-1059. 2), but its last paragraph is clearly original: it represents an attempt on Malory's part to link up the Lancelot story with his own version of the *Suite du Merlin*.

planatory dialogues. The first passage (1045. 22-1048. 10) represents an attempt to explain Lancelot's departure from the court, and its spurious character is shown by the fact that it has as its starting-point a remark which the Guinevere of the French romances could never have made: 'I se and fele dayly that youre love begynnyth to slake, for ye have no joy to be in my presence, but ever ye ar oute of thys courte, and quarels and maters ye have nowadayes for ladyes, madyns, and jantillwomen, more than ever ye were wonte to have beforehande.' The second connecting passage is a conversation between Lancelot and Guinevere at the beginning of the Maid of Astolat episode. Here the alteration in the order of incidents makes it necessary for Lancelot to leave the court again, and Malory's purpose is to make this second departure appear as natural as the first. Hence Guinevere's rebuke, which would have made little sense in the context of the *Mort Artu*: 'ye ar gretly to blame thus to holde you behynde my lorde. What woll youre enemyes and myne sey and deme?' The third and the fourth passages are less important for the sequence of events, but equally characteristic of Malory's method: the dialogue between Lancelot and Lavayne (1073. 27-1074. 31) gives a sense of reality to the story of how Lancelot was wounded by Bors, while the description of the tournament which takes place at Alhallowmass (1087. 31-1089. 8) with its catalogue of knights, and the discussion of the fighting qualities of Gareth—Malory's favourite minor character—follow one of his familiar patterns. But the most interesting of all is the scene inserted between Lancelot's departure from Astolat and the discovery of the 'black barge' with the body of Elaine in it (1092. 9-1095. 14). In the *Mort Artu*,¹ no sooner does Lancelot tell the Maid of Astolat that he can do nothing to relieve her sorrow *ne por mort ne por vie*, than she leaves him and lies down on her bed *a tel eür que onques puis n'en leva se morte non, si com l'estoire le devisera apertement* (the scribes of some of the MSS. write, somewhat diffidently, *si com ge cuit l'estoire le devisera, &c.*); and it is not until after an interval of some fifteen pages that the end of the story is told: the arrival of the boat at Camelot

¹ Ed. Frappier, p. 55.

Ch'arrue la damoisele descalot morte en
 une nef devant le chateel le roy arai. 75.
 ala ala nef 7 le ouit. si vicut ap's mout
 bians contes.



Alendemain q' dñs ap'aus
 fu fais avint endroit eure
 de miedi q' vne nachele couverte
 d'un mlt riche drap de soie arriua
 desous la tour le roi. 7 li rois auoit
 mangie atout grant plente de

and its discovery by Arthur's knights.¹ In Malory, not only is the narrative continuous, but the two scenes are linked together: 'Now speke we of the Fayre Maydyn of Astolat that made such sorow day and nyght that she never slepte, ete, nother dranke, and ever she made hir complaynte unto sir Launcelot. So whan she had thus endured a ten dayes, that she fyebled so that she muste nedis passe oute of thys worlde, than she shrove her clene and resseyved her Creature.' Malory's two favourite methods of amplification—emotional description and realistic dialogue—help him to develop this farther. He tells us that when Elaine was ready to die and her 'gostly fadir' bid her 'leve such thoughtes', she replied, 'Why sholde I leve such thoughtes? Am I nat an erthely woman?' There follows a monologue in which no one will fail to recognize Malory's hand. Elaine's request to have her letter put in her right hand 'while her body is hot', and her body in a 'barget coverde with blacke samyte over and over' is outwardly an anticipation of the next scene; but each detail is in effect an expression of one of Elaine's last wishes, and not merely part of a conventional description of the inevitable *nef* with its *lit moult bel, apareillez de toutes les riches choses dont biax liz puet estre apareillez*. Few, if any, of these details can be attributed to a 'lost French version' of the Arthurian Cycle; and all without exception represent Malory's own manner.

That his immediate source differed in some minor points from the extant MSS. of the *Mort Artu*, there can be little doubt. But nothing is less likely than that it was responsible for any of the important innovations found in Malory's version of the first two episodes of the *Book*. A French romance similar in structure and character to his would have been unlike any other French Arthurian work of the Middle Ages; it would have been a modernized version such as France had never produced, and a negation of the whole character of French Arthurian fiction which, so far as we know, remained to the end faithful to its thirteenth-century narrative technique. And as long as there is no need to assume such an improbable development, it seems safe

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

to say that of all medieval writers Malory was the first to re-tell the story of the Maid of Astolat in a manner alien to his French books and suited to modern taste.

The third and the fifth episodes of the *Book*—*The Great Tournament* and *The Healing of Sir Urry*—are virtually unknown in Arthurian literature. Only the first incident in the *Great Tournament* (pp. 1103-6) is to some extent paralleled in the *Mort Artu* and in *Le Morte Arthur*. The rest is very probably Malory's own invention. The description of the tournament follows a pattern which he used earlier on in the same book (1087. 31-1089. 8), and which he now develops by means of an endless repetition of the single-combat theme and of an impressive enumeration of Arthurian characters. Even less inventive power was needed for the last episode of the book, the healing of Sir Urry. It would seem that the main reason for introducing it at this point was to avoid 'the very mater of Shevalere de Charyot' with its innumerable episodic complications. But the episode also had some positive merits: it provided an admirable opportunity of cataloguing all, or nearly all, the names which had occurred in the French books Malory had read, and it enabled him to show his favourite hero, Lancelot, at the height of his glory. Even though the miracle of the healing makes Lancelot weep, 'as he had bene a chylde that had bene betyn', he is seen here 'doing many noble dedis' and 'living in all that courte wyth grete nobeles and joy longe tymes'. On the eve of the catastrophe which is to put an end to Arthurian knighthood, Lancelot's greatness is thus emphasized once more.

More puzzling is the provenance of the fourth episode of the *Book*—*The Knight of the Cart*. The ultimate source of it is to be found in Chrétien's *Conte de la Charrete* and in the Prose *Lancelot*—the central branch of the Arthurian Prose Cycle. Malory's version, however, differs considerably from both these texts. From p. 1130 to p. 1140 parallels are frequent, especially in the scene of Lancelot's meeting with the Queen and in the description of the fight between Lancelot and Meleagant. But in the earlier section (pp. 1120-9) the bare outlines of the story remain recognizable.

The first division ends with the remark: *And so we leve of here of Le Shyvalere le Charyote*, and it seems that at this point Malory simply substituted for the still undiscovered *Shyvalere le Charyote* a work very similar to the extant Prose *Lancelot*. *Le Shyvalere le Charyote* probably contained, in addition to traits only known through Chrétien,¹ a version of the story of the abduction of Guinevere not otherwise extant.² The fact that in Malory *Lancelot* and Meleagant do not fight when they first meet, but swear to meet in battle at Arthur's court, may well be a survival of that version, just as there is a possible reminiscence of it in the Prose *Lancelot*, in the remarks which Meleagant addresses to Arthur: 'Rois Artus, il est voirs que je comquis cele dame que je vois la vers Keu le seneschal, et Lancelos la vint requerre, si fu la bataille de moi et de lui. Et tels fu la fins que je li laissai amener la roïne, et *il me jura sor sains que devant li se combatroit a moi.*'

But while Malory's source for the early part of the story may be more authentic than any of the extant versions of the prose romance of *Lancelot*, it is quite certain that the original spirit and atmosphere of the tale vanished from it before it ever reached him. The cart was originally the symbol of the uttermost depths of ignominy to which *Lancelot* was prepared to descend for the sake of his lady. It was, Chrétien explains, the equivalent of the pillory, wherein were exposed all those who had done treason or murder or theft, or had been accounted recreant on the field of battle: in it they were taken to the place of execution. So great was the shame attached to the cart that men said:

Quant tu verras
Charete et tu l'anconterras,
Si te saingne et si te sovaingne
De Deu, que maus ne t'an avaingne.'

It was to symbolize the power of courtly love that Chrétien made *Lancelot* ready to suffer this humiliation in the eyes of the world, for to *Lancelot*, the supreme example of the perfect knight, any suffering that he was called upon to bear for his love was welcome. It was because he had hesitated before entering the cart that Guinevere refused to see him after

¹ See notes 1131. 6-8 and 1131. 24.

² See notes 1120. 14 and 1121. 7-8.

his victory over Meleagant, for in those few moments of uncertainty he had sinned against the courtly code:

Tant solemant deus pas demore
Li chevaliers que il ne monte.
Mar le fist, mar i douta honte,
Que maintenant sus ne sailli,
Qu'il s'an tandra por mal bailli.

That this attitude was understood by few, even in late twelfth-century France, is highly probable. It is even likely that Chrétien himself was not entirely sympathetic to it, and that he left his poem unfinished because he found it difficult to keep up the pretence of sincerity. No wonder, then, that the real meaning of the cart episode was lost to the author of the Prose *Lancelot* fifty years later. Unable as he was to understand how Guinevere's displeasure could have been caused by Lancelot's hesitation to climb into the cart, he attempted to account for it on other grounds. In his version Guinevere's anger with Lancelot is due to the fact that Lancelot had parted with her ring to Morgan le Fay, and that he had left the court without taking leave of her. It is true that allusions to the ignominy of riding in a cart abound in the prose romance, but they play little or no part in the central episode. Lancelot hesitates to accept the dwarf's offer not because he fears shame, but because he doubts whether the dwarf will keep his word. And all the significance which might still be attached to the symbol of the cart is destroyed when, on another occasion, in order to deliver the Lady of the Lake, first Gawain, then Arthur, Guinevere, and the whole court agree to be driven in a cart by a dwarf.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in Malory the original purpose of the episode of the cart is no longer recognizable, except perhaps in the words of Guinevere's lady-in-waiting: "'Al se, madam," seyde the lady, "where rydys in a charyot a goodly armed knyght, and we suppose he rydyth unto hangynge." Even the appearance of the cart and its driver is changed: the mis-shapen dwarf's cart becomes a woodman's cart, driven by two men who use it to fetch wood for Meleagant. It is only because of the weight of his armour that Lancelot asks their leave to ride

with them to Meleagant's castle—not because he is promised news of the Queen. The exalted symbol of twelfth-century *courtoisie* is thus dissolved in realistic detail, just as the mysterious *Terre Foraine* of Chrétien and of the prose romance, the land from which no traveller returns, is transformed into a castle not far distant from Lambeth and the Thames. 'Than lepe ye up into the charyote', the carter says to Lancelot, 'and ye shall be there anone.' In less than two hours Lancelot reaches the castle where Guinevere is awaiting him 'at a bay-window'. The adventures which beset his path in the French story—the magic bed, the night in the maiden's castle, the Saint Cimentiere, the Pas des Perrons, the fight in the valley, the combat with the knight who reproached him with the shame of the cart, the Sword-Bridge which Lancelot crosses on his knees, oblivious of the torture he inflicts upon himself—all are dismissed, and Lancelot's journey is made swift and uneventful. But it is perhaps best that it should be so. The great examples of courtly heroism, of Lancelot's devotion to a sublime duty, of his infinite sense of sacrifice, would have gained little from Malory's prosaic context, as little as does the *Terre Foraine* from its localization within 'seven miles of Westminster'. For they belong to a world of their own, the very existence of which neither Malory nor any of his readers could have suspected—a distant realm surrounded by an invisible wall, accessible to none but the chosen few. Faithful to its initial purpose courtly romance refused to make its secret known to the uninitiated, and so was able to fulfil, in the only way possible, the task of poetry at its highest.

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I

THE POISONED APPLE

1045. 6-9. *And passynge gladde was the kynge and the quene of sir Launcelot and of sir Bors, &c.* Cf. *Mort Artu* (ed. Frappier), p. 3: 'Quant Boorz fu venuz a cort en la cité meismes de Kamaalot de si lointeingnes terres comme sont les parties de Jerusalem, assez trouva a court, qui grant joie li fist; que moult le desirroient tuit a totes veoir.' The addition of Lancelot's name in *M* is not only an anticipation of the next paragraph, but a reminder of the part assigned to him in *M*'s version of the Grail story.

1045. 10-21. *Than, as the booke seyth, sir Launcelot began to resorte unto quene Gwenewere, &c.* This agrees in substance with § 4 of the *Mort Artu* (op. cit., p. 5) except for the remark *had nat sir Launcelot bene in his prevy thoughtes and in hys myndis so sette inwardly to the quene . . . there had no knyght passed hym in the queste of the Sankgreall*.

1045. 21. *for he was ever opynne-mowithed.* Several MSS. of the *Mort Artu* (but not the one used by M. Frappier for his edition) have in the corresponding place 'pour çou k'il *beast* le roi a vengier de sa honte' (so in MS. B.N. fr. 342). *M* has mistaken *beer a* ('to aim', 'to aspire') for *beer* meaning 'to

- be wide open'. Cf. my note on this passage in *Arthuriana*, vol. i, my *Malory*, pp. 151-2, and *Romania*, vol. lvii, p. 219. For other points of agreement between *M* and MS B.N. fr. 342 (MS. *D*) cf. 1240. 4-7 and 1243. 4-10.
1045. 22-1048. 10. *So hit befelle . . . she felte no thought nother daungere*. Neither the dialogue between Lancelot and Guinevere nor the subsequent scene with Bors, Hector, and Lionel can be traced to the French. The following traits point to *M*'s authorship: (a) *If that I had nat had my prey thoughts to returne to youre love agayne as I do, I had sene as grete mysteryes as ever saw my sonne*, &c. (p. 1046, ll. 8-11), reproduces a remark clearly attributable to *M* (see previous note); (b) Bors's condemnation of the 'hastiness' of women who *woll do oftyntymes that aftir hem sore repentiith* (p. 1047, ll. 18-20) could hardly have come from *M*'s source; (c) the hermit Brascias (p. 1047, ll. 22-3, 34) is to appear later on in a passage of *M*'s own invention (p. 1103, ll. 26-8).
1046. 20. *ryde myselff* = 'free myself'.
1048. 11-1049. 23. *So the quene lete make a pryvy d'yn'ere . . . she wyst nat what to sey*. The corresponding passage in the *Mort Artu* (ed. Frappier) occurs on p. 61 (ll. 3-19). Of the features peculiar to *M*'s account the most important are the list of the twenty-four knights who came to the Queen's dinner, the remark that Gawain *had a custom that he used dayly at mete and at supper . . . he loved well all maner of fruyte, and in especiall appyls and pearys* (p. 1048, ll. 28-31), the attempt to explain why Sir Pyonell hated Gawain (p. 1049, ll. 2-3), and Gawain's speech (p. 1049, ll. 17-21). The only example of an exact rendering is the sentence *every knyght lepe frome the bourde* ('si saillirent maintenant sus de la table').
1048. 22. *sir Alyduke*. This knight appears in two earlier books—*The Tale of Arthur and Lucius* and *The Tale of Sir Launcelot* (pp. 214-15, 217, and 268). *M*'s previous editors have made a distinction between the 'Aladune' of the *Tale of Arthur and Lucius*, who is killed in battle, and the 'Alyduke' of later books. But it is safe to assume that no such distinction existed in *M*'s mind. Alyduke was to him simply one of the innumerable names associated with the Round Table.
1049. 2. *sir Pyonell*. In the *Mort Artu* the knight's name is *Avarlan* (var. Avalon, Arvalin, Avarlon, Varlen).
1049. 7. *sir Patryse*. *Mort Artu* (p. 61): 'un chevalier qui estoit compains de la Table Reonde et ayoit non Gaheris de Karaheu'. He is later referred to as 'Gaheriz li Blans de Karaheu' (p. 63).
1049. 24-1051. 6. *'Thys shall nat so be ended, seyde sir Mador de la Porte. . . . I am answerde, seyde sir Mador*. The corresponding passage in the *Mort Artu* begins on p. 68, l. 9, and ends on p. 70, l. 10, but some of the remarks on *M*'s p. 1049 belong to an earlier section, e.g. *with thys noyse and crye cam to them kyng Arthur, and whan he wyste of the trowble he was a passyng hevny man* (ll. 34-6) which seems to reproduce *la nouvele vint devant le roi . . . et li rois se seigne tantost de la merveille que il a* (*Mort Artu*, pp. 61-2). The most interesting difference between the two accounts of the challenge is that while in the *Mort Artu* Mador de la Porte withdraws his allegiance from Arthur before challenging him, in *M* he argues that although Arthur is his king, *in that degre* he is *but a knyght sworne unto knyghthode*. Mador's

speech in the French is as follows: '« Or vos rent ge vostre homage et vostre terre, car il ne me plect ore pas que ge des ore mais tiengne terre de vos » Lors passe avant et se desvest de toute la terre que il tenoit del roi' (ibid., p. 68). It is not certain that *M* understood the implications of this passage; but whether he did or not, his treatment of it suggests a distinctly different attitude to kingship. Cf. 1174. 18, 28-9.

1052. 1-1053. 12. *So the quene departed . . . and thanked hym hertely.* This corresponds to pp. 81 (l. 18)-82 (l. 5) of the *Mort Artu*, but there is no counterpart in the French to Bors's rebuke of Guinevere (p. 1052, ll. 7-15).

1052. 6-7. *for drede of ony of tho knyghtes wolde have you in suspection* = 'who choose to suspect you'. *C* may seem to make better sense ('for drede that ony . . . have me, &c.') but there is no real reason to suppose that *W*'s reading is less authentic.

1053. 25 ff. *Than was hit noysed in all the courte that sir Bors sholde do batayle for the quene, wherefore many knyghtes were displeased, &c.* There is no such episode in the *Mort Artu*, but the following passage in *Le Morte Arthur* shows that it occurred in *M*'s source (ll. 1443-58):

Bors, that was bolde and kene,
Clepyd all hys other knyghtis . . .
how that he hathe hyght the quene,
That ilke day for hyr to feyght
Ayenste Syr Mador full of tene,
To saue hyr lyfe yife that he myght.
The knyghtis answerd with wo and wrake,
And sayd they wyste wetterlye
That 'she hathe Launcelot du Lake
Browght oute of ouere companye . . .
But we nylle not so glad hyr make
Byfore we ne suffre hyr to be sorye.'

1055. 4.-1058. 32. *And thus hit paste on ylle the morne . . . in ryght othir in wronge.* These pages contain most of the matter of pp. 82 (l. 6)-84 (l. 32) of the *Mort Artu*, the important difference being the part played in *M* by Bors (see 1055. 21). The last two pages (from p. 1056, l. 29, to the end of the passage) show close agreement with the French text, but verbal parallels are few and far between.

1055. 21 ff. *Ryght so cam in sir Bors de Ganys, &c.* In *Le Morte Arthur* (ll. 1536-51) as in *M* Bors comes upon the scene ready to fight Mador. In the *Mort Artu* (ibid., p. 81) he promises help to the Queen ('se vos n'avez demain dedenz eure de tierce meilleur secors que li miens ne vos seroit, je sui cil qui por vos enterrai en bataille encontre Mador'), but Lancelot takes up Mador's challenge at once and there is no need for Bors to intervene. He is not, however, as Professor R. H. Wilson would have it, 'an unobtrusive part of the waiting crowd' (op. cit., p. 128): he and Hector are the only people among those present who recognize Lancelot in spite of his disguise (*Mort Artu*, p. 82) and he carries Lancelot's shield to the scene of the combat (ibid., p. 83).

1058. 1-3. *that no mencion be made, &c.* Cf. 1059. 26-31.

1058. 21-32. 'My lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot . . . 'in ryght othir in wronge.'

There is no parallel to this paragraph in the corresponding place in the *Mort Artu*, but the incident to which it refers is found in the first part of the *Lancelot* proper. When Lancelot has been knighted by Arthur the latter, pressed to let him go to the rescue of a wounded knight, forgets to give him his sword: 'ne menbra il au roi ne a autrui de l'espee que il li avoit oublie a chandre' (*The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. by H. O. Sommer, vol. iii, p. 128). Lancelot then does battle for the lady of Nohaut (*var.* Norhaus, Norhaut) and sends his defeated opponents to Guinevere to do her homage: '« Si dites a ma dame la royne que li vallés qui va secorre la dame de Nohaut les li envoie. Et li dites que je li mant que por moi gaaignier a tous jors que ele me fache chevalier, et qu'ele m'envoie chi une espee com a chelui qui ses chevaliers sera, car messires li rois ne me chainst point d'espee quant il me fist chevalier »' (ibid., pp. 136-7). Thereupon the Queen sends Lancelot a sword, 'moult boine et moult richement appareillie de fuere et de reнге'. This would account for all that *M* says with the exception of the words *lapped hit in her trayne*. The remark *and ells had I bene shamed amonge all knyghtes* may well have occurred in the French. If it did, its purpose must have been to show that Lancelot's investiture would have been incomplete without the Queen's present: it was only when he received her sword that from being a 'vallés' he became a knight: 'et dist que ore est il chevaliers, Dieu merci et sa dame, et por che l'a apelé li contes vallés dusques chi' (ibid., p. 137).

1058. 36-1059. 2. *And evermore the quene behylde sir Launcelot, and wepte so tenderly that she sanke allmoste to the grownde for sorow, &c.* Cf. *Le Mort Arthur*, ll. 1632-5:

Than was the quene glade I-noghe
Whan she saw Launcelot du Lake,
that nyghe for Ioy she felle in swoughe
Bot as the lordys hyr gan vp take.

1059. 11-19. *And so hit befelle that the Damesell of the Lake, &c.* *M* here attempts to establish a link between the Lancelot story and his own account of the adventures of Pelleas and the Lady of the Lake who 'loved togyders duryng their lyfe' (cf. p. 172, ll. 17-22). But perhaps his main reason for adding this paragraph is that he is not satisfied with the traditional ending. When Lancelot has defended the Queen against the charge of having poisoned Mador's brother, the *Mort Artu* accepts Lancelot's victory as evidence of the Queen's innocence. Malory seems to find it inconclusive and brings in the Lady of the Lake so as to make the truth 'openly known'. Judicial combat was apparently not, in his opinion, sufficient to establish the facts of the case.

1059. 26-31. *Than was sir Patryse buried . . . suddely he braste.* Here *M* seems to go back to an earlier passage in the *Mort Artu* (p. 63) describing the burial of Gaheriz li Blans de Karaheu (*M*'s 'sir Patryse'). The inscription on the tomb was, according to the *Mort Artu*, 'Ici gist Gaheriz li Blans de Karaheu, li freres Mador de la Porte, que la reine fist morir par venim.' Since in *M* the tomb is not inscribed until after the judicial combat which

acquits the Queen of this charge, *M* has to alter the text accordingly and make Lancelot demand 'that no mencion be made uppon sir Patryseys tombe that ever quene Gwentyver consented to that treson' (p. 1058, ll. 1-3).

II

THE FAIR MAID OF ASTOLAT

1065. 2-3. *the kyng lete cry a grete justyse and a turnement*. The *Mort Artu* (ed. Frappier, p. 5) explains the purpose of the tournament as follows: 'Et li rois, por ce qu'il veoit que les aventures del roiaume de Logres estoient si menees a fin qu'il n'en avenoit mes nule se petit non, fist crier un tornoieement en la prairie de Wincestre, por ce qu'il ne vouloit pas toutevoies que si compaignon lessassent a porter armes.'

1065. 4. *Camelott, othertwyse called Wynchester*. The identification is peculiar to *M*. *C*'s Preface refers to Camelot as a town in Wales. In the French romances no identification was intended. They describe Camelot simply as 'la plus aventureuse vile qu'il eust et une des plus delitables', or occasionally as 'cité la plus riche que li Sarrasin eussent en la Grant Bretaigne'. On other attempts to identify Camelot, see J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, vol. 1, p. 73. Cf. 1124. 27.

1065. 7-12. *thydir cam many good knyghtes, &c.* The *Mort Artu* (ibid., pp. 5-6) says simply: 'si i ala des chevaliers le roi Artu a grant plenté'.

1065. 10. *Galahaute the Haute Prynce*. Cf. 1069. 19.

1065. 23-4. *for he seyde he was nat hole of the play (= 'wound') of sir Madore*. In the *Mort Artu* (ibid., p. 6) Lancelot says much the same thing ('Lancelos, qui i beoit a estre en tel maniere que nus nel conneust, dist a ceus qui entor lui estoient qu'il estoit si deshietiez que il n'i porroit aler en nule maniere'). In *Le Mortie Arthur*, although he seems to be really ill ('And seke he lay that ylke tyde'), he stays behind for the same reason as in the other versions (ll. 55-6):

for loue pat was theym by-twene
he made inchessoun for to abyde.

For all that the critics have had to say about these passages (cf. R. H. Wilson, op. cit., p. 128), there is nothing here to suggest any particular relationship of the three versions to one another, still less to show that *M* stands closer to the English poem than to the French romance. If anything, the latter is the most likely common prototype of the two English versions.

1066. 3-5. '*And thus woll they sey, seyde the quene. 'Have ye no doute, madame, seyde sir Launcelot.* By giving the words *have ye no doute* to Guinevere ('have ye noo doubte therof CAPITULUM IX Madame said syr Launcelot') *C* and all subsequent editors have attributed to *doute* the sense of 'doubt' instead of 'fear'.

1066. 23. *to an olde barownes place that hyght sir Barnarde of Astolat*. Cf. *Mort Artu* (ibid., p. 8, l. 29): 'chiés un riche vavator.' The name of the castle (*Escalot*) is not mentioned until later (p. 13, l. 23), and the 'vavator'

is given no name at all. His two sons ('*avoit deus filz moult biax et moult forz*') are also anonymous. *M*'s identification of Astolat with Guildford suggests that he imagined it somewhere on the London-Winchester road, roughly a day's ride from London. As the court is at Westminster, Arthur on his way to Winchester naturally decides to break the journey at Guildford. Moreover, as Dr. G. R. Stewart points out (*Mod. Lang. Review*, vol. xxx, p. 206), 'Guildford was the seat of a royal castle at which a king might naturally lodge when on a journey. In Malory's time the residential portions of Guildford Castle were already in a ruinous condition, and for that reason could probably be all the more readily associated with the ancient times of Arthur.'

1066. 24-1073. 26. *And as sir Launcelot entird into hys lodgyng . . . I had levir repose me than to be lorde of all the worlde.* The corresponding passage in the *Mort Artu* begins on p. 8, l. 6, and ends on p. 16, l. 5. *M*'s version abounds in proper names not found in the French. Of all the knights who took part in the tournament the *Mort Artu* only names Lancelot, Bors, Hector, Lionel, the kings of Scotland, of Ireland, of Wales, and of North Wales, Galegantun li Galois, Gawain, and Gaheriez.

1068. 3-5, 7. *she was so hote in love that she besought sir Launcelot to were uppon hym at the justis a tokyn of hers.* In the *Mort Artu* the Maid of Astolat makes her request to Lancelot in the name of his lady and so forces him to accede to it: '*Gentis chevaliers, done moi un don par la foi que tu dois a la riens el monde que tu mieuz ainmes*' (p. 10, ll. 10-11). Nor does the *Mort Artu* mention at this point Elaine's fatal passion for Lancelot, and when it says that the Maid of Astolat asked him to wear her sleeve at the tournament *por l'amor de lui*, the phrase means no more than 'for her sake' (*ibid.*, l. 29). *M*'s *for youre love* as used by Lancelot (l. 7) has the same meaning.

1068. 35-1069. 1. *Camelot, that tyme called Wynchester.* Cf. 1065. 4.

1069. 4. *a ryche burgeyse.* In the *Mort Artu* the baron's son takes Lancelot to the house of his aunt, *gentil fame qui moult bien nos herbergera* (*ibid.*, p. 11, l. 12).

1069. 19. *Galahalte the Halte Prynce.* The death of Galahalt is related in the French Cycle half-way through the *Lancelot* proper (Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, vol. iv, p. 155) and he naturally does not appear in the *Mort Artu*. But *Le Morte Arthur* refers earlier on to 'yonge Galehod' as taking part in the preparations for the tournament at Winchester (cf. ll. 43-4, 225, and 261).

1071. 14-18. '*Sir, seyde sir Gawayne, 'I wolde sey hit were sir Launcelot by hys rydyng and hys buffettis that I se hym deale. But ever mesemyth hit sholde nat be he, for that he beryth the rede slyve uppon hys helmet,*' &c. In *Le Morte Arthur* a similar remark is addressed to Arthur by a group of knights; in the *Mort Artu* the speaker is Gawain, but the sleeve is not mentioned. There is, however, no verbal agreement between *M* and the English poem (ll. 293-6):

Bot, for the sleve on his creste was thar,
For Launcelot wold they hym noght take;
For he bare nevir none suche by-fore
But it were for the quenys sake.

1072. 25. *tha[n] he thought.* *W*'s *that* is almost certainly a contamination with the preceding *that* (l. 24).

1074. 32-1076. 17. *And so by fortune they cam to an ermytayge . . . and refreysshed people that were in distresse.* These three pages contain an enlarged version of p. 16, ll. 7-20, of the *Mort Artu*. Most of the dialogue is *M*'s own. The omission of *maye* in ll. 14-15 in *W* is a clear case of homœoteleuton.

1077. 24-1081. 22. *hyt happened sir Gawayne at Astolat. . . . And so leve we them there.* *M* has summarized in these four pages what must have been a much longer passage. In the *Mort Artu* (p. 19, l. 5-p. 28, l. 17) there is a long scene between Gawain and Arthur which *M* reduces to some ten lines (p. 1080, ll. 6-15). The French version of the conversation between Bors and Guinevere (*Mort Artu*, pp. 27-8) is less abrupt and more in keeping with courtly etiquette.

1078. 5-6. *ys that good knyght youre love.* *M* omits the somewhat unnecessary scene in which Gawain declares his love to the Maid of Astolat: '« Si vos ameroie par amors, se il vos plesoit, en tel maniere que, tant com l'amours de moi et de vos durroit, que ge n'ameroie dame ne damoisele se vos non, et seroie outreement vostre chevaliers et abandonnez a fere toute vostre volenté. » « Ha! messire Gauvain, fet la damoisele, ne me gabez mie! »' She then tells him that if he really loves her he deserves pity, because she is in love with a knight to whom she will never be disloyal: '« Si sachiez que ce seroit poine gaste que de moi requerre d'amors »' (*Mort Artu*, pp. 20-1).

1080. 22. *she was nygh ought of her mynde for wratthe.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, ll. 648-51:

The quene than said wordis no mo,
Bot to hyr chambir son she yede,
And downe vppon hyr bed felle so
That nighe of witte she wold wede.

1083. 12-1087. 30. *So they departed and com to the ermytayge . . . ye founde hym a trew knyght.* The corresponding passage in the *Mort Artu* begins on p. 40, l. 16, and goes as far as p. 43, l. 33, but some of the incidents in *M*, such as the one referred to in note 1085. 33-1086. 3, belong to an earlier section.

1085. 3. *C: 'sire Bors told sire Launcelot; W: 'sir Launcelot tolde sir Bors.'* There is every reason to believe that *W*'s reading is corrupt (cf. p. 1086, ll. 31 ff.: 'sir Bors tolde me,' &c.). The substitution of Lancelot for Bors is probably a case of contamination with the line above, and that of Bors for Lancelot an attempt to restore sense.

1085. 6. *besydes Wynchestir.* So in *Le Morte Arthur*. In the *Mort Artu* the tournament is held at Taneborc: 'L'endemain se partirent de Wincestre et firent ainçois qu'il s'en partissent crier un tornoieiment del lundi après en un mois devant Tanebourc (*var.* Tanebordes, Tanebors, Tanebor, Taneburc, Cheneborc). Icil Tanebours estoit uns chastiaus moult forz et moult bien seanz a l'entree de Norgales' (*ibid.*, pp. 18-19).

1085. 33-1086. 3. *And therewith sir Launcelot strayned hymself so straitly with so grete fors to gete the courser forwarde that the bottom of hys wounde braste both within and withoute.* In the *Mort Artu* Lancelot's wound bursts

open when he learns that Guinevere will be present at the tournament: 'Lors s'estent del grant duel qu'il ot, et a l'estendre qu'il fist li escrieue sa plaie; si en saut uns rais de sanc autresi granz comme il feïst d'une beste acoree' (ibid., p. 35).

1087. 31-1089. 8. *And than every knyght of the Rounde Table . . . sir Tirré, hys sonne.* The description of the tournament looks very much like *M's* own composition. The transition to the next episode (p. 1088, ll. 20-3: . . . *he founde hym walkyng on hys feete*) is not unlike the remark on p. 41 of the French text ('il estoit adont si tournez a garison qu'il se pooit aler esbatre par laiens'), but the ensuing dialogue between Lancelot and Bors and their comments on the tournament again seem to betray *M's* hand.

1089. 9-1092. 8. *And so uppon the morne . . . but hit wolde nat be.* In the *Mort Artu* the same story is told more briefly and less dramatically (p. 54, l. 14-p. 55, l. 19). It ends with the remark: 'Lors se parti la damoisele de devant lui et s'en vint a son lit et se cocha a tel eür que onques puis n'en leva, se morte non, si com l'estoire le devisera apertement.' Neither the lord of Astolat nor his son appears in the final scene. It is, moreover, practically certain that the greater part of the scene between Lancelot and the Maid of Astolat is original. Whereas in *M* the starting-point and indeed the central theme of the dialogue is the remark *I wolde have you to my husbunde*, any suggestion of a marriage being arranged between Lancelot and the Maid of Astolat would be unthinkable in the French romance. The Maid of Astolat acts in the *Mort Artu* in very much the same way as any heroine of medieval romance would have done: 'Sire, si tost com ge vos vi, ge vos amai outre ce que cuers de fame peüst home amer, car onques puis ne poi ne boire ne mengier, ne dormir ne reposer, einçois ai puis traveilliés jusques ci en pensee et toute dolour et toute mesaventure soufferte de nuit et de jour.'

1092. 1-4. *And whan kynge Arthur wyst that sir Launcelot was com hole and sownde, the kynge made grete joy of hym; and so ded sir Gawayne, &c.* In the *Mort Artu* Arthur is away at Morgan's castle where he hears of Lancelot's infidelity, and Gawain returns to court with Lancelot. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, ll. 704-7:

The kinge stode in a toure on highe,
Besydes hym standis syr Gawayne;
Launcelotte whan that they sighe,
Were nevir men on mold so fayne.

1092. 5-8. *Also queene Gwennyver . . . hit wolde nat be.* Cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 55: 'A cele eure que Lancelos entra laenz, estoit la reine as fenestres, et si tost comme ele le vit, ele se parti de la fenestre ou ele estoit apoiee et s'en entra en sa chambre.'

1092. 9-1095. 14. *Now speke of the Fayre Maydyn of Astolat . . . or any man aspyed hit.* This is probably *M's* most important addition to the episode of the Fair Maid of Astolat. In the *Mort Artu* the farewell scene (see 1089. 9-1092. 1) is separated from the arrival of the 'blacke barget' at Camelot by some fifteen pages of narrative (pp. 55-70), in the course of which the death of the 'demoisele d'Escalot' is never mentioned. *M's* intention must

have been not only to avoid splitting the episode into two parts, but to link the two scenes together in a coherent manner—a striking example of *M*'s attitude to the *procédé de l'entrelacement* (see *Introduction*, pp. xlii–lv). But his real contribution to the story is the death scene itself, which Tennyson's adaptation has failed to make either more dramatic or more significant, and in which prose seems to out-reach the range of verse.

1094. 14–15. *unto the nexte place where the Temmys ys.* Cf. 1095. 12–13.

1095. 1–2. *and but one man . . . to stirre me thidir.* Cf. 1095. 12–13.

1095. 12–13. *And so the man stirred the bargett unto Westmynster.* Cf. G. R. Stewart, 'English Geography in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*' (*Mod. Lang. Review*, vol. xxx, p. 206): 'In the *Mort Artu* and in the stanzaic *Morte Arthure* the unsteered boat floats from an unlocalized Astolat to an unlocalized Camelot down a nameless river—a type of voyage common enough in medieval romance, but hardly convincing to the reason. Malory, however, locates the court at Westminster, and consistently names the river as the Thames; he also has Elaine give directions that her body shall be carried in "a charyot unto the next place where Temse is", and that a steersman shall be supplied. Guildford, only thirteen miles from the Thames at Chertsey, is thus a convenient place, and the voyage of a steered boat from Chertsey to Westminster offers no difficulty. Malory has in this manner transformed the voyage of a magical boat into an entirely realistic occurrence.'

1095. 15–1098. 8. *So by fortune kyng Arthure . . . ye take no forse.* The *Mort Artu* (p. 70, l. 21–p. 74, l. 8) relates this episode in much the same way, but does not mention the three knights sent by Arthur to 'bring him word what is there' (p. 1096, l. 3). The damsel is identified by Gawain who remembers seeing her at her father's house. The damsel's letter is addressed *a touz les chevaliers de la Table Ronde*, not to Lancelot, and speaks of Lancelot in terms which *M* must have thought ill-chosen for the occasion: 'Et se vos demandez por cui amor ge ai souferte engoisse de mort, je vos respont que ge sui morte por le plus preudome del monde et por le plus vilain: ce est Lancelos del Lac, qui est li plus vilains que ge sache, car onques ne le soi tant prier o pleurs et o lermes que il volsist de moi avoir merci.' The *Morte Artu* does not say that *the kyng, the quene and all the knyghtes wepte for pité of the dolefull complayntes*, but simply that *il plaignoient sa mescheance*. Nor is Lancelot sent for to be told the sad news. But the substance of the dialogue on p. 1097 is contained in Guinevere's monologue at the end of the scene: 'Maleureuse chose, comment osas tu cuidier que Lancelos fust nouveliers, qu'il amast autre dame que toi? Por quoi t'ies tu si traïe et deceüe? Or voiz tu bien que tuit cil de ceste cort te sont failli et t'ont lessiee en si grant perill que tu n'en pues eschaper sans mort, se tu ne trueves qui contre Mador te deffende. . . . Et neporquant par mi le tort que je en ai, se mes amis fust ceans, li plus loiax de touz, cil qui autrefois m'a delivree de mort, je sai bien qu'il me delivrast de cest peril ou je sui enchaiote.' This is a transition to the concluding part of the episode of the Poisoned Apple with which *M* has already dealt.

III

THE GREAT TOURNAMENT

1104. 3. *So at that tyme there was a lady, &c.* The *Mort Artu* introduces here 'li veneueur le roi' and never mentions the 'lady huntress' (cf. *ibid.*, p. 64).
1104. 9-10. *bothe for the strengre and for a bate.* I take this to mean that some of the dogs were trained for the chase and held by the *strengre*, or leash, while others were used for the kill.
1104. 11-12. *had abated her dogge for the bowghe at a barayne hynde* = 'set her dog on a barren hind to bring it to the bow.'
1104. 15-16. *checked hit by the noyse of the hounde to have mette with the hynde at som watir* = 'came to a check because the cry of a hound told them that the hind had been brought to bay at a stream.'
1104. 19. *he* = 'she' (OE. *heo*).
1104. 20. *wente to soyle.* The hind, to cool herself and also to kill the scent, lay in the shallows of the stream.
1110. 27. *thes nine knyghtes.* The total figure is the same in both *C* and *W* (cf. also p. 1111, ll. 12 and 20), but *W*'s list contains ten names and *C*'s eight. The names not included in *C*'s list are *Gaherys* and *Aggravayne*.
1112. 8-10. *And sir Lavayne smote . . . mo than twenty knyghtes. And yet, for all thys, sir Launcelot knew nat sir Gareth.* What *M* probably means is that while Lancelot recognized Lavayne, who had defeated twenty knights, he failed to recognize Gareth whom he knew and who had defeated as many as thirty opponents.

IV

THE KNIGHT OF THE CART

1120. 14, &c. *So hit befelle in the moneth of May, &c.* The *motif* of Guinevere's abduction during a maying expedition occurs nowhere else, but it bears some resemblance to an episode in the French Prose Romance (cf. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, vol. iv, p. 301), in which Bors appears as the protagonist, and to the episode of Bruns de Morois in *Durmart le Galois* (ed. Stengel, ll. 4187-254). For a further parallel with *Durmart*, see 1121. 7-8.
1120. 25-31. *and thes were the namys of the knyghtes, &c.* Of the ten knights only Kay and Dodynas appear in the corresponding place in *F*; Persaunte of Inde and Ironsyde are peculiar to *M*, and Ladynas of the Foreyst Savayge is probably a compound of Ladinus de Benoit and Ladinus de Norgales. On 'Pelleas the Lover', see *Introduction*, p. xxxviii.
1120. 31. *and thes ten knyghtes made them redy.* In *F*, when Dodinial (*M*'s Dodynas) sees that Kay is about to take the Queen away, he says to Arthur, 'Sire, . . . en lairois vos mener ma dame en tel maniere?' Arthur replies

that he is forced to keep his word and forbids Dodinial to attempt to rescue Guinevere from Kay, '«car chose que rois ait creantee ne doit estre desmentie». «Non? fet Dodinials, donc di je que nus n'est honis se rois non, et honi soit qui le veit estre!»' (cf. *Le Conte de la Charrette*, ed. Hutchings, p. 8).

1121. 6-7. *a castell of the gyffte of kynge Arthure within seven myle of Westemynster*. Neither Chrétien de Troyes nor any of his French *remanieurs* refer to Meleagant, son of Baudemagus de Gorre, as the owner of a castle. His only stronghold seems to be the Tour de Marés which he built to incarcerate Lancelot. For another example of this type of localization in *M*, cf. 9. 14-15.

1121. 7-8. *sir Mellyagaunce loved passyngly well quene Gwennyver*. In *Durmart le Galois*, where Bruns de Morois plays a part similar to that of Meleagant in *M*, the following lines (Stengel's edition, ll. 4213-16) are worth noting in connexion with this remark:

Bruns de Morois est molt vailans,
Hauz hom et riches et poissans,
Lonc tens a la roïne amee,
Plus de vii ans l'a desiree.

1121. 21. *and thereby they were called the Quenys Knyghtes*. According to *F* it was Gawain who in the early days of Arthur's reign suggested to his companions that they should become 'the Queen's Knights': '... et aucune gent nous demanderont a qui nous sommes et de quel terre, si dirons nous de la terre de Logres, et des chevaliers la roïne Genievre, la feme au roy Artu' (cf. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, vol. ii, p. 321).

1121. 34-5. *a twenty men of armys and an hondred archars*. In the French versions the archers are not mentioned, but it is quite clear that Meleagant does not come alone. MS. B.N. fr. 12560 (MS. *T*), which alone of the MSS. of Chrétien's poem gives an account of Meleagant's encounter with Kay, speaks of his followers hidden in the wood (ll. 80-3):

Atant s'eslesse et cort el bois,
Au leu ou il furent repos,
Cil qui avec lui venu erent, &c.

1122. 5, &c. *bade the quene and her knyghtis abyde*. &c. In the Prose *Conte de la Charrette* Meleagant challenges Kay to fight 'en la plus bele lande del mont'. On their way they meet Lancelot who asks them who the lady is whom Kay is leading away. He then lets them go on, but follows at a short distance. Meleagant lays hold of the Queen's bridle, saying, 'Venés en, dame!' Kay defies him, and is soon overthrown, but when Meleagant tries to escape with the Queen Lancelot smites him from his horse and charges among his followers. Meleagant recovers from his fall, kills Lancelot's horse under him, and fearing to be pursued bids his men advance. At this moment Gawain arrives bringing with him two led horses, and gives one of them to Lancelot who rides off after Meleagant. They fight again, but Lancelot's horse is once more slain under him, and Meleagant departs with the Queen and Kay to the land of Gorre (op. cit., pp. 11-15).

1122. 10. *a knyght of the Table Rounde*. 'A knyghtes' would have been more

in keeping with *F*, where Baudemagus, not Meleagant, is described as a knight of the Round Table.

1122. 17-18. *I have loved you many a yere.* Cf. 1121. 7-8.

1123. 23-4. *as the Freynshe booke seyth, sir Pelleas, &c.* See *Introduction*, p. xxxviii.

1123. 35, &c. *beare thys ryng unto sir Launcelot du Laake, &c.* Probably *M*'s addition. It is obvious from *F*'s account that Guinevere was at that time so displeased with Lancelot that only by rescuing her could he hope to regain her favour.

1124. 14-15. *that he [myghte gete in his countré to the numbre] of a thirty.* *W*'s reading—that he had of a thirty—represents a 'combined error': first, the words in *his countré to the numbre* dropped out by homœoteleuton, possibly in two stages, then *myghte gete* was changed to *had*.

1124. 27. *to Westemynster.* In *F* the scene of the abduction is Camelot. The identification, which is common enough in *M*, helps to substitute a realistic background for the fairy-tale setting of the original. Cf. G. R. Stewart, 'English Geography in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*' (*Mod. Lang. Review*, vol. xxx, p. 206) and 1065. 4.

1125. 9-10. *to warne sir Lavayne, &c.* The part here assigned to Lavayne corresponds fairly closely to that of Gawain in the *Conte de la Charrette*. In both cases the knight follows Lancelot at the latter's request, finds his horse slain, arrives at Meleagant's castle, and in the absence of Lancelot escorts the Queen and Kay back to Arthur's court. Cf. 1137. 19-22.

1125. 16, 17. *Westmynster Brydge, Temmys, Lambyth.* Cf. 1124. 27. Dr. G. R. Stewart (op. cit.) suggests a curious explanation of *M*'s reference to the 'French Book': 'Malory was writing when armour was at its heaviest and when for a "mare's son" to swim the Thames with an armoured knight on his back would have been the rankest of impossibilities. The book says it, let the book take the responsibility; Sir Thomas will not attempt to foist upon his readers such a fish (*sic*) story.'

1126. 5-6. *'A good man ys never in daungere but whan he ys in the daungere of a cowhard.'* The first *daungere* has the modern sense of 'peril', the second the older sense of 'power'. Cf. Chaucer, *Prol.* 663, and Shakespeare, *M. of V.* iv. i. 180.

1126. 7-8. *was sore acombird of hys armoure, hys shyld, and hys speare.* Although in Chrétien and in the *Prose Charrette* Lancelot appears fully armed, this is not, as in *M*, his reason for hailing the cart.

1126. 14-16. *'Say me, carter,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'what shall I gyff the to suffer me to lepe into thy charyote,' &c.* A remark such as this is contrary to the whole of the French tradition which lies behind the story of the cart. In Chrétien de Troyes, as in the *Prose Romance*, when the dwarf driving the cart says to Lancelot that if he gets into it he will soon see the Queen, Lancelot at first hesitates to accept the dwarf's offer, and in Chrétien's poem this hesitation alone causes his disgrace. In the *Prose Romance* Lancelot's first reaction to the prospect of losing his honour is clearly indicated ('Et Lancelos dist au nain qu'il yra plus volentiers après la charrete que il ne monteroit ens'), but it has no effect on subsequent events, and it is not surprising that it should have been ignored altogether by a fifteenth-century *remanieur* such

as *M*, who knew nothing about its significance in the poem. Not only does *M* suppress all traces of Lancelot's original attitude, but he changes the entire scene into one of a violent dispute between the knight determined from the first to climb into the cart, and the two carters, one of whom loses his life in an attempt to stop him. If Lancelot had behaved in this fashion in Chrétien's story, the central episode of the romance would have become, as indeed it does in *M*, a mere digression.

1126. 23-4. *gaff hym backwarde with hys gauntelet a reremayne*. Caxton substitutes the normal cliché 'gaf hym suche a buffet', forgetting that Lancelot is not attacking another knight and that a woodman would be unworthy of receiving a 'buffet' from him. Cf. p. 1127, l. 30.

1127. 33-1128. 2. *he ranne unto the quene and felle uppon hys kne . . . good grace*. The cowardice of *M*'s Mellyagant is not paralleled in his French prototype. On no occasion does he shrink from combat with Lancelot. It is Baudemagus who, with great difficulty, dissuades him from starting the battle immediately after Lancelot has crossed the Sword Bridge, and it is Baudemagus again who implores the Queen to tell Lancelot to be merciful to Meleagant and end the fight. Cf. 1134. 8-9.

1129. 10-11. *of every shamefull noyse of wysedom to lay adoune* = 'in order wisely to put an end to every shameful rumour.'

1129. 30. *he sette archers* refers to Meleagant.

1130. 8-10. *he sholde com to a wyndow . . . whan all folkes were on slepe*. In the prose version of the *Charrette* Guinevere says to Lancelot, after showing him the window barred with iron: 'Et a cele fenestre porrois auque nuit o moi parler, kar dedens n'enterrés vos mie; si venrois par cest jardin ça deriere, et je vos mosterrai par quel lieu vos i enterrois miels' (op. cit., pp. 92-3).

1130. 11. *So than cam sir Lavayne, &c.* Cf. 1125. 9-10.

1130. 25-7. *they were layde inwyth draughtes by hir chambir, &c.* In the Prose *Charrette* the only wounded knight lying in the Queen's chamber on this occasion is Kay, and there is nothing to suggest that the Queen wished to see that he 'wanted nothyng'.

1130. 29-1131. 5. *he called unto hym sir Lavayne . . . nobody wyth me*. There is no counterpart to this incident in either Chrétien's poem or the Prose Romance (cf. 1131. 35-1132. 2). Nor is it clear from *M*'s context why Lancelot should disclose his secret to Lavayne.

1131. 6-8. *Than sir Launcelot toke hys swerde in hys honde and prevaly wente to the place where he had spyed a ladder toforehande*. Neither the sword nor the ladder is mentioned in the French versions, but while the prose writer omits to explain how Lancelot climbed up to the window, Chrétien says that he was helped by *une piece del mur* which had fallen into the garden (ll. 4586-95).

1131. 24. *kutte the browne of hys hondys*. This is another detail traceable to Chrétien (ll. 4657-64):

Mes si estoit tranchanz li fers
Que del doi mame jusqu'as ners
La premiere once se creva,
Et de l'autre doi se trancha

La premerainne jointe tote;
Mes del sanc qui jus en degote
Ne des plaies nule ne sant
Cil qui a autre chose antant.

The prose text does not mention Lancelot's wound until later (op. cit., p. 94). 'Quant Lancelos entra el lit, si senti la roïne le sanc qui de lui degotoit, et s'estoit des mains dont il ot rompu le cuir al trenchant des fers. Mais ele cuida que ce fust suors.'

1131. 35-1132. 2. *And there he tolde sir Lavayne how that he was hurte . . . put uppon hit a glove, that hit sholde nat be aspyed.* In the French story Lancelot tells no one about his meeting with the Queen (cf. 1130. 29-1131. 5). He notices his wound for the first time when summoned by Baudemagus to the Queen's apartment (*Le Conte de la Charrette*, p. 94). Cf. 1130. 29-1131. 5.

1132. 13. *som of the wounded knyghtes.* In both versions of *F* it is, of course, Kay who is accused (cf. 1130. 25-7). During the night his wounds open afresh and his sheets are stained with blood.

1132. 31. '*Ye shall nat' Away with youre proude langayge!*' The alternative punctuation—*Ye shall not away with youre proude langayge*—would make equally good sense.

1133. 23. *hit wold be takyn at youre handys* = 'your challenge will be accepted'.

1133. 27. *shulde ye be avysed to do batayle* = 'you should beware of doing battle'. Cf. 547. 34.

1133. 30-3. *I say nay playnly*, &c. In the prose version of the *Charrette* it is the Queen who protests against the accusation and calls upon Lancelot to defend her. Lancelot defies anyone to uphold the charge and Meleagant offers to do battle with him.

1134. 8-9. '*Thys day eyght dayes*,' *seyde sir Mellyagaunce*, &c. In *F* (both in Chrétien and in the Prose Romance) this battle takes place beside Baudemagus's castle immediately after the oath has been taken. Thanks to the timely intervention of Baudemagus who entreats the Queen to bid Lancelot spare his opponent, the latter is saved. He swears that he will slay Lancelot before long, but the second battle, which does not begin until after Lancelot's release from the castle of the seneschal of Gorre, proves to be as inconclusive as the first and is followed by a third battle which is fought at Arthur's court. If *M's* version is not the more authentic of the two, it is at least free from some of the obvious defects of the French.

1134. 14. *nother none for you* = either 'and none shall be done to you', or 'no one shall do it for you'.

1134. 33-5. *he trade on a trappe, and the burde rolled*, &c. In the Prose *Charrette* Lancelot, after his first battle with Meleagant, rides with forty followers to seek Gawain. On the road he meets a dwarf who draws him aside, tells him that he has news of Gawain, and takes him to a near-by castle. There Lancelot, expecting to meet Gawain and fearing no treason, advances boldly across the hall which is thickly strewn with rushes, and falls into *une grant fosse qui a plus de deus toisses de parfont*.

1134. 35. *a cave full off strawe*. According to the Prose *Charrette*, 'on i avoit assés herbe mise de gré que il ne se bleçast ne en bras ne en jambes'.

1135. 2. *no more than he that wyste nat where he was. C's reading—as that he nyst, &c.*—is clearly an attempt to get rid of the French construction *comme celui qui*. Cf. 1139. 1.

1135. 25–1136. 30. *Thus leve we sir Launcelot . . . and bade hym to chos of the beste.* In Chrétien and in the prose version Lancelot is imprisoned twice: first in the seneschal's castle (there the seneschal's wife lends him her husband's armour to enable him to go to the tournament of Pomeglai) and again, after his return from the tournament, in the Tour de Marés from which he is rescued by Meleagant's sister. The prototype of the unnamed lady who in *M* visits Lancelot in prison is probably the seneschal's wife, not Meleagant's sister who is nowhere spoken of as being in love with Lancelot. The seneschal's wife agrees to lend Lancelot her husband's armour on condition that he gives her his love. She does not forgo her desire until she realizes that her request is at best untimely: « Otroiez me vos, fet ele, vostre amor? » « Dame, fet il, je vos otroie ce que je puis fere sans contredit. » Et ele le voit hontex, si pense qu'il n'ose plus dire de honte, sel bee tant a servir qu'il soit al revenir tos suens.'

1135. 30–1. *your lady, quene Gwenyver, shall be brente.* Cf. 1137. 6–7.

1137. 6–7. *quene Gwenyver that was brought tyll a fyre to be brente.* This is found neither in Chrétien's poem nor the Prose *Charrette*. *M* seems to have borrowed this trait from an earlier episode of the *Book*.

1137. 19–22. *'And therefore,' seyde sir Lavayne, &c.* It is Gawain who in Chrétien and in the Prose *Charrette* makes this request. Cf. 1125. 9–10.

1138. 3. *Lechés les alere.* The common origin and the frequent confusion of *laisser* and *lâcher* in Old French account for the two variants: *C's lesser* (= 'let') and *W's leches*, the meaning being the same in both cases. *C's aler*, although more correct, is not necessarily more authentic than *W's alere*.

1138. 13–26. *And than sir Launcelot and sir Mellyagaunte dressed them. . . . I put me in the kynges honde and yourres.* This passage follows closely the account of the third battle between Lancelot and Meleagant (cf. 1134. 8–9), except that in the French romance Meleagant does not sue for mercy: Arthur intervenes on his behalf.

1139. 1. *as ho seyth* = 'as she who says' (O.F. 'comme celle qui dit'). *C's* reading—as *though she wold saye*—is probably a deliberate alteration. Cf. 1135. 2.

1139. 4 ff. *Than sir Launcelot bade hym, &c.* From this point the MSS. of the Prose *Charrette* differ among themselves. Those which seem to follow more closely the narrative of Chrétien, where Lancelot pulls off Meleagant's helmet and cuts off his head, make it clear that in reply to Arthur's request Lancelot merely permitted Meleagant to stand while he beheaded him with one blow (cf. op. cit., pp. 111–12). The others, which bear a certain resemblance to *M*, say that to please Arthur Lancelot returned to Meleagant his helmet, his shield, and his sword and agreed to fight him again on condition that if he were defeated a second time he would be beheaded at once (cf. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, vol. iv, p. 225).

1140. 11–13. *And than the kynge and the quene made more of sir Launcelot, &c.* At the feast which followed his victory Lancelot, according to the Prose *Charrette*, was asked to sit at the royal table.

V

THE HEALING OF SIR URRY

- II45. 31-2. *the bondes of Inglonde*. This confirms C's reading—*the bandes of England*—retained in Thomas Wright's edition (vol. iii, p. 260), but altered to 'the lands of England' by most of the recent editors.
- II46. 1-5. *And whan she cam there she made hit to be opynly knowyn . . . why she brought that hurte knyght into that londe*. If Sir Urry's mother has already made it 'openly known' why she brought him to England, there seems to be no need for Arthur to 'aske her the cause why she brought that hurte knyght into that londe'. The inconsistency is typical of the repetitive style of the prose romances and of M's own work.
- II46. 10. *how hys modir discoverde* = 'how the mother of the man who had wounded Sir Urry revealed,' &c. Cf. 897. 12.
- II48. 16-17. *Melyon of the Mountayne* is not, as has hitherto been assumed, distinct from the Melyon de Tartare who appears on pp. 808-9: 'mountayne' is M's translation and 'tartare' his attempt to imitate the sound of the French *tertre* in 'Merlyn (Mellic) del Tertre', the name of a knight in the French Prose *Lancelot* (see *Vulgate Version*, &c., vol. v, pp. 382 and 413).
- II48. 20-33. *sir Severause le Brewse . . . ayenste gyauntis and ayenste dragons and wylde bestis*. Neither the name of Severause le Brewse nor the episode to which M here refers as being related in the French Book has so far been traced to any French romance, and the whole paragraph may well be M's own invention.
- II48. 34-5. *at the kynges rekeyste were [there] at the hyghe feste*. Neither C (*request made hem alle that were there at*) nor W (*rekeyste where they were at*) makes satisfactory sense, but they can both be accounted for on the assumption that the above sentence stood in the original version. One of the early scribes having written *where they* instead of *were they* noticed his mistake, added the correct reading and omitted to expunct *where they*. In the next stage these words were reduced by a homœoteleuton to *were*; as a result W inherited an utterly meaningless variant: *rekeyste where they were*—the result of two successive errors. C's original must have been affected by the first of these errors only; it still contained the word *there*, but it was none the less unintelligible, and to make some sense of it C replaced *where they were there* by *made them (or hem) alle that were there*. Both texts show the 'second degree of corruption', but while in W the second error is purely mechanical, in C it is the result of deliberate correction.
- II49. 9. *wordly knyght* = 'earthly knight' or *chevalier terrien*, used in opposition to *chevalier celestien*.
- II49. 28-II50. 4. *Also that traytoure kynge slew the noble knyght sir Trystram . . . whereof was grete pité*. This is a reminiscence of the story of the lovers' death as told in the French Prose Romance of Tristan. M alters it in one important respect. In the French prose version Iseult dies not of sorrow, but because Tristan strangles her in his last embrace: 'estrait la royne de

tant de force que il li fist le cuer partir—an idea typical of the prose writer's realistic outlook. *M*, no doubt unknowingly, restores something of the original version of the story when he says that *La Beall Isode dyed sownyng uppon the crosse of sir Trystram*. On the genesis of the French prose rendering of this episode, see my *Études sur le Tristan en prose*, pp. 17–20.

1150. 1–2. *And thys sir Bellyngere . . . for he slewe kyng Marke*. On this passage, see *Introduction*, p. xcvi. *C*'s omission of the words *for he*—a simple case of *saut du même au même*—has caused some speculation on the origins of what seemed to be an unusual version of the story of *Tristram*, and it was in order to avoid assuming such a version that I suggested (see my *Roman de Tristan*, p. 220) taking 'Trystram' as accusative and 'Marke' as nominative. The Winchester MS. shows how easy it was for any copyist to mistake the *f* of *for* for the long *s* of *slewe* and so omit *for he*. On the story of Mark's death, see 648. 5–10.

1150. 16–17. *sir Degrave Saunze Vylony that faught wyth the gyaunte of the Blak Lowe*. The nearest French prototype would seem to be 'Greus (Greus) li filz le roi d'Alenie' who achieved the adventure of the 'Laide Semblance' (cf. *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. Sommer, vol. vii, pp. 150 ff.). *Blak Lowe* may well be a distant reminiscence of *l'raue granz et roide* from which Greus rescued, with great bravery, the dead body known as 'la laide semblance': 'ce est uns cors formez petit ausi come uns enfes de trois anz qui fu engendrez d'un chevalier en une femme morte qu'il amoit par amors, et est en semblance de fame qui peri une cité jadis par la folie d'une dame qui l'a traist d'un escriu ou ses sires l'avoit reposte, et li mesme et plus de soixante mille homes qui avoient la cité asise por prendre, et fu en Chipre' (loc. cit.). The *Livre d'Arius* (MS. B.N. fr. 337) in which this incident occurs does not, however, mention Greus's fight with a giant.

1150. 25. *sir Boarte le Cure Hardy that was kyng Arthurs son*. In the French Prose Cycle the name of Arthur's son is Loholt (*var.* Lohot, Lohoot, Hoot) *M* refers to him in the *Tale of King Arthur* as 'Borre'. His source probably contained some such variant as *Hoot* or *Horte*.

1150. 27–9. *sir Marrok the good knyght that was betrayed with his wyff, for he made hym seven yere a warwolff*. The name of Marrok appears earlier on in the *Tale of Arthur and Lucius* and more prominently in the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (ll. 4209–33), where he is seen defending Arthur against Mordred:

For sir Marrake was man merrede in elde,
And sir Mordrede was myghty and [in] his moste strenghis;
Come non within þe compas, knyghte ne non oþer,
Within þe swyng of swerde, þat he ne þe swete leuyd.

It is not clear how Marrok became associated in *M*'s mind with the legend, reminiscent of Marie de France's *Bisclavret*, of the knight changed into a werewolf.

1150. 28. *he* = 'she'. Cf. 1104. 19.

1153. 1. *lat ravyshes prystes and clarkes*. 'Ravyshes' is a gallicism meaning, on the analogy of *ravir* in certain fourteenth- and fifteenth-century French

texts, 'to fetch' or 'to bring'. Cf. Eustache Deschamps, *Virelay* (*Œuvres complètes*, ed. Queux de St. Hilaire, vol. iv, p. 174), ll. 111-113:

Car du tout m'a assevi,
Et ravi
En l'amoureuse contree.

Cf. also the fourteenth-century example quoted by Littré (*Modus*, f° cxix):

. . . les esbas
Et les deduis et les soulas,
Qui par l'ueil au cuer sont ravis (= 'carried')
Sont plus plaisans, a vostre advis.

C was clearly at a loss to understand this use of the word and replaced it by *araye* which, though not altogether inappropriate, makes far less satisfactory sense.

1153. 32-4. *But every nyght and day sir Aggravayne . . . to put hem bothe to a rebuke and a shame.* It seems as though at this point M's mind was already on the initial scene of the *Most Piteous Tale of the Morte Arthur* (cf. p. 1161, ll. 111-114, where the same remark occurs), but that he deliberately interrupted his account of Agravain's intrigue in order to make the *Book of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere* and *The Morte Arthur* appear as two distinct works. Hence the abrupt transition from this sentence to the remark about the 'very mater of *Shyvalere de Charyot*' and the traditional appeal for God's mercy.

1154. 16. *and here on the othir syde folowyth, &c.* C naturally omitted these words. W reproduced them, but took no notice of their meaning and started the next book on the same page.

THE MOST PITEOUS TALE OF THE MORTE ARTHUR SAUNZ GWERDON

THE problem of the provenance of Malory's last romance, *The Morte Arthur Saunz Gwerdon*, has been solved in a manner not uncommon in Arthurian criticism: in order to explain all the peculiarities of Malory's version of the story a 'lost source' has been assumed. Malory agrees in many points with two earlier texts—the French *Mort Artu* (the last branch of the Arthurian Prose Cycle) and the English stanzaic *Le Morte Arthur*; but he has numerous passages which occur in neither. If we assume with J. D. Bruce and others that these passages are 'quite beyond Malory's capability for independent invention'¹ and that he was moreover incapable of dealing with two sources at a time, we must conclude that some *remanieur* had remodelled and expanded the French *Mort Artu*, and that the resulting version was the source both of Malory's work and of the English poem; in other words, that Malory and the author of the poem had a common French original: a 'French modification of the *Mort Artu*, which explains both their correspondences in narrative and the points where each agrees with the *Mort Artu* against the other.'²

With some variations of emphasis this view has until now been held by most critics, including Bruce, Sommer, Mead, Wechssler, and myself.³ The difficulties it raises have had to be ignored, simply because as long as it was believed that Malory was incapable of original invention and that it was 'beyond him' to combine two different sources, no alternative solution seemed possible. But it would be idle to deny that some of the implications of the theory are at best puzzling. The fact that Malory often agrees with the

¹ *Anglia*, vol. xxiii, p. 71.

² *Modern Philology*, vol. xxxvi, p. 125 (R. H. Wilson).

³ See the *Bibliography* at the end of this essay, nos. B 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10. The Bruce-Sommer controversy need not detain us here. It bears far less on Malory's sources than on Sommer's ambiguities. Not unnaturally, Bruce found it difficult to understand what Sommer really meant, whereupon Sommer accused him of bad faith. The episode is of no interest except in so far as it throws some light on the less attractive aspects of the German academic mentality.

English poem against the French Prose Romance need mean no more than that the two English works had a common source. But how did it come about that Malory and the English poet so often used the same words and phrases?¹ Attempts have been made to show that this might be a natural coincidence, and that two English authors translating the same French text were bound to agree occasionally in their choice of words;² but is it possible to explain in the same fashion the reproduction in Malory's text of certain features of the verse structure of *Le Morte Arthur* and of entire metrical lines,³ and to say with J. D. Bruce that these coincidences are 'only such as must occur where two writers are following closely the same original?'⁴ Are they not, on the contrary, evidence of Malory's dependence upon the English poem? To explain some of the more striking verbal agreements between the two texts certain critics—Sommer in his more enlightened moments and J. E. Wells⁵—while adhering to the theory of a 'lost common source', suggested that Malory must have *occasionally* consulted the English poem. But if this were true there would be no case for the common source at all, for whatever Malory has in common with the poem could then be explained by the use he made of it.

Another difficulty about the hypothesis of a 'lost French source' is that it looks uncommonly like some of the least justifiable forms of speculation in the vacuum. Anyone familiar with French Arthurian romance will feel an air of unreality about the assumption of a French version containing just such details as are necessary to account for Malory's. The forty-five extant MSS. of the *Mort Arthu* differ among themselves in minute points of phraseology;

¹ The word-for-word comparison of Malory's text with its sources which I have made for the present purpose has revealed a greater number of verbal parallels than most critics seem to have suspected. Cf. notes 1167. 33-4, 1169. 8-10, 1169. 33, 1192. 28-34, 1211. 24-6, 1211. 27, 1211. 31-2, 1212. 9-5, 1214. 20-1, 1216. 31-4, 1218. 28, 1227. 1-7, 1233. 11-1234. 19, 1237. 29-1238. 9, 1238. 15-27, 1238. 33-1239. 13, 1241. 4-6, 1252. 8-1253. 6, &c.

² Cf. my *Malory*, pp. 150-1.

³ Cf. notes 1212. 1-2, 1212. 3-5, 1218. 12-14, 1235. 32-1236. 11, &c., and R. H. Wilson, art. cit., p. 133.

⁴ See his Introduction to *Le Morte Arthur*, p. xv.

⁵ *A Manual of Writings in Middle English*, p. 49.

but they show few variations of any real importance: they all contain, with one or two insignificant exceptions, precisely the same episodes, arranged in an identical way, the same dialogues and the same digressions. This no doubt may be accidental; but if the French romance, the existence of which is assumed as a means of explaining Malory's *Morte Arthur*, had ever existed, it would not only have differed considerably from every one of these texts, but would have contained innovations unthinkable in the context of French Arthurian fiction: it would have made as little sense in the history of French romance as the hypothetical 'lost source' of Malory's *Book of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere*. And however useful the hypothesis might be for the purpose of solving one of the many problems of Malory's text, its value would be largely offset by the embarrassment it would cause the literary historian.

In good logic, if a theory not contingent upon specific facts, but 'put forward as a more probable explanation of a body of circumstances which *might* be explained otherwise'¹ brings up more difficulties than it can eliminate,² it constitutes a condemnation of the premiss or premisses upon which it is based. And since the theory of Malory's 'lost source' rests primarily on the assumption that he was unable to produce his version with the sole aid of the extant sources, that assumption must next be called in question. All that can be said with certainty in its favour is that some of Malory's earlier works give one the impression of being uninspired and timid *remaniements* of French romances which happened to be within his reach. But if this impression is to be made the basis of an *a priori* judgement, it must first be carefully weighed and analysed. I once ventured to say that 'the great story-teller was seemingly incapable of creating a story' and that 'even though a certain portion of the *Morte Darthur* has not yet been traced to any definite source, it is hard to believe that he himself invented any of its episodes.'³ Much as my views may have changed since as a result of fresh investigation and further thought, I still believe this to be the case, provided that a clear distinction

¹ R. H. Wilson, art. cit., p. 127.

² Ibid., p. 136.

³ Cf. my *Malory*, p. 41.

is made between 'creating' and remodelling. To use once again a typically medieval formula, which has proved to be of some service in another section of these volumes,¹ it is conceivable that a writer ill-equipped for the invention of the *matière* should be able to expand and deepen the *sen*, and even produce his own. 'Invention' in this sense is not beyond the reach of a writer 'incapable of creating a story'; it requires a type of imagination and an attitude of mind which show themselves not in the power to add to the factual elements of narrative, but in a capacity for reflection and analysis; it consists not in the building up of incident, but in the discovery and elaboration of motive by such means as soliloquy, dialogue, and digression. Once this distinction is understood there is nothing in Malory's record as a *remanieur* to disqualify him from the authorship of whatever is new in his *Morte Arthur*, for it all comes under the category of *sen* and not of *matière*. To prove the reverse, J. D. Bruce has compiled the following list of the original features in Malory² which I reproduce *verbatim*, substituting for his page-references to Sommer's text page- and line-references to the present edition:

1. The long conversation between Lancelot and Guinevere when the former has been espied in the queen's chamber, p. 1166, l. 11-p. 1167, l. 6.
2. The latter part of Lancelot's speech to Agravain and his knights whilst Lancelot is still in the queen's chamber, together with the reply of Agravain and Mordred, p. 1168, ll. 3-16.
3. Lancelot's parting with Guinevere after he has slain Agravain and his knights, p. 1168, l. 26-p. 1169, l. 3.
4. Lancelot's interview with his knights who assemble to join him after the affair with Agravain, p. 1170, l. 11-p. 1173, l. 31.
5. The latter part of Arthur's speech on his being told that Guinevere has been carried off and that his knights have been slain, p. 1183, l. 27-p. 1184, l. 11.
6. Lancelot's long speech in excuse of himself when he brings Guinevere back, p. 1198, l. 1-p. 1199, l. 4.
7. Lancelot's final conversation with his knights before leaving Arthur's kingdom, p. 1203, l. 12-p. 1204, l. 11.

¹ *Introduction*, pp. lx-lxvii.

² *Anglia*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 69-70. Reproduced in the Introduction to J. D. Bruce's edition of *Le Morte Arthur*, pp. xiv-xv.

8. Lancelot's consultation with his knights before going out to meet Gawain at the siege of Benwick, p. 1215, ll. 16-25.
9. Gawain's death-bed conversation with Arthur and his letter to Lancelot, pp. 1230, l. 11-p. 1232, l. 10.
10. Lancelot's speech on hearing of the revolt of Mordred, p. 1249, ll. 12-29.
11. The visit of Lancelot to Gawain's tomb, p. 1250, l. 19-p. 1251, l. 7.
12. The warning which Lancelot receives in a vision to go to Guinevere, together with her death and burial, p. 1255, l. 14-p. 1257, l. 11.
13. Hector's lament over Lancelot, p. 1259, ll. 9-21.

J. D. Bruce goes on to say:

'Not only do none of the passages just cited have anything to correspond to them in MH.,¹ but, with the exception of 6 and 9, they have nothing to correspond to them in the Vulgate-Lancelot,² and even in the case of 6 and 9 the corresponding passages of the Vulgate-Lancelot could not be taken as furnishing more than mere hints for the passages in Malory. Either we must explain them then as additions made by Malory to the story . . . or we have the alternative possibility that they are derived from the lost romance. . . . Considering Malory's method of regularly condensing, or, to use Caxton's own term, "reducing" his originals rather than expanding them, it is in the highest degree improbable that within the compass of these two books³ he should have invented so many distinctive additions as those enumerated above.'

But is this really so? Bruce admits that in the case of items 6 and 9 the *Mort Artu* as represented in the extant MS. tradition could have furnished some hints for the passages in Malory; and it will be seen from the notes on the relevant extracts that the same is true of items 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, and 12, as well as of a number of other passages not listed by Bruce.⁴ In some instances Malory's sources furnish very definite 'hints'; elsewhere he shows more initiative; but in all these cases he does no more than elaborate the essential *données* of the original by means of soliloquies, dialogues, or entire scenes suggested by it. The kind of

¹ = *Le Morte Arthur*.

² Bruce is here referring to the *Mort Artu* as a branch of the 'Vulgate-Lancelot'.

³ Books XX and XXI of Caxton's edition.

⁴ See notes 1174. 30-1177. 7, 1184. 26-7, &c.

originality that this procedure requires is certainly not the same as that which is needed to 'create a story', and to show this it may be best to begin with a very simple example. After their conversation with Agravain, Gawain and Gareth depart, according to the *Mort Artu*, 'tant dolent qu'il ne sevent qu'il doient fere'. In the English poem the scene is described as follows:

Welle they wyste that all was shente
And syr Gawayne by God than swere:
'Here now [is] made a comsemente
That bethe not fynyshyd many a yere.

Malory writes (p. 1162, ll. 30-3):

... 'they three departed makynge grete dole. "Alas!" seyde sir Gawayne and sir Gareth, "now ys thys realme holy destroyed and myscheved, and the noble felyshyp of the Rounde Table shall be disparbeled."'

This kind of amplification used on a somewhat bigger scale would account for the genesis of most, if not all, of the new features found in Malory. In the passage which goes from p. 1170, l. 11 to p. 1173, l. 31 (item 4 in Bruce's list)—the longest addition of all—Malory's contribution consists in expanding the short speeches of Bors and Ector into a lively dramatic dialogue; instead of being told by Bors, in a sermon-like fashion, where his duty lies, Lancelot asks Bors and Ector to tell him what he ought to do, and when they say 'in one voice' that he must rescue the Queen, he replies:

I must do much harme or I rescow her, and peradventure I shall there destroy som of my beste fryndis, and that shold moche repente me.

The remark is full of premonitions; it anticipates the central event of the story—the death of Gareth at the hands of Lancelot—which is to lead to Gawain's quarrel with Lancelot and so cause Arthur's defeat on the battlefield. All that Malory does is to focus the reader's attention on the existing sequence of events and their meaning. There is nothing more in it than what so frequently occurs elsewhere in his books: a consistent working out of a given theme.

Nor does Malory necessarily require a 'hint' from his source to be able to do this. There are no such hints for items 2 (p. 1168, ll. 3-16), 7 (p. 1203, l. 12-p. 1204, l. 11), 8 (p. 1215, ll. 16-25), and 13. Yet in each of these cases the passages not traceable to the extant *Mort Artu* bear the stamp of Malory's workmanship: they contain nothing but lyrical or dramatic discourses. The action remains unaltered; it is merely made more vivid and more readily intelligible. There are only two passages—items 11 and 12 in Bruce's list—that call for special comment, because at first sight they seem more difficult to account for than the others: item 11 (p. 1250, l. 19-p. 1251, l. 7) refers to Lancelot's visit to Gawain's tomb and item 12 (p. 1255, l. 14-p. 1257, l. 11) to the story of Guinevere's death and burial. Both passages, therefore, seem to introduce new elements of *action* as distinct from mere rhetorical elaboration. But on closer scrutiny they both appear to have the same origin as all the other passages which are not traceable to Malory's extant sources: they are merely the expression of his own conception of the Death of Arthur story. The tragedy of the Round Table as he saw it was not just an example of the instability of man's destiny, nor simply an illustration of the 'Wheel of Fortune' theme. How indifferent he was to any such interpretation of it and how little he made in particular of the Wheel of Fortune will be seen from his treatment of two of the most important passages in his French source.¹ Nor did he follow the latter in its attempts to relate the downfall of Arthur's kingdom to the failure of the 'worldly' knights to achieve the quest of the Grail. The final catastrophe was to him less a drama of Fate than a human drama determined from first to last by the tragic clash of human loyalties. With remarkable consistency he emphasized throughout his work the ties of friendship and affection between his protagonists—Gawain and Lancelot, Lancelot and Guinevere, Lancelot and Arthur. It is Lancelot's loyalty to Guinevere that causes him, in his anxiety to protect her, to act with such rashness as to destroy unwittingly the man he loves most—Gareth, Gawain's brother. It is not vindictiveness, as in the

¹ See notes 1230. 11-1232. 17, and 1233. 11-1234. 19.

French romance, but genuine grief that turns Lancelot's truest friend, Gawain, into a mortal enemy. And above all, Arthur's affection for the two opponents, his genuine sorrow at their fateful strife serve as a reminder, full of significance to the reader, but unheeded by the protagonists, of the human nobility and greatness which their tragic folly brings to an end. The tragic complex, here as in any such type of drama, depends upon the contrast between the possible good and the inevitable evil: between the harmony that might have been and the human fatality that works against it. Having transferred the tragedy of Arthurian knight-hood to this essentially human plane, Malory could only make it convincing by emphasizing those emotions which, in his conception, had brought it about—the passionate feudal loyalty of man to man, and the self-denying devotion of the knight-lover to his lady. Hence the two burial scenes, so strikingly similar; Lancelot's visit to Gawain's tomb, where he 'kneled downe . . . and wepte, and prayde hartely for hys soule . . . and lay two nyghtes uppon hys tumb',¹ and a few pages further down the vision that 'charged hym, in remysson of his synnes, to haste hym unto Almysbury: "And by thenne thou come there, thou shalt fynde quene Guenever dede."' In aptness and depth of feeling there is nothing comparable to this in the whole of Malory's work; and if the rough outline of it was suggested to him by the English poem² the emotional significance of the scene is inseparable from Malory's own interpretation and treatment of the Death of Arthur theme:

. . . 'my sorow may never have ende. For whan I remembre of hir beaulté and of hir noblesse, that was bothe wyth hyr kyng and wyth hyr, so whan I sawe his corps and hir corps so lye togyders, truly myn herte wold not serve to susteyne my careful body.' . . . Thenne syr Launcelot never after ete but lytel mete, nor dranke, tyl he was dede, for than he seekened more and more and dried and dwyned awaye. . . . For evermore . . . he was lyeng groveling on the tombe of kyng Arthur and quene Guenever, and there was no comforte that the Bysshop nor syr Bors, nor none of his felowes coude make hym, it avaylled not.

¹ Pp. 1250-1.

² See note 1255. 14-1257. 11.

In the French *Mort Artu* and in the English poem Lancelot dies of an illness caused by his life of penance:

‘Quatre anz fu Lancelos leanz en tel maniere qu’il n’iert hom nez qui tant poïst sofrir peinne et travaill comme il soufroït de jeuner et de veillier et d’estre en prieres et de lever matin. . . . Au quinziesme jor devant mai acoucha Lancelos malades; et quant il senti qu’il le couvenoït trespasser, il pria l’arcevesque et Bleobleeris que si tost comme il sera deviez, qu’il portassent son cors a la Joieuse Garde et le meïssent en la tombe ou li cors Galeholt, le segnor des Lointeingnes Illes, fu mis.’¹

The stanzaic *Le Morte Arthur* sums up this passage as follows (ll. 3826–37):

Holyche all tho sevyng yerys
Lancelot was preste and masse songe;
In penance and in dyverse prayers
That lyffe hym thought nothyng longe . . .
So lytell they wexe of lyn and lerys,
They to know it was stronge.
Hytt felle agayne an euyn-tyde
That Launcelot sekenyd sely sare;
The bysshop he clepyd to his syde
And all hys felaws lesse and mare.

In neither of these texts is Lancelot’s death in any way related to his grief; he falls ill as the result of his devotion to religious duty, not because in his sorrow he refuses food and drink and lies ‘groveling on the tombe of kyng Arthur and quene Guenever’. It is as Guinevere’s faithful lover that in Malory he becomes a hermit; it is not of the sins he committed against God, but of the sorrow he caused her and Arthur that in Malory he repents; and it is as her lover that Malory wants him to die, so that the ‘dolorous death and departing’ of the noblest of Arthur’s knights should appear as the denouement of the noblest story of human love. To credit anybody but Malory with the invention of the two burial scenes would not only mean assuming the existence of his own version of the Arthur story in a climate distinctly unfavourable to it; it would mean ignoring the entire pattern of the drama of the Round Table as he conceived it, a pattern of which the two scenes form an integral part.

¹ *Mort Artu*, ed. Frappier, pp. 235–6.

And if one is to judge hypotheses by the degree of their probability, one cannot escape the conviction that the only reasonable one in the present instance would be that which made Malory responsible for the simultaneous use of the *Mort Artu* and *Le Morte Arthur* and for the invention of each of the passages untraceable to either.¹

The acceptance of such an hypothesis is made considerably easier by the knowledge we now possess of Malory's evolution as a writer. Until now a good deal of the difficulty has been due to the fact that the Malory of the early romances could not in any way be differentiated from the Malory of the later ones; and because in his early work he showed so little initiative, it was hard to believe that he could have had as much of it as was necessary for the original passages in his last two romances. If, however, his work is examined, as it should be, genetically, and his progress traced from beginning to end, it becomes obvious that there was in his case a consistent, though somewhat slow, evolution towards a higher degree of independence in the interpretation of the narrative material, and even in the refashioning of that material for purposes of reinterpretation. The *Book of Sir Tristram* and the *Quest of the Sancgreal* show the early stages of this process; in the *Book of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere* a new and very considerable advance is made both in the handling of rhetoric and in the use of emotional description for a set purpose; but it is not until his last book—the one which for obvious reasons the author valued above all the others—that he shows real mastery in this field. No wonder, then, that when at long last he feels able to adopt a new attitude towards his models he is no longer concerned with reproducing what 'the French book said': he knows what to look for, and only uses his sources in so far as they serve his design. When, in his very first work, the *Tale of King Arthur and the Emperor Lucius*, he had as a model the alliterative *Morte Arthur* he looked upon it as a text to be carefully followed,

¹ On somewhat different grounds, some of which are open to criticism, Dr. R. H. Wilson reaches a similar conclusion (art. cit., p. 138): 'Malory's general faithfulness to his sources, and tendency to compress, need have been no bar to changes serving a specific purpose, particularly in the highly significant passages at the end of the story.'

and whenever he wanted to condense it he chose from it the words and phrases that could be fitted into an abridged paraphrase. The stanzaic *Le Morte Arthur*, on the other hand, which he had before him in composing his own version of the Death of Arthur story, was to him a mere summary of the incidents upon which he built his narrative; and if he sometimes borrowed phrases or even complete sentences from it, it was in order to fit them into a context quite distinct in style and manner from that of the poem. He knew, besides, that the poem could only provide him with the skeleton of the story, and that he had to look elsewhere for its rhetorical and psychological elaboration. This he found to some extent in the French *Mort Artu*, and even though its interpretation of the episodes differed from his own, it supplied him with as much emotional background and as many examples of good rhetoric as he needed for his purpose. The two sources thus became complementary, and neither of them had to be treated as a model: they merely provided the material which the author, in full possession of his own resources, could mould in accordance with his own sense of tragic action.

On his achievement I need not dwell here at any length, though it is perhaps the most fascinating one in the whole field of Arthurian romance. As the story moves from Arthur's court to Joyous Gard, thence to the besieged Benwick and finally back to Britain where Arthur dies bereft of his fellowship, the carefully extended narrative threads are drawn together and the action is brought to its true climax. The essential quality which gives such action its tragic power is that at no point does it appear fortuitous; it arises not from the accidents of human life, nor from the momentary weaknesses of the protagonists, but from the depths of their noblest passions, from the uncompromising sincerity of their devotion to a chosen aim. Lancelot once rescued Gawain, and he knighted Gareth; and when the curtain is raised on the first scene of the *Morte Arthur* both Gawain and Gareth have for long been true to him. While other knights are plotting against him, Gawain indignantly exposes their treacherous schemes: 'And as for sir Launcelot, I dare say he woll make hit good uppon ony knyght lyvyng



Ric dist li cōtes le quant li
 rois artus sejournoit acama
 loth ap's la mort gaheriet iūten la ssa
 blee. au iour le lassamlee fu nommee
 peust on veoir en la pnerie de cōma
 aloth. teus. r̄. hōmes q̄ dñe part
 q̄ dautre. dont il ni avoit nul hōme
 q̄ on ne tenist apren chrl' i quant il

VII. The death of Gaheriet (MS. Rylands Fr. 1)

that woll put uppon hym vylany or shame, and in lyke wyse he woll make good for my lady the quene.'¹ And when Arthur tells him to 'make redy, for she shall have sone her jugement', "Alas," he says, "that ever I shulde endure to se this wofull day!" So sir Gawayne turned hym and wepte hartely, and so he wente into hys chambir.'² But in rescuing Guinevere Lancelot slays the unarmed Gareth unwittingly, as in the type of tragedy that Aristotle liked best, and Gawain's love is turned to hate:

'Alas,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'now ys my joy gone!'

And than he felle downe and sowned, and longe he lay there as he had ben dede. And whan he arose oute of hys swoughe he cryed oute sorowfully and seyde,

'Alas!'

And forthwith he ran unto the kynge, cryng and wepyng, and seyde,

'A, myne uncle kynge Arthur! My good brother sir Gareth ys slayne. . . . My kynge, my lorde, and myne uncle . . . wyte you well, now I shall make you a promyse whych I shall holde be my knyghthode, that frome thys day forewarde I shall never fayle sir Launcelot untill that one of us have slayne that other.'³

The mortal war is now at hand. And yet, at Joyous Gard as at the siege of Benwick, Lancelot's behaviour is marked by that heroic sense of loyalty which permeates the whole action. When Bors unhorses Arthur, Lancelot alights and helps him back into the saddle; and 'whan kynge Arthur was on horsebak he loked on sir Launcelot, than the teerys braste oute of hys yen, thynkyng of the grete curtesy that was in sir Launcelot more than in any other man'.⁴ Forced at long last to meet Gawain in single combat at the siege of Benwick, Lancelot twice lays him low, and twice refuses to take his life. Soon after, however, just as Arthur's kingdom is threatened by Mordred, Gawain dies of his wound. On his death-bed he relents, bidding Arthur send for Lancelot; but it is all too late: what Arthurian knighthood has lost through the fatal encounter of the two truest friends can never be recovered. In lamenting the death of Gawain Arthur laments the fall of his realm, made inevitable by the fatal interplay of human loyalties. There is no moral to be

¹ P. 1175.

² P. 1177.

³ Pp. 1185-6.

⁴ P. 1192.

drawn from this, no comfort for those who live to see the Day of Destiny, no 'trust to trust in' for those who are left to mourn the dead: nothing but the knowledge that so must end the noblest of human conflicts. And in the silence of Salisbury Plain the death of the last of Arthur's knights and his own departure to Avalon appear as the only fitting ending to this tragic tale of human greatness—of love and loyalty for ever lost through their own passionate exuberance which

like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity.

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I

SLANDER AND STRIFE

1161. 15. *So hyt myssefortuned, &c.* The two preceding paragraphs, untraceable to *M*'s sources, form a fitting opening and state in simple terms the reasons for the 'great anger and unhappiness' which befell Arthur's kingdom. From l. 15, however, *M* takes up the earlier versions. Cf. *Mort Artu* (ed. Frappier), p. 85: 'Il avint un jor qu'il estoient tuit cinc en mi le palés'; *Le Morte Arthur*, ll. 1672-3:

A tyme befelle, sothe to sayne,
The knyghtis stode in chambyr and spake.

1161. 19-23. *I merwayle that we all be nat ashamed bothe to se and to know, &c.* There is no such speech by Agravain in the corresponding scene in the *Mort Artu*, but the substance of it is found in the English poem (1676-87):

'Allas' than sayde syr Agrawayne,
'How fals men schalle we vs make!
And how longe shalle we hele and layne
The treson of Launcelote du Laké!
Wele we wote, withouten wene,
The kynge Arthur oure eme sholde be,
And Launcelote lyes by the quene;
Ageyne the kynge traytor is he;
And that wote all the curte bydene,
And iche day it here and see;
To the kynge we shulde it mene,
Yif ye wille do by the counselle of me.'

1161. 24-1162. 20. *Than spake sir Gawayne, &c.* Gawain's speech in *Le Morte Arthur* (ll. 1688-1711) corresponds to *M*'s 1161. 25-7, 31-4, and 1162. 3-11. The eulogy of Lancelot with which Gawain concludes his last speech in *M* is an expansion of ll. 1698-9:

Kynge and courte hade ofte bene slayne,
Nad he bene better than we mo.

1162. 4. *betwyxte sir Launcelot [and us]*. I feel justified in supplying *and us* from *C*, because in *W* the preceding words occur at the end of a line and the absence of *and us* seems to be a case of 'interlinear omission'.

1162. 19-20. 'Do ye as ye lyste,' seyde sir [Aggrav]ayne, 'for I woll layne hit no lenger. C's reading is clearly authentic. W shows two successive errors: the substitution of *Gawayne* for *Aggravayne* by contamination, and the subsequent insertion of *but* before *do ye as ye lyste*.

1162. 24-30. 'Than God spede' . . . departed makynge grete dole. The departure is described in ll. 1720-3 of *Le Morte Arthure*:

Gawayne to hys chambyr wente,
Off thys tale nolde he noight here;
Gaheriet and Gaheryes of hys asente
Withe here brother went they there.

M has not only dramatized the scene, but has taken the opportunity of stressing once more Gareth's allegiance to Lancelot. In the *Mort Artu* (p. 86) Gareth alone (*Gaheriet*) accompanies Gawain, and Gaherys (*Guerrehés*) stays behind. The fact that he is more reluctant than the other two brothers—Agravain and Mordred—to attack Lancelot, may have suggested to the English *remanieur* the possibility of dispensing with him altogether and of placing the whole responsibility for the plot on the two 'unhappy knyghtis'.

1162. 30-3. These lines provide an interesting parallel to the two earlier texts:

Mort Artu, p. 86:

Ensi s'en vont li dui
frere tant dolent qu'il
ne sevent qu'il doient
fere (*var.* devenir ne
dire).

Le Morte Arthure,
1724-7

Welle they wyste that
all was shente
And syr Gawayne by
God than swere:
'Here now [is] made a
comsemente
That bethe not fyn-
ysshyd many a yere.

Malory:

they three departed
makynge grete dole.
'Alas!' seyde sir Ga-
wayne and sir Gareth,
'now ys thys realme
holy destroyed and mys-
cheved, and the noble
felyshyp of the Rounde
Table shall be dis-
parbeled.'

It is clear that the English poem stands half-way between the two other versions and that the process is one of consistent expansion reaching its highest point in *M*.

1163. 4-5. *Here ys I and my brothir sir Mordred brake unto my brothir sir Gawayne, sir Gaherys and to sir Gareth.* The only parallel to this remark is the opening sentence of Agravain's speech in the *Mort Artu* (p. 87): 'Je disoie a monseigneur Gauvain, mon frere, et a Gaheriet et a mes autres freres', &c. There is nothing corresponding to this in *Le Morte Arthure*.

1163. 16. *takyn with the dede.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthure*, ll. 1746-7:

What were now thy beste consayle
For to take hym with the dede.

The phrase is modelled on the French *fetes tant que vous le preigniez prouvez* (*Mort Artu*, p. 87).

1163. 20-5. *For, as the Freynshe booke seyth, &c.* Neither the French

romance nor the English poem has anything corresponding to this paragraph. On the eve of the first episode of the 'piteous tale' *M* is anxious to stress Arthur's affection for Lancelot and his reluctance that 'such a noyse shulde be uppon' him. In *Le Morte Arthure* (ll. 1736-51) Arthur regrets that a man of such 'beauty, bounty and nobility' should be a traitor, but does not hesitate to take action against him in accordance with Agravain's wishes. In the *Mort Artu* he encourages Agravain and his brothers to act without delay: 'De moi, fet li rois, ne vos esmaiez; mes fetes ce que ge vos di, qu'il soient pris ensemble, se vos poez; et si le vos requier seur le serement que vos me feistes quant vos fustes compaignon de la Table Reonde' (pp. 87-8).

1163. 26-32. 'My lord,' seyde sir Aggravayne, &c. Agravain's speech combines the two versions: the remark *doute ye nat, sir Launcelot woll nat go wyth you* is reminiscent of the French (*Mort Artu*, pp. 88-9) *il remeindra moult volentiers*, while the suggestion that Arthur should pretend that he is to be away all night is only found in the English poem (1754-5):

And sythen send word to the quene
That ye wille dwelle withoute all nyght.

Cf. also the following sentence on the next page (ll. 7-8):

M: *Le Morte Arthur*, 1762-3:

sente worde to the quene sent word to the quene
that he wolde be oute all that nyght That he wolde all nyght oute abyde.

1164. 9. *twelve knyghtes*. The same number, but without the names of the knights, is given in *Le Morte Arthure* (1756). The *Mort Artu* says simply that Agravain had with him 'grant compaignie . . . de chevaliers' (p. 91). For a similar alteration, cf. 1254. 36-8.

1164. 24-6. *And never gaff my hartie ayenste no goynge, that ever ye wente to the quene, so much as now*. The tautology is the result of confusion between two constructions. The preposition *ayenste* can govern a verbal noun (*goynge*) or a noun clause (*that ever ye wente*). *M* has made it govern both in the same sentence.

1165. 11-13. *whether they were abed other at other maner of disportis, me lyst nat thereof make no mencion, for love that tyme was nat as love ys nowadayes*. Conscious as he is of the difference between the 'old love' and 'love as it fareth nowadays', *M* follows neither *Le Morte Arthure* (1806: 'To bede he gothe with the quene') nor the French (p. 92: 'se coucha avec la roïne'), both of which might, in his view, convey the wrong idea of how lovers were expected to behave in Arthur's time.

1166. 11-1167. 6. *Than he toke the quene in hys armys . . . be thou my shyld and myne armoure*. There is nothing in the extant texts that can be regarded as a counterpart to this except perhaps Guinevere's remark in the French *Si m'en poise, se Dex m'ait, plus por vos que por moi*, which *M* very fittingly puts in Lancelot's mouth (*I am more hevyyar for than for myself*) just as Lancelot is about to face his enemies.

1167. 18-20. *with hys lyffte honde he hylde hit opyn a lyryll, that but one man myght com in at onys*. In the other two versions Lancelot takes no

precautions: he opens the door and tells the knights to come in (*Le Morte Arthur*. 'the chamber dore he sette up ryght; *Mort Artu*: 'oeuvre l'uis et dit qu'il viengnent avant').

1167. 21. *Collgrevaunce of Goore*. Lancelot's first victim in the *Mort Artu* is *Tanaguins* (var. Tamagins, Tanighes, Savagins, Chanaguins, Joachin, Jahachins). No name is given in *Le Morte Arthur*.

1167. 33-4. *wyte you well, sir Aggrawayne, ye shall nat preson me thys nyght*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, ll. 1852-3:

Now know thou wele, syr Agrawayne,
Thow presons me no more to-nyght.

1168. 19. *he slewe sir Aggrawayne*. So in *Le Morte Arthur* (1858). The *Mort Artu* has instead 'fiert si le premier qu'il encontre qu'il le porte a terre tout estendu en tel maniere qu'il n'a povoir de soi relever' (p. 93). Agravain reappears in the next scene (pp. 96 ff.).

1168. 19-20; 23. *and anone aftir twelve of hys felowys . . . also he wounded Mordred*. Not in the *Mort Artu*. In *Le Morte Arthur* Lancelot, having slain Agravain, overcomes all the other knights and puts Mordred to flight, but there is no mention of any of them being killed or wounded.

1168. 26-1169. 3. '*Madame, now wyte you well alloure trew love ys brought to an ende*' . . . *wente untill hys lodgyng*. The only parallel to this scene in *M*'s sources is the brief dialogue in the *Mort Artu*, which occurs *before* Lancelot faces his enemies for the second time: '« Dame, ceste guerre est finee; quant vos plera, ge m'en irai, que ja por home qui ci soit nel lerai. » La reine dist qu'ele voudroit qu'il fust a sauveté, que qu'il deust de lui avenir' (p. 93).

1169. 8-10. '*Sir, seyde sir Bors, after ye were departed frome us we all,*' &c. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, ll. 1874-7:

'Syr,' sayd Bors the hardy knyght . . .
Owre knyghtis haue be drechyd to-nyght,
That som nakyd oute of bed spronge.

Not in the *Mort Artu*.

1169. 33. *lat us take the wo and the joy togydir* is modelled on l. 1891 of the English poem: *Aftir the wele to take the wo*. *C*'s reading, agreeing as it does with this line almost word for word, might seem to suggest that *W*'s *the joy* is a corruption of *the wele*. But *M* may well have altered *wele* to *joy*, and *C*, without any reference to the poem, may have restored the original idiomatic phrase. The same phrase occurs again in *M* on p. 1171, l. 22.

1170. 1-1173. 31. '*Grauntmercy, seyde sir Launcelot . . . what the kynge wold do*'. That nearly the whole of this dialogue was added by *M* there can be little doubt. The only model he seems to have had is the following passage in the *Mort Artu* (p. 94):

'« Ha! sire, fet Boorz, or vaut pis que devant, car ore est la chose descouverte que nous avions tant celee. Or verroiz la guerre commencer qui ja més ne prendra fin a nos vivans (cf. *M* 1171. 9-10: 'I am sure there nys but warre unto me and to myne'). Car se li rois vos a jusques ci amé plus que nul home, de tant vos haïra il plus des qu'il savra que vos li meffesiez tant com de lui vergonder sa fame. Or couvient que vos

esgardeiz comment nos le ferons entre nos, car ge sei bien que li rois nos sera des ore mes ennemi mortex; mes de ma dame la roïne qui por vos sera livree a mort me poise trop, se Dex m'aïst. Si vouldroie bien, s'il pooit estre, que l'en i meist conseil en tel maniere qu'ele fust delivree de cest afere a sauveté de son cors» (cf. *M* 1171. 25-32).

'A cest conseil seurvint Hestor. Quant il sot que la chose est a ce venue, il en fu tant dolans que nus plus, si dist: « Li mieuz que ge i voie, si est que nos partons de ceanz et alons en cele forest la dehors (cf. *M* 1173. 29-30: 'they put hem all in a wood') en tel maniere que li rois, qui orendroit i est, ne nos truiet. . . » A cest conseil s'acorde Lancelos et Boors; si font maintenant monter chevaliers et sergenz, et estoient par conte trente et uît (cf. *M* 1170. 24), et vont tant qu'il sont de la vile issu, et se metent en l'oraille de la forest, la ou il la savoient plus espesse, por ce qu'il soient meins aperceu jusqu'au soir.'

1171. 4. *there* [*be a forecaste*] *nerehonde*. The homœoteleuton in *W*—*there by nerehonde*—shows that in one of the earlier copies *there by* was spelt *there be*. Cf. p. 1190, l. 2.

1171. 17. *and I may be harde and suffrde and so takyn* = 'if I may be heard, and allowed [to fight for the Queen], and if my offer is accepted.'

1171. 22. *ye shall take the woo wyth the weall*. Cf. 1169. 33.

1171. 24. *and ye woll youreselfe*. 'Keep' is understood after *woll*.

1173. 32 ff. *Now turne we agayne, that whan sir Mordred was ascaped, &c.* Here *M* takes up his English source again (1904 ff.):

Mordreit than toke a way full gayne,
And to the forest wente he right
Hys auntures tolde, for sothe to sayne,
That were byfallyn that ylke nyght.

There is no reference to Mordred in the corresponding place in the *Mort Artu*. Nor does the French romance say how the news of the discovery of Lancelot and Guinevere reached Arthur: 'A eure de none vint li rois del bois. Et quant il fu descenduz en la cort aval, tantost li vint la nouvele de la reine qui avoit esté prise avec Lancelot; si en fu moult dolenz li rois et demanda se Lancelos avoit esté retenuz. « Sire, font il (= 'cil qui furent a l'uis de la chambre'), nenil, qu'il se deffendi si durement que ce ne feïst nus hom qu'il a fet »' (3. 95).

1174. 2. *sore wounded and all forbled*. Cf. 1168. 19-20; 23.

1174. 18; 28-9. *my quene muste suffir dethe*. In the *Mort Artu*, as in *Le Morte Arthur* (1920-5), the Queen is sentenced to death by the barons, not by Arthur: 'Et au matin, a eure de prime, quant li baron furent assemblé el palés, si dist li rois: « Seigneur, que doit l'en fere de la reine par droit jugement? » Et li baron . . . distrent qu'il esgardeient par droit qu'ele en devoit morir a honte' (p. 96). The reason for the change is not that *M*'s Arthur is less humane (cf. 1163. 20-5), but that *M*'s conception of kingship tends to transform a feudal overlord into a fifteenth-century monarch. Cf. 1049. 24-1051. 6.

1174. 23-4. *othir the menour othir the takynge wyth the dede* = 'either the behaviour [of the accused] or the capture *flagrante delicto*'. The distinction

is similar to that between direct and circumstantial evidence. On *C*'s misreading of *menour* for *men*, perpetuated in all later editions, see *Introduction*, pp. xciv-xcv.

1174. 30-1177. 7. *Than spake sir Gawayn . . . and wepþe hartely*. These pages provide one of the most striking examples of *M*'s art of dialogue. But the real significance of the scene lies in the fact that it brings out Gawain's affection for Lancelot and his sense of loyalty, both of which are essential to the tragic plot of the story as conceived by *M*.

The degree of expansion can best be seen from a comparison of *M*'s text with the following extract from the *Mort Artu* (p. 97), which, so far as it is possible to judge, was all that *M* found in his immediate source:

'Quant messire Gauvains vit que li jugemenz estoit a ce menez que la mort la reine i estoit toute esclairee, lors dist que, se Deu plect, ja ceste dolour n'egardera que il voie morir la dame del mont qui greigneur enneur li a portee. Lors vient messire Gauvains au roi, si li dit: « Sire, ge vos rent quanque ge tieng de vos, ne ja mes jor de ma vie ne vos servirai, se vos ceste desloiauté souffrez. » Li rois ne li respont mot a ce qu'il dit, car il entendoit a autre chose; et maintenant messire Gauvains se part de court et s'en vet droit a son ostel si grant duel fesant com s'il veist devant li mort tout le monde.'

In *Le Morte Arthur* this is reduced to a few lines (1934-9):

The kynge Arthure that ylke tyde
Gawayne and Gaherys for sent;
Here answeres were noȝt for to hyde,
They ne wolde noȝt be of hys assente;
Gawayne wolde neuyr be nere bysyde
There any woman shuld be brente.

It is clear that neither the French romance nor the English poem could have suggested to *M* more than the bare outline of the scene. In *Le Morte Arthur* he could have found little to inspire him; the *Mort Artu* probably suggested to him some of the emotional background of the dialogue; but all the substance and the rhetorical elaboration of it are his own.

1176. 25-9. '*My lorde, seyde sir Gawayne, &c.* *M* explains why Gareth and Gaheris agreed to watch the punishment of Guinevere: 'they are yonge and full unable to say you nay.' No such reason is given in his sources.

1176. 31-1177. 2. '*Sir, ye may well commaunde us to be there, &c.* A paraphrase of Gaheriet's reply to Agravain in the *Mort Artu*: 'Ore, Agravain, fet Gaheriet, cuidiez vos que g'i soie venuz por moi mesler a Lancelot, se il vouloit la reine rescorre? Or sachiez bien que ja ne me mellerai a lui; einz voudroie ge miez qu'il la tenist toz les jorz de sa vie einz que ele moreust issi' (p. 98).

1177. 8-9. *the queene was lad furthe withoute Carlyle, and anone she was dispoyled into her smokke*. Cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 97: . . . 'en la prerie de Kamaalot . . . li rois commande que l'en li amaint avant la reine, et ele vint moult plorant, et ot vestue une robe de cendal vermeill, cote et mantel.'

1177. 24-30. *For there was slayne, &c.* Whatever else *M*'s source may have contained, it is fairly certain that this list of names was not in it. None of

the names occurs either in the French or in *Le Morte Arthur*. The *Mort Artu* relates at this point the death of Agravain at Lancelot's hands (cf. 1168. 19) as well as that of Gawain's other brothers (Guerrhés and Gaheriet) and adds that on Arthur's side only three knights out of eighty remained alive. The English poem gives no details at all (1960-1):

Lordyngys that were myche of mayne
Many goode were brought to grounde.

1178. 6-15. *than he rode streyt unto quene Gwennyver . . . and there he keppe her as a noble knyght shulde*. Lancelot's departure from the scene of the battle is described at some length in the *Mort Artu* (pp. 100-2); *Le Morte Arthur* dismisses it with the remark (1964-5):

The quene thay toke withoute layne,
And to the foreste gonne they founde.

The details given in *M*'s ll. 7-9 are an elaboration of the French 'lors la montent seur un palefroi et s'en vont en la forest' (p. 100), and the reference to the French Book in ll. 13-14 is fully justified: '« Ou est, fet Boorz, cist chastiax que vos dites, et comment il a non? » « Il a non, fet Lancelos, li chastiax de la Joiouse Garde; mes quant je le conqui, a cel point que je fui noviax chevaliers, l'en apeloit la Dolereuse Garde. » . . . Atant se partent de leanz et chevauchent tant par leur jornees qu'il vindrent a quatre liues de la Joiouse Garde.'

II

THE VENGEANCE OF SIR GAWAIN

1183. 15-16. *I charge you that no man telle sir Gawayne of the deth of hys two brethirne*. Not in the *Mort Artu*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, ll. 1978-9:

Lette no man telle syr Gawayne,
Gaheriet hys brother is dede hym fro.

1183. 27-1184. 11. 'Well,' seyde Arthure, 'the deth of them woll cause the grettist mortall werre that ever was,' &c. In the *Mort Artu* (pp. 104-5), Arthur has none of the premonitions which he so poignantly expresses in *M*: 'Ha! Dex, ore ai ge trop vescu! Ha! Mort, se vos plus demorez, je vos tendrai a trop lente. Ha! Gaheriet, se ge de duel doi morir, je morrai por vos. Biax niés, mar fu onques l'espee forgiee dont vos fustes feruz et mal ait qui si vos feri, car il a destruit moi et mon lingnage.' Arthur's speech in *M* is an elaboration of this last sentence.

1184. 26-7. *Than seyde that man, 'Truly, sir Gaherys and sir Gareth be slayne.'* In the *Mort Artu* Gawain discovers this himself when he visits the scene of the fighting (pp. 106-7). *M* seems to follow the English poem where immediately after Arthur's speech, in which he forbids his men to tell Gawain about the death of Gareth,

A squyer than the tythandys tolde,
What wondyr theighe hys herte were wo!

But the dialogue which follows the announcement is found in neither version.

1185. 13-1186. 22. *And forthwith he ran unto the kyng . . . oute of bygyst toure of hys castell.* Most of this dialogue is *M*'s own, but Gawain's speech on p. 1186, so vitally important for the understanding of his character, is based upon the following lines of the poem (2010-13):

'Betwixte me and Launcelot du Lake
Nys man in erthe, for sothe to sayne
Shall trewes sette and pees make
Er outhur of vs haue other slayne.'

In the *Mort Artu*, where Gawain's sorrow is described in a long passage full of genuine pathos, there is nothing corresponding either to these lines or to Gawain's oath. It was clearly part of *M*'s intention to suggest a contrast between this scene and Gawain's earlier dialogue with Arthur (cf. 1174. 30-1177. 7). In both *M*'s sources Gawain finds Gareth's body among the dead.

1187. 3-4. *For he was . . . but sir Launcelot* = 'And because he was . . . sir Launcelot,' &c. Most editors put a comma before *for*, thus suggesting that Lancelot feared the strength of Arthur's army. Since from *M*'s point of view Lancelot is reluctant to fight Arthur for a different reason, *for* must introduce a sentence not logically related to the previous one.

1187. 14. *unryll ffytene wykes were paste.* Not in the *Mort Artu*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, 2110-11:

Aboute the Ioyus Garde they laye
Seuentene wokys and well mare.

1187. 15-1190. 20. *So hit felle upon a day . . . sir Gawayne wolde nat suffir hym by no maner of meane.* In these pages *M* abandons his French source in favour of ll. 2112-25 of the English poem which he elaborates into one of the central scenes of the story (replacing the first battle of the Joyous Gard, *Mort Artu*, pp. 121-4). To measure the extent of *M*'s originality it is enough to realize that the following passage was all he had before him:

. . . Launcelot home bad hem fare:
'Breke youre sege! wendys awaye!
You to slae grete pyté it ware.'
He sayd 'Allas and weilawaye!
That eyr beganne this sorewe^{es}sare!
Evir the kyng and sir Gawayne
Calde hym fals recreante knyght,
And sayde he had hys bretherne slayne
And treytour was by day and nyght,
Bad hym come and proue hys mayne
In the felde with hem to fyghte.
Launcelot sighed, for sothe to sayne,
Grete duelle it was to se with sight.

1191. 19-25. *and than aythir party made hem redy on the morne for to do batayle, &c.* Here *M* takes up his French source again. Cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 125: 'Einsi establirent toutes leur batailles des le soir devant et mistrent

bon conduiseur en chascune. . . . A l'endemain si tost com il fu jours, avant que li solaus fust levés . . . corurent as armes; si en issirent del chastel li uns après l'autre moult ordeneement.' In the French romance the second battle begins at this point. The first encounter is that of Bors and Gawain, which *Le Morte Arthur* and *M* reproduce later on (cf. 1192. 34-1193. 9).

191. 34-1192. 2. *And sir Lyonel was a fyers knyght . . . bare hym into the castell.* This is a summary of the following stanza (*Le Morte Arthur*, 2158-65):

Syr Lyonelle with myche mayne
Withe a spere byfore gan founde;
Syr Gawayne rydys hym agayne,
Hors and man he bare to grounde,
That all men wende he had ben slayne,
Syr Lyonelle hade suche a wounde;
Oute of the felde was he drayne,
For he was seke and sore vnsounde.

192. 4-8. *Of thes six knyghtes.* Bors alone appears in the corresponding place in *M*'s sources.

192. 11-19. *So sir Bors encountre wyth kynge Arthure, &c.* *M* and *Le Morte Arthur* (ll. 2174-89) substitute Bors for Hector. Cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 128: 'Lors dist Hestor a Lancelot: « Sire, coupez li le chief; si sera nostre guerre finee. » « Ha! Hestor, fet Lancelos, qu'est ce que vos me dites? Ne le dites mes, car ce seroit peinne gastee. »'

192. 22-7. *My lord the kynge . . . and now am I evyll rewarded.* Neither the *Mort Artu* nor *Le Morte Arthur* could have suggested this. Lancelot's speech comes in *M* as a natural sequel to his earlier dialogue with Arthur, and gives point to the next paragraph: when, in answer to Lancelot's appeal, the king looks at him again, 'the teerys braste oute of hys yen'.

192. 28-34. *So whan kynge Arthure . . . wythdrew them.* Cf. *Mort Artu* (p. 128): 'ore a il passez de bonté et de cortoisie touz les chevaliers que ge onques veisse; or vouldroie ge que ceste guerre n'eust onques esté commenciee.' *Le Morte Arthur* provides a closer parallel (2198-2205):

Whan the kynge was horsyd there,
Launcelot lokys he vppon,
How corteis was in hym more
Then euyr was in any man;
He thought on thyngis that had bene ore,
The teres from hys yzen ranne;
He sayde, 'Allas!' with syghynge sore,
'That euyr yit thys werre began.'

On this passage see R. H. Wilson, art. cit., p. 134. Cf. 1193. 14-1194. 7. 192. 33. *that 'ever' yet thys warre began.* *C*: 'that euer this werre began.' *Le Morte Arthur*: 'That euyr yit thys werre began.' *M* clearly had the same reading as *Le Morte Arthur*. Of the phrase *ever yet* *C* has preserved the first word and *W* the second.

1192. 34-1193. 9. *And than aythir party . . . the other day.* *M* continues to lean heavily upon *Le Morte Arthur*:

Le Morte Arthur, 2206-17:

M:

The parties arne withdrawn
awaye. . . .

On morow on that other daye
Scholde the bataille efte begynne . . .
Bors was breme as any bore,
And oute he rode to syr Gawayne
For Lyonelle was woundyd sore,
Wenge hys brother he wolde full
fayne.

And than aythir party of the
batayles wythdrew them to repose
them. . . . And on the morne . . .
they made them redy to do batayle,
and than sir Bors lad the vawarde . . .
there cam sir Gawayne, as brym as
ony boore. . . . And whan sir Bors
saw hym he thought to revenge hys
brother, sir Lyonell, of the despite
sir Gawayne gaff hym the other day.

In the *Mort Artu* this encounter takes place during the *first* battle (pp. 125-6) which is not otherwise referred to in the English versions (cf. 1187. 15-1190. 20). Some of the details in *M* would seem to suggest that he used the French text at the same time as the English, e.g. *reposed them* ('cele nuit se reposerent'), *by undirn* ('si tost com il fu jours, avant que li solaus fust levés'), *sir Bors had the vawarde* ('Boorz conduisoit les premiers des suens'), *wyth a grete speare in hys honde* ('lor glaives alongiés'), &c. Moreover, in the English poem all the fighting takes place on the same day, including Gawain's battle with Bors, related almost as an afterthought at the end (ll. 2214-29). *M* placed this battle at the beginning of what in his version is the second day, no doubt because he remembered that in the French the fighting went on for two days.

1193. 14-1194. 7. *And than the batayle joyned*, &c. *M* departs from both his sources to give an account of the 'second day' of fighting. Characteristic here is the addition of the first paragraph on p. 1194 (ll. 1-7), which may have been partly suggested by Arthur's speech quoted above (see 1192. 28-34): 'Avez veu que Lancelos a fet hui por moi, qui estoit au desuz de moi ocirre et ne volt pas metre main en moi? Par foi, ore a il passez de bonté et de cortoisie touz les chevaliers que ge onques veïsse, car plus a hui veincu mon cuer par debonereté que touz li monz n'eüst par force.'

1194. 10-12. *And than the Pope toke a consideracion of the grete goodnes of kynge Arthur and of the hyghe proues off sir Launcelot.* The reason given in the *Mort Artu* for the Pope's action is that the Queen had not been proved guilty: 'quant li apostoles ot oï que on ne l'avoit pas prise provee el meffait que on li metoit sus, si manda', &c.

1194. 15-16. *the Freynshe boke seyth hit was the Bysshop of Rochester.* *F* (MSS. B.N. fr. 334, Arsenal 3347, Brit. Mus. Royal 19 C. xiii, and others): 'li esvesques de Rove(n)cestre.' MS. Palatinus Lat. 1967 has *Rome*, MS. B.N. fr. 344 *Louwecestre*, and the Bonn MS. (526) *Glocestre*. The English poem agrees with the majority of the French MSS. and with *M*:

Then was a bischope at Rome
Off Rowchester, withouten lese;
Tylle Ynglande he, the message, come,
To Karllyle ther the kynge was.

(2254-7)

1194. 16-17. *gaff [hym bulles] undir leade*. See *Introduction*, p. xcix.

1194. 20-6. *So whan the Byssshop . . . as for the quene, he consented*. Here *M* again follows *Le Morte Arthur* (2274-7):

Bot Gawayne was of herte so kene
That to hym wolde he neuyr assente
To make acorde hem bytwene
While any lyffe were in hym lente.

The words *in no wyse he* (= Gawain) *wolde suffir the kynge to accorde with sir Launcelot* are not traceable to either source; they anticipate the part played by Gawain in the scene of the Queen's return to court (cf p. 1197, l. 29).

1194. 27-8. *as he was a trew and anoynted kynge*. Not in *M*'s sources.

1194. 29-31. *that the quene shulde nat be seyde unto of the kynge, nother of none othe, for nothyng done of tyme paste*. The nearest parallel to this is the Bishop's promise to Guinevere in the *Mort Artu* (p. 129): he assures her that Arthur will treat her with all the respect due to a queen and that 'de parole qui ait esté dite de vos ne de Lancelot ne tendra ja mes conte, ne il ne hom de sa cort'. Cf. also p. 1195, ll 18-20.

1196. 5. *hymself* refers to Gawain.

1196. 9-12. *all well clothed in grene velvet . . . a braunche of olyff in hys honde in tokenyng of pees*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, ll. 2364-9:

The other knyghtis euerychone
In samyte grene of heythen lande . . .
Ichone a braunche of olyffe in hande.

The *Mort Artu* (p. 133) mentions 'cinc cens (*other MSS.*: deus cens) chevax touz couverz de soie', but not the olive-branches.

1196. 12-21. *And the quene had . . . golde tysesse*. Apart from the remark already quoted ('chevax touz couverz de soie'), the *Mort Artu* gives no description of the procession, and there is every reason to attribute these lines to *M*'s own invention.

1197. 6-10. *And if there be any knyght . . . a trew lady unto you*. As there is nothing corresponding to this in the *Mort Artu*, the remark is probably an expansion of the following:

. . . As lady that is feyre and shene
And trewe is bothe day and nyght;
Iffe any man sayes she is noght clene,
I profre me therefore to feyght.

1197. 20. *they that tolde you tho talys were lyars*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, l. 2402: 'Bot lyers lystenes thow to lye.'

1198. 1-10. *'My lord,' seyde sir Launcelot . . . in many dyvers placis*. It has been suggested (cf. N. S. Aurner, 'Sir Thomas Malory—A Historian' in *PMLA*, vol. xlviii, pp. 362 ff.) that Lancelot's defence bears some resemblance to Suffolk's address to the Commons before his banishment, and that the whole story offers analogies with Suffolk's trial. There are, however, no verbal similarities between Lancelot's speech and Suffolk's as reproduced by Turner (*History of England*, vol. iii, p. 69), while all the other traits that

the two characters have in common (the banishment and the slander concerning the favour shown by the Queen) are traceable to *M*'s French source and to *Le Morte Arthur*.

1198. 21-34. *Howbehit sir Carados . . . I faught to the uttermost*. In the *Mort Artu* Lancelot reminds Gawain of the first of these incidents: ' . . . vous jetai de la prison Karados le Grant que je ocis, qui vous avoit ensi mis comme a la mort' (op. cit., p. 136), but not of the second. Neither is referred to in *Le Morte Arthur*.

1199. 5-1202. 16. *'Sir the kyng may do as he wyll. . . I shall delyver you.'* Only a small fraction of this scene can be traced to *M*'s sources and he alone is responsible for the speech about Gareth on p. 1199 (ll. 11-27), and for the references to Hector of Troy and Alexander the Great (p. 1201, ll. 15-18). Lancelot's offer to build and endow 'houses of religion' in memory of Gareth (p. 1199, l. 28-p. 1200, l. 11) is also original, although it may have been suggested by his appeal to Gawain in the *Mort Artu* (p. 166): 'ge vos jurrai seur seinz orendroit, se vos voulez, que ge me partirai de Gaunes demain ainz eure de prime et m'en irai nuz piez et en langes, touz seus, sanz compaignie, en essill, en tel maniere jusqu'a dis anz; et se ge dedenz celi terme me muir, ge vos pardoiing ma mort et vous en ferai quitier a tot mon parenté; et se ge au chief de dis anz revien, et vos vivoiz a celui tens, et messires li rois qui est ci, ge vueill avoir la compaignie de vos deus aussi bien comme ge oi onques encore.'

1201. 9-15. *Moste nobelyst Crysten realme . . . there ys no constaunte abydyng*. This may have been inspired by Lancelot's farewell speech in the *Mort Artu*: '[Lancelos] regarda la terre et le pais ou il avoit eü tant de biens et ou l'en li avoit fetes tantes enneurs; il commença a muer couleur et a giter soupirs de parfont, et li eill li commencierent a lermoier durement. Et quant il ot grant piece esté en tel maniere, il dist si basset que nus ne l'entendi qui fust en la nef, fors seulement Boort: «Hé! douce terre pleinne de toutes beneïrtez, et en qui mes esperis et ma vie remaint outretement, beneitoie soies tu de la bouche de celui qu'en apele Jesucrist, et beneito soient tuit cil qui en toi remanent, soient mi ami ou mi ennemi», &c. (op. cit., p. 138).

1202. 6-8. *For and the quene had be so dere unto me as ye noyse her, I durste have kepte her frome the felyshyp of the beste knyghtes undir hevyn*. Cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 133: 'se ge amasse la reine de fole amour, si com l'en le vos fesoit entendant, ge ne la vos rendisse des mois et par force ne l'eussiez vos pas.'

1202. 32-1204. 13. *he called hys felyshyp . . . were accorded to departe wyth sir Launcelot to hys landys*. Not in *M*'s sources.

1203. 30-1. *we all undirstonde, in thys realme [woll be no] quyett, but ever debate and stryff*. *W*: 'we all undirstonde was never quyett in thys realme but ever debate and stryff' (*but* inserted and crossed out between *quyett* and *in*). To arrive at this result the scribe must have first copied the text correctly as far as *undirstonde*, then imagined that he had also copied *in thys realme* and jumped to l. 34, where this phrase occurred again. From there he carried on with *was . . . quyett*, but looking at the text once more he saw the word *quyett* in l. 31, went back to it and copied the next word—*but*—only to realize that the sentence he was about to produce (*we all undirstonde was never quyett but*) made no sense. He then crossed out *but* and

wrote in *this realme but*. Hence a reading which has an appearance of sense, but is in fact meaningless.

1204. 17-19. *sayled unto Benwyke; some men calle hit Bayan and som men calle hit Beawme, where the wyne of Baeswe ys*. 'Bayan' presumably stands for Bayonne and 'Beawme' for Beaune. In no other version is Benwick (Fr. Benoic) identified with either city. Of the two *Beawme* is the less appropriate since it is over five hundred miles from the nearest sea-port.

1204. 27-32. *there he crowned Lyonell . . . made sir Ector prynce of hem all*. In the *Mort Artu* (op. cit., pp. 139-40) Lionel receives the kingdom of Gaunes, and Bors 'l'ennneur de Benoic' (both situated in Western Gaul), but no mention is made of Ector. In *Le Morte Arthur* (2484-99) Lionel is made King of France, as in *M*, Bors King of Gaunes ('Gawnes'), and Ector 'kyng of hys fadyr lande and prynce of all the ryche prese' (cf. *M*: *prynce of them all*). *M* clearly follows the English poem, but interprets the place-names in his own way: by 'France' he apparently means the kingdom of France as it was before the reconquest of Aquitaine and Normandy, and he takes *Gaunes* for the province of Guienne (*Gyan*), which at that time was an English dominion forming an irregular triangle with its base on the sea-board between Bayonne and the mouth of the Gironde, and its apex at Bergerac on the Dordogne (cf. H. Ribadieu, *Histoire de la Conquête de Guienne*, Bordeaux, 1866, p. 173). Many of the 'dukedom' and 'earldoms' listed on page 1205 formed part of that province.

1205. 1-21. *And firste he awaunced them off hys blood . . . made hym duke of Normandy*. Neither the *Mort Artu* nor the English poem offers any parallel to this passage. The list of place-names covers, in addition to Normandy, a vast area stretching from the Bay of Biscay to the Rhône, and from the Loire to the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean. Apart from some well-known place-names such as Anjou, Auvergne, Béarn, Languedoc, Landes, Périgieux (*Perygot*), and Poitiers (*Payiers*), it includes the names of ten comparatively small fiefs: Agen (*Agente*), Armagnac (*Armynake*), Astarac (*Estrake*), Comminges (*Comange*), Marsan (*Marsanke*), Pardiac (*Pardyak*), Rouergue (*Roerge*), Sarlat, and Tursan (*Tursank*), seven of which (Armagnac, Astarac, Comminges, Marsan, Pardiac, and Tursan) are situated within the area in which most of the military operations leading to the reconquest of Aquitaine in 1453 took place. Whether the occurrence of these place-names in *M*'s text necessarily means that the author served in the south-west of France at the time of the reconquest, is a problem which his next biographer might profitably investigate. The map on the next page will show how closely the structure of Lancelot's kingdom as seen by *M* corresponds with the political divisions of France in the second quarter of the century.



SOUTH-WESTERN FRANCE
IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
(political divisions)

III

THE SIEGE OF BENWICK

1211. 10-11. *bycause sir Mordred was kynge Arthurs son, he gaff hym the rule off hys londe and off hys wyff.* No such reason for Arthur's choice is given in the earlier versions.

1211. 13. *there he brente and wasted.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2536-7):

Withstode hem neyther stone ne tre,
Bot brente and slow on iche a syde.

Not in the *Mort Artu* (op. cit., pp. 145 ff.).

1211. 24-6. *I woll gyff you thys counceyle, &c.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2558-61):

I rede we byde
And oure worthy walles holde (*M*: 'kepe oure stronge-walled townys')
... Tylle they haue caught bothe hungre and colde (*M*: 'untyll they have hunger and colde').

'Blow on their nayles' seems to be *M*'s own phrase.

1211. 27. *and shrede hem downe as shepe in a folde.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2563): And shrede them downe as shepe in folde.' *C*'s *felde* which has so far been ascribed to *M* can now be discarded as a misprint.

1211. 31-2. *youre curtesy hath waked all thys sorow.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2566-7):

Syr, cortessye and your sufferynge
Has wakened vs wo full wyde.

1211. 32-1212. 1. *they thus overryde oure londis.* *C*'s reading ('they thus ouer our landes ryde') is, if anything, even closer to *Le Morte Arthur* (2569): 'Yiff that they ouer oure landys ryde.'

1212. 1-2. *they shall . . . brynge us all to nought whyle we thus in holys us hyde.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2569-71):

All to noght they myght vs brynge
Whyle we in holys here vs hyde.

1212. 3-5. 'Sir,' *here bene knyghtes com of kyngis blod that woll nat longe droupe and dare.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2574-5):

Syr, here ar knyghtis of kynges blode
That longe wylle not droupe and dare.

C ('droupe & they are') is clearly at fault.

1212. 9-15. *Than spake seven brethurn, &c.* Apart from a few verbal changes these two paragraphs reproduce stanza 324 of *Le Morte Arthur*.

1212. 24-1214. 13. *I shall sende a messyngere . . . we have all serued.* The episode of the damsel sent as a messenger to Arthur is drawn entirely from *Le Morte Arthur*, with a few additions such as the dwarf 'running by her side', some of Gawain's remarks ('Sey ye to sir Launcelot that hyt ys waste labour now to sew to myne uncle. For telle hym, and he wolde have made only labour for peace, he sholde have made hit or thys tyme, for telle hym now hit ys to late,' &c.), the words 'than the tearys ran downe by hys

(Lancelot's) chekys' (p. 1214, ll. 1-2), and Lancelot's conversation with his knights after the damsel's return. The dwarf *motif* is a reminiscence of an earlier episode in the poem (ll. 2054 ff.).

1214. 20-1. *well armede, uppon a styff steele*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2739-40):

Graythid hym in hys gode armour,
And styffly sterte vppon a stede.

1214. 32-3. *Gawayne had such a grace* is borrowed from l. 2767 of the English source (*Suche grace had sir Gawayne*). The poem adds that while fighting every day for six months Gawain succeeded in escaping injury. Cf. 1216. 31-4.

1215. 7-8. *sir Gawayne cam afore the gatis*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2772-3):

He made hym redy for to ryde
Byfore the gatis of the cyté.

1215. 24-5. *I must nedys deffende me, othe ellis to be recreaunte*. Cf. *Mort Artu* (p. 167): 'se ge ne m'en deffendoie, l'en ne me tendroit mie a chevalier.'

1215. 26-8. *Launcelot bade sadyll hys strongest horse and bade let feeche hys armys and brynge all to the towre of the gate*. Cf. *Mort Artu* (p. 169): 'Lancelos monte seur un destrier fort et isnel et couvert de fer jusqu'en l'ongle del pié. . . si s'en ist de la cité.'

1216. 22-30. The description of the battle is a summary of the French version:

M.

they cam togydirs with all the horse myghtes as faste as they myght renne, and aythir smote othir in myddis of their shyldis. But the knyghtes were so stronge and their spearys so bygge that their horsis myght nat endure their buffettis, and so their horsis felle to the erthe. And than they avoyded their horsys and dressed their shyldis afore them; than they cam togydirs and gaff many sad strokis on dyverse placis of their bodyes, that the bloode braste oute on many sydis.

Mort Artu, pp. 170-1:

. . . lessent corre li uns encontre l'autre . . . et s'entrefierent si durement des cors et des escuz qu'il s'entreportent a la terre, si estonné qu'il ne sevent d'eus conseil prendre en tel maniere comme s'il fussent mort. Et li cheval qui se sentirent deschargié de lor seignors tornerent en fuie. . . mes a chief de piece leva premiers Lancelos et met la main a l'espee, mais il est toz estonnez del cheoir qu'il ot fet; et messire Gauvains n'est mie plus lenz, einz cort a son esçu . . . et lors commence entr'eus deus la mellee si grant que onques si cruel de deus chevaliers ne fu veüe . . . si n'i a celui d'aus deus qui n'ait tieus set plaies dont uns autres hom poïst morir de la menor; et neporquant par mi le travail que il ont del sanc que il ont perdu meintiennent il l'assaut jusques pres tierce.

There is nothing corresponding to this in *Le Morte Arthur* beyond the statement that

The knyghtis mette, as men it sye,
How they sette there dyntis sare.

(2800-1)

1216. 31-4. *Than had sir Gawayne suche a grace, &c.* These lines are borrowed from *Le Morte Arthur* (2802-7):

Than had syr Gawayne suche a grace,
An holy man had boddyn that bone,
Whan he were in any place,
There he shuld batayle done,
Hys strength shuld wex in suche a space,
From the vndyr-tyme tyllle none.

The *Mort Artu* explains Gawain's 'grace' at some length (pp. 172-4):

'Vours fu que quant messire Gauvains fu nez . . . li rois Loth, ses peres . . . le fit porter en une forest qui pres d'ilec estoit, a un hermite qui en la forest manoit. Et estoit cil preudons de si seinte vie que Nostre Sires fesoit tote jor por lui miracles de torz redrecier et d'avugles fere veoir. . . Et fu li enfés baptisiez endroit eure de midi. Quant li enfés fu baptisiez, uns des chevaliers qui l'enfant avoient aporté dist au preudome: « Sire, fetes tant que li roiaumes se lot de vos et li enfés, quand il vendra en aage d'armes porter, soit par vostre priere plus gracieus d'un autre. » « Certes, sire chevaliers, fet li preudom, la grace ne vient pas de moi, einz vient de Jesucrist, et sanz lui ne vient grace qui vaille. . . De cest enfant qui ci est vos puis ge dire seurement qu'il sera alosez de proesce deseur ses compaignons, ne ja tant comme il vive ne sera veincuz entor eure de midi; car de tant est il amendez de ma priere que touz jorz a eure de midi, en cele eure meismes qu'il fu baptisiez, amendera sa force et sa vertu en quel que leu qu'il soit, ne ja tant devant n'avra eü peinne ne travaill qu'il ne se sente a celui point tout fres et tout legiers. » Tout ainsi com li preudons dist avint il, car toz jorz amendoit sa force et sa vertu entor eure de midi en quel que leu qu'il fust.'

This means that Gawain *used to recover his strength* ('amendoit') by midday. The English poet, having misunderstood this use of the imperfect, extended the period of Gawain's recovery to three hours ('from the vndyr-tyme tyllle none').

1217. 1-9. *And for hys sake kyng Arthur made an ordynaunce . . . but kyng Arthur all only.* Not in *M*'s sources.

1217. 13-15. *he wende . . . that he had bene a fyende and none earthely man.* Cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 172: 'il dist a soi meismes: « Par foi, ge ne creroie mie que cist hom ne fust deables ou fantosmes. »'

1218. 2. *anone as I am hole, &c.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2830): 'Whan I am hole and goynge on hye.'

1218. 12-14. *'Now have good day, my lord the kyng . . . ye wyne no worshyp at the wallis, for and I wolde my knyghtes oute brynge.'* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2842-6):

But have good day, my lord the kyng . . .
Ye wyne no worshyp at thys walle,
And I wold my knyghtis oute brynge.

Both the rhyme and the inverted word-order reappear in *M*.

1218. 18 ff. *'Now, alas,' seyde the kyng, &c.* From here until the end of

The Siege of Benwick M follows the English poem without looking at the *Mort Artu*. The reason for this is simply that the French romance gives at this point the story of Arthur's campaign against the Romans, with which *M* has already dealt in a separate work; Arthur leaves the camp 'moult dolenz de grant maniere' and retires to 'une cité que l'en apele Meaus' to wait until Gawain has recovered. It is there that he learns that the Romans have invaded his French possessions (p. 180). The account of the campaign is a bare summary compared to *M*'s *Tale of Arthur and Lucius*. It ends on p. 184 and is immediately followed by Arthur's hasty return to Britain. The second battle between Lancelot and Gawain as told in *M* and *Le Morte Arthur* is a duplication of the first, and has no counterpart in the French.

1218. 28. *Gawayne lay syke and unsounde*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2859-60):

Full passynge seke and vnsonde
There syr Gawayne on lechyng laye.

1219. 1-2. *Com forth, thou false traytoure knyght*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (2866-7):

Come forthe, Launcelot, and prove thy mayne,
Thou traytour that hast treson wrought.

IV

THE DAY OF DESTINY

1227. 1-7. The following traits are paralleled in *Le Morte Arthur: a parlemente* (l. 2978), *made* . . . 'hym' kynge (2981), *Caunturbury* (2982), *hylyde a feste there fifiene dayes*: 'A fourtenyght held the feste in towne' (2985).

1227. 8-10. A paraphrase of ll. 2984-7 of the poem:

And afurwarde he drew hym unto	And after that to Wychester he
Wynchester . . . and seyde playnly	wente . . . Hys faders wyfe than
that he wolde wedde her . . . hys	wold he wedde.
fadyrs wyff.	

1227. 16. *to byghe all maner thynges that longed to the brydale*. In neither of *M*'s sources does Guinevere give this excuse, but the word *brydale* is probably borrowed from l. 2985 of the poem: 'A ryche brydale he lette make bowne.'

1227. 19-20. *she stuffed hit with all manner of vytayle and garnysshed hit with men*. These preparations are described in detail in the *Mort Artu* (pp. 154-5): 'Et dedenz ce terme ot fet la reine la tour garnir de toutes les choses qui a cors d'omme puissent aidier ne valoir, que l'en pot trover el pais.' Labor, who helps the queen in her escape from Modred, finds two hundred men 'qui tuit li orent juré seur seinz qu'il iroient en la tour de Londres et deffendroient la reine encontre Mordret'. The English poem says simply (2996-7):

She went to London to the towre
And speryd the gates and dwellyd therin.

1227. 25. *threw engynnes unto them, and shotte grete gunnes.* Cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 188: 'meintefoiz i ot fet giter les mangoniex (= "war-engines") et ferir granz cox' (var. 'por les perrieres qu'il jetoient sovent et menu'). *Shotte grete gunnes* is, then, *M*'s equivalent for *ferir granz cox*.

1227. 29-1228. 23. *Than cam the Byssshop of Caunturbyry . . . warre was at honde.* An expansion of stanzas 377-9 of the poem. *Therefore how may ye wed youre owne faders wyff* is an effective paraphrase of

Thy faders wyffe, whether thou be wood,
To wedd her now mayste thou noght.

1228. 20. *hys good.* There might be a case for emending this to *hys gold* on the basis of the corresponding line in *Le Morte Arthur* (3023): 'But gold and sylver he hathe hent.'

1228. 31. *had areysed the syge frome* (C: for) *sir Launcelot.* *W*'s reading confirms the emendation suggested by Mead in a note on this passage.

1228. 35-1229. 18. *than was the comyn voyce amonge them . . . for bettir and for wars.* There is nothing in either of *M*'s sources that could have suggested this. The French romance (pp. 188-90) describes at some length Mordred's preparations for the battle and his conversation with his fellow-conspirators, and the English poem says that when Arthur landed in England he found many 'fomen' that 'he wende byfore had bene hys frend' (3060-1); but the reference to popular discontent in *M* is clearly a reminiscence of contemporary events, not of literary sources. The appeal for loyalty to him who was 'the most kynge and nobelyst knyght of the worlde' comes fittingly from the pen of the knight-prisoner who more than once had expressed his belief in the sanctity of the royal title, and who suffered from Yorkist revenge not long before he wrote this condemnation of human fickleness.

1229. 24-1230. 2. *And so as sir Mordred . . . and all hys people.* In the *Mort Artu* (p. 193) Arthur meets with no opposition when he lands at Dover: 'li rois fist savoir a ceus de Douvre qu'il ouvrissent la porte et le receussent leanz; et cil si fisent a grant joie.' In *Le Morte Arthur* he lands in a place where 'hym was leveste in to lende'; a fierce battle follows in the course of which Gawain is struck on the old wound 'with a tronchon of an ore' (3071), but in the end Mordred's men are defeated. *M*'s version is a paraphrase of that of the poem, but verbal similarities are few and far between.

1230. 4-5. *than was noble sir Gawayne founde in a greate boote.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3132-3):

. . . he fand syr Gawayne
In a shyppe laye dede by a maste.

1230. 11-1232. 17. *'Alas! sir Gawayne, my syster son' . . . sir Gawayne yelded up the goste.* Here *M* leaves the English poem and returns to the French romance. But he makes some significant alterations. The long description of Arthur's grief is made into a short monologue (1230. 11-17), and while in the French Arthur dwells on the vicissitudes of Fortune and the blind cruelty of Fate ('tu ne deusses mie avoir assailli tel home comme mes niés

estoit qui de bonté passoit tout le monde”), in *M* he is acutely conscious of a sense of irretrievable personal loss: ‘And now have I loste my joy of you bothe, wherefore all myne erthely joy ys gone fro me.’ Gawain is to him primarily his nephew and the man he loved most: ‘in youre person and in sir Launcelot I moste had my joy and myne affyaunce.’ Still more significant is the way in which *M* alters the French version of Gawain’s farewell speech (*Mort Artu*, p. 194):

‘Sire, ge me muir; por Dieu, se vos vos poez garder d’assembler contre Mordret, si vos en gardez; car ge vos di veraïement, se vos morez par nul home, vos morroiz par lui. Et madame la reïne me saluez; et vos, seigneur, dont il i a aucun qui encore, se Dieu plest, verra Lancelot, dites li que ge li mant saluz seur toz les homes que ge onques veisse et que ge li cri merci; et ge pri Dieu qu’il le gart en tel estat com ge l’ai lessié. Si li pri que il ne lest en nule maniere qu’il ne viengne veoir ma tombe, si tost comme il savra que ge serai morz; si ne sera pas qu’il ne li praigne de moi aucune pitié. Lors dist au roi: Sire, ge vos requier que vos me façoiz enterrer a Kamaalot avec mes freres, et vueill estre mis en cele tombe meïsmes ou li cors Gaheriet fu mis, car ce fu li hom del monde que ge plus amai. Et fetes escrire sus la tombe: Ci gist Gaheriet et Gauvains que Lancelos ocist par l’outrage Gauvain. Cest escrit vueill ge qu’il i soit, si que ge soie blasmez de ma mort si comme j’ai deservi.’

M adds the text of Gawain’s letter, and this enables him to elaborate the theme of Gawain’s tragic guilt: ‘And I woll that all the worlde wyte that I, sir Gawayne, knyght of the Table Rounde, soughte my dethe, and nat thorow thy deservynge, but myne owne sekyng.’ This theme derives still greater force from the eulogy of Lancelot, ‘floure of all noble knyghtes’: ‘And thorow my wylfulnes I was causer of myne owne dethe. . . . And thorow me and my pryde ye have all thys shame and disease, for had that noble knyght, sir Launcelot, ben with you, as he was and wolde have ben, thys unhappy warre had never ben begunne. . . . But alas that I wolde nat accorde with hym.’ It is through these words that *M* succeeds in conveying the meaning of the tragedy of Arthur’s downfall as he sees it.

1232. 17–20. *And than the kyng lat entere hym in a chapell within Dover castell, &c.* In the *Mort Artu* Arthur orders his men to bury Gawain in Camelot, in accordance with Gawain’s own wish: ‘Vous me conduiroiz mon neveu jusques Kamaalot, et la le feroiz enterrer si comme il a requis et metre en la tombe Gaheriet’ (p. 196). *Le Morte Arthur* has (3136–9):

Thay layd syr Gawayne vpon a bere
And to the castell they hym bare,
And in chapell amydde the quere
That bold baron they beryed thare.

This can only mean that Gawain was buried in the chapel of Dover castle. Here, as in most narrative passages, *M* is at variance with the French and closely follows the English poem.

1232. 21–30. *Than was hit tolde the kyng . . . fledde unto Caunturbyry.* This battle, fought on the morning after Arthur’s landing, is related in the poem before Gawain’s death (ll. 3094–129). *M* does not seem to realize that

he has already used the passage once and that the sentence in ll. 28-30 (*And than the kynge let serche, &c.*) repeats p. 1230, ll. 3-4.

1232. 22. *Baron Downe* = Barham Down, six miles south-east of Canterbury.

1233. 4. *Trynytt Sondag* = Sunday next after Whitsunday.

1233. 6-8. *Than sir Mordred araysed muche people . . . helde the moste party with sir Mordred*. Neither the *Mort Artu* nor *Le Morte Arthur* describes in detail the composition of Mordred's army. The fact that *M* connects the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, and Norfolk with the traitor's cause would seem to suggest that he had in mind a situation similar to that which obtained at the time of the Wars of the Roses when the strength of the Yorkists lay to a large extent in the south-eastern counties (cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii, pp. 180-1). The analogy leaves little doubt as to *M*'s anti-Yorkist feelings at the time when he wrote this part of the story. Cf. G. R. Stewart, 'English Geography in Malory's "Morte Darthur"', (*Mod. Lang. Review*, vol. xxx, pp. 208-9).

1233. 11-1234. 19. *So uppon Trynytt Sunday . . . wyll holde wyth hym*. The whole of this description of Arthur's dream is based upon the English poem. The first part (*he saw uppon a chafflet a chayre, &c.*) corresponds to ll. 3173-87 of *Le Morte Arthur* (cf. *and every beste toke hym by a lymme: And eueryche by a lymme hym caught*). The second part is found in both *M*'s sources, but the English text offers closer parallels than the French, e.g. *whan I was man lyvyng (Whyle I was man on lyffe), ye take a trefte for a moneth-day (A monthe day of trewe moste ye take)*, and the whole arrangement of the narrative in *M* differs from the French in exactly the same way as it does in the poem. The symbolism of the dream, obscure in the English rendering, is made perfectly plain in the French: 'il li fu avis que une dame venoit devant lui, la plus bele qu'il eust onques mes veue el monde, qui le levoit de terre et l'enportoit en la plus haute montaigne qu'il onques veüst; illuec l'asseoit seur une roe. En cele roe avoit sieges dont li un montoient et li autre avaloient. Li rois regardoit en quel leu de la roe il estoit assis et voit que ses sieges estoit li plus hanz. La dame li demandoit: « Artus, ou ies tu? » « Dame, fet il, ge sui en une haute roe, mes ge ne sei quele ele est. » « C'est, fet ele, la roe de Fortune. . . . Voire, fet ele, tu le vois, n'il n'i a grantment chose dont tu n'aies esté sires jusques ici, et de toute la circuitude que tu vois as tu esté li plus puissanz rois qui i fust. Mes tel sont li orgueil terrien qu'il n'i a nul si haut assis qu'il il ne le coviegne cheoir de la poesté del monde. » Et lors le prenoit et le trebuschoit a terre si felenesement que au cheoir estoit avis au roi Artu qu'il estoit touz debrisie et qu'il perdoit tout le poir del cors et des membres.' *M* was obviously as little concerned as the author of *Le Morte Arthur* with the symbolic significance of this vision. In the *Mort Artu* the Wheel of Fortune motif is used to explain the whole course of events leading up to Arthur's death, and is emphasized again when in the midst of the battle of Salisbury Plain one of Arthur's few surviving knights, Sagremor li Desreez, exclaims (*Mort Artu*, p. 218): 'Sire, ce sont li geu de Fortune; or poez veoir qu'ele vos vent chierement les granz biens et les granz honors que vous avez eü pieça, qu'ele vos tolt de vos meilleurs amis. Or doint Dex que nos n'aions pis!' In *M* the emphasis

is deliberately shifted from this theme to the human tragedy of Arthur, Gawain, and Lancelot, which suffices to justify the tragic ending. Cf. 1238. 11-14.

1234. 5. *I ded batayle [for] them for their ryght.* The only reasonable alternative to this reading would be to adopt *W*'s *I ded batayle wyth them*, &c., and emend *them* to *their foes* or *their enemies*, on the analogy of l. 3211 of *Le Morte Arthur*: 'Agaynste her fone I faught hem forne.'

1234. 33-1235. 2. *there they entretyd sir Mordred longe tyme And at the laste*, &c. In the *Mort Artu* no such negotiations take place. Mordred sends an insolent message to Arthur who replies: 'ceste terre qui est moie d'eritage, ne vuiderai ge . . . en nule maniere. . . Et bien sache Mordrés li parjurez qu'il morra par mes meins . . . Si m'est plus bel de l'assembler que del lessier, neïs s'il m'i devoit occire' (p. 204). *M*'s account is a summary of ll. 3236-72 of *Le Morte Arthur* which have no counterpart in the French.

1235. 9-10. *warned all hys 'hoost'*. 'Hoost' is omitted in *W*, no doubt because the previous word (*hys*) occurs at the end of a line. Even though *Le Morte Arthur* has *lordis* instead of *hoost*, the latter would seem to fit in better with the alliterative pattern of the stanza. Cf. ll. 3320 ff:

Arthur in hys herte hathe caste
And to hys *lordis* gan he saye, &c.

1235. 27. *dressed hem togyders* = 'arrayed themselves against each other'.

1235. 32-1236. 11. *and many a grym worde was there spokyn . . . and many a dedely stroke*, &c. Both the construction and the wording are in keeping with stanza 424 of the poem (3368-75)

There was many a spere spente
And many a thro word they spake, &c.

The French romance gives here a lengthy account of the battle (pp. 204-19). *M* follows the much-abridged version of the poem, which reduces the material covering fifteen pages of the *Mort Artu* to four stanzas, and reduces it still more so as to bring into greater relief Arthur's fight with Mordred: their tragic encounter, instead of being, as it is in the French, one of the many incidents of the battle, stands out as the central episode of the whole story.

1236. 14-15. *the tone was sir Lucan de Butler and hys brother, sir Bedwere.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3384-8):

The tone was Lucan de Botelere . . .
And hys brodyr, syr Bedwere.

In the corresponding scene in the *Mort Artu* Girflet plays the part which in the two English versions is assigned to Bedwere.

1236. 16-1237. 11. '*Jesu mercy!*' *seyde the kynge* . . . '*now ys thy deth-day com!*' So far as can be ascertained from the French romance and the English poem, nothing corresponding to this passage occurred in *M*'s sources. The poem gives Arthur one line only—*Shall we not brynge thys theffe to ground?* (3389)—and the *Mort Artu* introduces his combat with Mordred immediately after Mordred's savage attack on Sagremor: 'Modrés lesse corre a Sagremor et le fiert si durement voiant le roi qu'il en fet le chief voler en mi la place. Quant li rois voit ce cop, si dist trop dolenz: « Ha! Dex, por quoi

me lessiez vos tant abessier de proesce terriene? Por amour de cest coup veu ge a Dieu qu'il convient ici morir moi ou Mordret »' (p. 219). The whole of the conversation between Arthur and his two surviving knights was probably added by *M*.

1237. 16-18. *he threste hymselff with the myght that he had upp to the burre of kyng Arthurs speare*. This grim detail occurs neither in the *Mort Artu* (cf. op. cit., p. 220) nor in the stanzaic poem. Mr. C. O. Parsons ('A Scottish "Father of Courtesy" and Malory', *Speculum*, vol. xx, no. 1, pp. 51-64) sees in it a reminiscence of the following passage in Wyntoun's chronicle (*The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun*, ed. F. J. Amours, S.T.S., vol. lvii, pp. 371-4) referring to Sir David Lindsay's encounter with a cateran at the battle of Gasklune:

Swa, on his hors he sittande þan,
Throw þe body he straik a man
Withe his spere doune to þe erde.
þat man helde fast his awyn suerde
In til his neif, and vp thrawande
He pressit hym, noucht aganstandande
þat he was pressit to þe erde;
Withe a swak þar of his suerde
þe steraplethir and þe but,
Thre ply or foure, abuf þe fut
He straik þe Lyndissay to þe bane.

1237. 29-1238. 9. *Than harde they people crye . . . brynge you to som towne*. The episode comes straight from *Le Morte Arthur* and has no parallel in the French. *M*'s *brochys and bees* (C: 'bedys') is modelled on the line (3419): 'They refte theym besant, broche, and bee' (= 'ring'), which *M* does not seem to have fully understood; hence the tautology of 'bees and many a good rynge'. *We brynge you to som towne* reproduces l. 3429 (*That we wende to som towne*).

1238. 11-14. '*A, sir Launcelot! . . . thys day have I sore myssed the!*' &c. Cf. Arthur's apostrophe to Fortune in the French romance (pp. 222-3): 'Fortune qui m'a esté mere jusque ici, et or m'est devenue marrastre, me fet user le remenant de ma vie en douleur et en courrouz et en tristesse.' See 1233. 11-1234. 19. The entire speech seems to bear the stamp of *M*'s workmanship.

1238. 15-27. *Than sir Lucan toke up the kyng . . . sir Bedwere wepte for the deth of hys brothir*. The account of Lucan's death is peculiar to *M*. The *Mort Artu* says that it was the king's embrace that killed him: 'Il prent Lucan qui desarmez estoit et l'embrace et l'estraint, si qu'il li crieve le cuer el ventre, si qu'onques ne li lut parole dire, einz li parti l'ame del cors' (an obvious reminiscence of the death of Iseult as related in the French Prose Romance of Tristan). The account of this scene in the English poem is as follows:

3430 'Now, syr Lucan, as thow radde,
Lyfte me vp, whyle that I may laste.'
Bothe hys armes on hym he sprad
With all hys strenght to hold hym faste.

The kynge was wondyd and forbled
 3435 And swownyng on hym hys eyne he caste;
 Syr Lucan was hard bystadde;
 He held the kynge to hys owne herte braste.

What the poet presumably meant was that as Arthur tightened his embrace ('bothe hys armes on hym he sprad') Lucan's 'owne herte braste'. But the connexion between the two occurrences—ll. 3432 and 3437—is sufficiently vague to have been overlooked by *M* who took the passage to mean that Lucan's 'herte braste' 'in the lyfftynge'.

1238. 31. *W*: my tyme passyth on faste. *C*: my tyme hyeth faste. The corresponding stanza contains the words *hye the faste* (3452) which *M* has adapted to his own context. *C*'s reading may well be more authentic than *W*'s.

1238. 33–1239. 4. The wording of Arthur's command to Bedwere (Girflet in the *Mort Artu*) in *M*'s sources is as follows:

<i>Mort Artu</i> (p. 223):	<i>Le Morte Arthur</i> (3448–53):	<i>M</i> :
Alez en cel tertre ou vos trouveroiz un lac, et gitez m'espee la de- denz, car je ne voil pas qu'ele remaingne en cest reingne, que li malvés oir qui i remein- dront n'en soient sesi.	Have Excalaber, my swerd good, A better brond was neuyr sene; Go, caste it in the salt flood, And thou shalt se won- der, as I wene. Hye the faste, for crosse on Rode, And telle me what thou hast ther sene.	take thou Excaliber, my good swerde, and go wyth hit to yondir watir syde; and whan thou commyste there, I charge the throw my swerde in that water, and com agayne and telle me what thou syeste there.

M's rendering is clearly modelled on *Le Morte Arthur*, but Bedwere's reply, which is not in the poem, is borrowed from the French:

<i>Mort Artu</i> (ibid.):	<i>M</i> :
«Sire, fet il, ge ferai vostre com- mandement.»	'My lorde,' seyde sir Bedwere, 'youre commaundement shall be done.'

In *M* Arthur tells Bedwere to throw the sword in *that water*, in *Le Morte Arthur* into the sea, in the *Mort Artu* into a lake.

1239. 10. *undir a tre*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3460): 'The swerd he hyd vndyr a tree;' *Mort Artu* (p. 224): 'dedenz l'erbe'.

1239. 13. 'What sawe thou there?' seyde the kynge. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3462): "What saw thow there?" than sayd the kynge.

1239. 14. *nothyng but wawis and wyndys*. Cf. *Mort Artu* (p. 224): 'ge ne vi riens, se bien non'; *Le Morte Arthure* (3464–5):

... 'nothyng
 But watres depe and wawes wanne.'

1239. 27-31. 'A, traytour unto me and untrew,' &c. *M* here expands ll. 3480-1 of the poem to which there is no parallel in the French:

'A' false traytor,' he seyð thore,
'Twyse thou haste me treson wrought.'

1240. 4-7. *And there cam an arme and an honde above the watir, and toke hit and cleyght hit, and shoke hit thryse and braundysshed, &c.* *M*'s *an arme* is closer to the French 'une main qui . . . aparoit jusqu'au coute' than to the English 'there cam an hand withouten reste' (*Le Morte Arthur*, l. 3490). *Braundysshed* can be traced to the reading of MSS. *V* and *D* of the *Mort Artu* ('brandir'; 'brander' in other MSS.); *thryse* corresponds to the French *trois foiz ou quatre* (*Mort Artu*, p. 224), though it also occurs in l. 3497 of the poem.

1240. 10. *helpe me hens.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3498): 'helpe me sone that I ware there.' In the *Mort Artu* Arthur, instead of asking Girflet to help him, sends him away. Girflet watches the scene of Arthur's departure from 'un tertre qui estoit bien loing del roi demie liue' (*Mort Artu*, p. 225).

1240. 14-15. *a lytyll barge wyth many fayre ladyes in hit.* The English poet speaks of 'a ryche shyppe, with maste and ore, full of ladyes' (3500-1), and the French prose-writer of a ship 'qui estoit toute pleine de dames' (*Mort Artu*, p. 225). *M* abandons his usual preference for luxurious settings.

1240. 16-21. *and all they had blak hoodis, &c.* Certain details of this scene would seem to have been added by *M*, such as the black hoods worn by the ladies and the words *in one of their lappis kyng Arthure layde hys hede*.

1240. 29-35. 'A, my lorde . . . pray for my soule!' This dialogue, including the reference to the vale of Avalon, has no parallel in the *Mort Artu*. The English poem, on the other hand, contains most of it (ll. 3512-17):

. . . 'lord, whedyr ar ye bowne?
Allas! whedyr wyll ye fro me fownde?'
The kynge spake with a sory sowne:
'I wylle wende a lytell stownde
Into the vale of Avelovne,
A whyle to hele me of my wounde.'

C's reading—*I wyl in to* instead of *I muste into*—may well be authentic.

1241. 4-6. *he was ware, betwyxte two holtis hore, of a chapell and an ermytage.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3525): 'A chapelle bytwene ii holtes hore.' J. D. Bruce (*Anglia*, vol. xxiii, pp. 74-5) thought that *M*'s reference to a hermitage suggested a French source, for in the *Mort Artu* (ed. Frappier, p. 232) there is a description of Lancelot's arrival at the chapel 'ou il avoit un hermitage'. But nothing is more common than the combination of a chapel and a hermitage, and it is hardly possible to explain the appearance of *two holtis hore* in *M* except as a direct borrowing from the English text.

1241. 11. *he was but lytyll tofore Byssshop of Caunturbery.* This does not occur in the corresponding place in *M*'s sources, but the English poem says in a later passage (l. 3559),

Some tyme Archebishop he was,
That Mordred flemyd oute of londe,

and the *Mort Artu* discloses the hermit's identity after Lancelot's return to England. When Lancelot comes to the chapel and fails to recognize the hermit and his companions they say to him: '« Ne nos connoissiez vos mie? » Il les regarde et connoist que li uns est l'arcevesques de Cantorbieres' (p. 233).

1241. 13-21. *what man ys there . . . that was my lorde kynge Arthure*. In the *Mort Artu* Girflet does not need to ask who is buried in the tomb: 'Desus la tombe . . . avoit letres qui disoient: « Ci gist li rois Artus qui par sa valeur mist en sa subjection douze roiaumes. »' In *Le Morte Arthure*, although Bedwere sees the inscription on the tombstone ('And with ryche lettres rayled aryght'), he apparently fails to understand it, and asks the hermit 'who was beryed there' (l. 3535). The hermit replies (ll. 3537-41):

'Thereof can I tell no more
 Abowte mydnyght were ladyes here,
 I world ne wyste I what they were;
 Thys body they broght vpon a bere
 And beryed it with woundys sore;
 Besavntis offred they here bryght,
 I hope an C povnd and more,
 And bad me pray bothe day and nyght
 For hym that is buried in these moldys hore,' &c.

M's version is an abridgement of this.

1242. 3-33. *Thus of Arthure I fynde no more wrytten in bokis that bene auctorysed, &c.* Here *M* departs from both his sources to give his own account of Arthur's death and of the legend of his survival, with the characteristic identification of hitherto anonymous characters (ll. 7-8) and an equally characteristic digression about *M's* favourite 'knight-lover', Sir Pelleas. The speculations about the identity of the man buried in the hermit's chapel (ll. 15-21) and about the way in which Arthur 'chaunged hys lyff' (ll. 22-7) are good examples of the author's sceptical turn of mind. The alleged inscription on Arthur's tomb—*Hic jacet Arthurus, rex quondam rexque futurus*—is borrowed from the *explicit* of the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (cf. Bjorkman's edition, p. 128), and the remark that Bedwere 'dwelled that tyme in a chapell besydes Glassyngbyry' from the concluding passage of that same poem (ll. 4328-30):

The baronage of Bretayne thane, bechoges and othire,
 Graythes them to Glaschenbery, with galoppynnande hertes,
 To bery thare the bolde kynge and brynge to þe erthe.

Neither the *Mort Artu* nor *Le Morte Arthure* has anything corresponding to this. Both works go straight on to the story of Guinevere's retirement to a nunnery and of Lancelot's return to England.

1242. 29. *Hic jacet Arthurus, &c.* The same inscription is recorded in the *explicit* of the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (see Bjorkman's edition, p. 128, note). Giraldus Cambrensis (*Speculum Ecclesiae*, ii. 9) relates that in 1189 the graves of Arthur and Guinevere were discovered at Glastonbury and an inscription which read: 'Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arthurius in insula Avallonia cum Wenneweria uxore sua secunda.' The date is probably inaccurate (cf. E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, p. 114). It is given as

1191 in the *Chronicon Anglicanum* compiled for the years 1187-1224 by Ralph of Coggeshall. On the origin of the Glastonbury legend, see F. Lot, 'Glastonbury et Avalon' (*Romania*, vol. xxvii, p. 528), A. Holtzmann (*Germania*, vol. xii, p. 257), G. Baist (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. xix, p. 326), and R. Thurneysen (*ibid.*, vol. xx, p. 316).

1243. 4-10. *And there she . . . was chaunged.* Some MSS. of the French romance say: 'si prist maintenant les dras de la religion' (cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 227); others (*B*, *R*, *O*): 'si se fist de maintenant les treces coper et prist les dras [de religion]', while MSS. *V* and *D* add: 'et devint nonne en l'abeie'. Various details in *M* are, however, borrowed from the English poem:

Therin she lyved an holy lyffe,
I prayers for to wepe and wake;
Neuyr after she cowde be blythe;
There weryd she clothes whyte and blake (3570-3).

A Benedictine nunnery was founded in Amesbury by Ælfthryth (Ethelfrida), queen-dowager of Edgar, c. 980.

V

THE DOLOROUS DEATH AND DEPARTING OUT OF THIS WORLD OF SIR LAUNCELOT AND QUEEN GUINEVERE

1249. 1-10. *Now leve we, &c.* The recapitulation is not in *Le Morte Arthur* ('Whan thys tydynys was to Launcelot broght'). In the *Mort Artu* a messenger arrives in the city of Gaunes and tells Lancelot that Arthur has been killed in battle and that Mordred's two sons have taken possession of the kingdom. In *M* Lancelot is told of the events preceding the battle of Salisbury Plain, but is left to discover the rest for himself, on his return to England (cf. p. 1250, ll. 11-17).

1249. 7. *hys* = Arthur's.

1249. 12-29. '*Alas! that double traytoure . . . to sle that traytoure, sir Mordred.*' The speech is an expansion of the French 'il fut moult corrouciez, car trop avoit amé le rois Artu' (p. 228) and of l. 3575 of the English poem: 'What wondyr though hys hert were sore!'

1249. 30-1250. 4. '*Now leve youre complayntes,*' &c. There is no such speech in *Le Morte Arthur*. In the French romance (*loc. cit.*) Bors says to Lancelot: 'Sire, je vos enseignerai que vos feroiz: nos manderons noz homes pres et loing, et quant il seront venu et assemblé, nos nos parturons el roiaume de Gaunes et passerons en la Grant Bretaigne; et quant nos i serons, se li fill Mordret ne s'enfuient, il pueent bien estre asseur de mort.' Here, as in the previous paragraph, *M* seems to have deliberately brought in the theme of Gawain's death. Cf. 1250. 19-1251. 7.

1250. 19-1251. 7. *Now, fayre sirres . . . in prayers and in dolefull wepyng.* The origin of this passage must be sought in *M*'s own conception of the Death of Arthur story. Cf. 1249. 30-1250. 4.

1250. 25. *he lete make a dole, [and] all that wolde com, &c. W's of all that wolde com* shows a misreading of *ȝ* as *of*.

1251. 15-1252. 6. *I woll myselffe ryde and syke my lady. . . . Than sir Launcelot was brought before her.* In the *Mort Artu* Lancelot hears of Guinevere's death just as he is preparing to meet the attack of Mordred's sons at Winchester—an episode entirely absent from the two English versions. On the day chosen for the final battle 'li furent nouveles dites que la reine sa dame estoit morte et trespassee de cest siecle tierz jor avoit passé; et tout ainsi estoit il venu com l'en li avoit dit, car la reine estoit trespassee de cest siecle nouvelement; mes onques haute dame plus bele fin n'ot ne plus bele repentance, ne plus doucement criast merci a Nostre Seigneur qu'ele fist' (p. 229). *M's* account of Lancelot's journey to the nunnery and of his last meeting with Guinevere is based on *Le Morte Arthur*, ll. 3608 ff. The journey takes three days in the poem, seven or eight in *M*; the phrase *As he cam throw a cloyster clere* (l. 3622) corresponds to *M's as she* (*C*: he) *walked in the cloyster*; and *M's all ladyes and jantyllwomen had worke inowghe to holde the quene frome the erthe* is a distinctly better reading than

That many a man [*sic*] than nyghed hyr nere,
And to hyr chambyr was she ladde.

J. D. Bruce suggests, no doubt rightly, that *man* is probably a corruption of *nonne*.

1252. 8-1253. 27. *Thorow thys same man and me . . . that shall I never do.* Parallels with *Le Morte Arthur* run through the whole of this passage:

Le Morte Arthur (3638-92):

M:

Abbes, to you I knowlache here
That throw thys ylke man and me,
For we togedyr han loved vs dere,
All thys sorowfull werre hathe be;
My lord is slayne, that had no pere,
And many a doughty knyght and free

I-sette I am in suche a place,
My sowle hele I wyll abyde,
Telle god send me som grace

After to haue a syght of hys face
At domys day on hys ryght syde.
There-fore, syr Lancelot du Lake,
For my loue now I the pray,
My company thow aye for-sake
And to thy kyngdome thow take thy
way;
And kepe thy Reme from werre
and wrake,
And take a wyffe with her to play.

Thorow thys same man and me hath
all thys warre be wrought, and the
deth of the most nobelest knyghtes
of the worlde; for thorow oure love
that we have loved togydir ys my
moste noble lorde slayne

I am sette in suche a plyght to gete
my soule hele. And yet I truste,
thorow Goðdis grace . . . that afir
my deth I may have a syght of the
blyssed face of Cryste Jesu, and on
Doomesday to sytte on Hys ryght
syde . . . therefore, sir Launcelot . . .
for all the love that ever was betwyxt
us . . . I commaunde the . . . that
thou forsake my company. And to
thy kyngedom loke thou turne
agayne, and kepe well thy realmes
frome warre and wrake . . . and
there take ye a wyff, and lyff with
hir wyth joy and blys . . . Now,

Le Morte Arthur (3638-92):

M:

Now, swete madame, that wold I
not doo . . .
So vntrew fynd ye me neuyr mo . . .
The same desteny that yow is dyghte
I will resseyve in som house bolde,
To plesse hereafter God Allmyght . . .
And euyr for yow specyally pray.

my swete madame . . . that shall
I never do, for I shall be so false
unto you of that I have promysed.
But the selff desteny that ye have
takyn you to, I woll take me to, for
the pleasure of Jesu, and ever for you
I caste me specially to pray.'

A fragment of a fourteenth-century MSS. of the *Mort Artu*—Palatinus Latinus 1967 or MS. *V*—containing an account of Lancelot's visit to Guinevere was published by M. Jean Frappier in an article in *Romania* (vol. lvii, pp. 215-16) and reproduced by him in his edition of the text (pp. 239-40). Finding no resemblance between this passage and *M*'s version, M. Frappier suggested (art. cit., p. 221) that 'Malory n'a rien emprunté pour cet épisode à la version du Palatinus Latinus 1967'. That *M* did not use this particular text is probably true, but it is unnecessary to assume with M. Frappier that *M* had no knowledge of any French version in which some such interpolation occurred. MSS. *V* and *D* of the *Mort Artu* have some points in common with *M* (cf. 1045. 21, 1240. 4-7, and 1243. 4-10) and it is conceivable that if the French text used by *M* belonged to the same family it contained the scene in question. The differences between the two accounts would then be due to the fact that *M* was using the English poem alongside with the French romance and so did not need to rely upon the latter for every detail of the scene.

1253. 17. The Winchester MS. ends with the word *Sankgreall* and the catchwords *except sir*. The following note was inserted at the bottom of the page early in the last century: 'Ending nearly at the close of Chapter 172. See Pr. Arthur P.B. 2. fol. 52.' The reference is to Stansby's edition of 1634 (*The Most Ancient and Famous History of the Renowned Prince Arthur King of Britaine*).

1253. 32-3. *And the ladyes bare the quene to hir chambre*. Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3731): 'Into the chambyr the quene they bare.'

1254. 9-18. *But whan syr Bedwere . . . with prayers and fastynges*. Both the details of this scene and the wording of the passage are much closer to the English than to the French version. The story of Arthur's death is told in the latter by Blioberis, not by Bedwere, as in *M* and in *Le Morte Arthur*, and there is no parallel to Lancelot's dialogue with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The following examples of verbal agreement are worthy of note:

Le Morte Arthur

M:

3775 . . . syr Bedwere the tale told
3778 He threw hys armys . . .
3781 . . . knelyd vpon hys knee
3783 . . . prayd he myght hys
broder be
3793 And an abyte there dyd
hym vpon.

syr Bedwere had tolde his tale
Launcelot threwe hys armes . . .
knelyd doun on his knee . . . he
besought the Bysshop that he myght
be hys brother . . . and there he put
an habyte upon syr Launcelot.

1254. 19-35. *Thus the grete hoost abode at Dover . . . in prayers and fastyng.* These two paragraphs reproduce stanzas 477-9 of *Le Morte Arthur*, but Lionel's 'fifty lordys' (l. 3798) become fifteen in *M*, and contrary to *M* Ector alone appears in the poem as Bors's companion in the quest for Lancelot.

1254. 36-8. *syr Galyhud, syr Galyhodyn, &c.* *M* expands the line (3819) *There was comyn of there felowse sevyen* by supplying seven names chosen at random from among the knights of the Round Table. Cf. 1164. 9.

1255. 3-8. *Thus they endured . . . al maner of seroyce.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3826-31):

Holyche all tho sevyen yerys
Lancelot was preste and masse songe;
In penance and in dyverse prayers
That lyffe hym thought nothyng longe;
Syr Bors and hys other ferys
On bokys redde and bellys ronge.

1255. 8-9. *And soo their horses wente where they wolde, for they toke no regarde of no worldly rychesses.* This remark, absent from *M*'s sources, seems to reflect the attitude of a man who knows from experience the value of a horse to a knight-warrior. The underlying thought is that the moment a knight has ceased to take care of his horse his worldly life is ended.

1255. 14-1257. 11. *And thus upon a nyght there came a vysyon to syr Launcelot . . . it awaylled not.* In *Le Morte Arthur* there is no account of the circumstances of Guinevere's death. After the farewell scene at the nunnery she is not mentioned again until the last stanza but one:

Whan they came to Avmysbery
Dede they faunde Gaynour the quene,
With roddys feyre and rede as chery;
And forthe they bare hyr theym bytwene,
And beryed hyr with masse full merry
By syr Arthur, as I yow mene.
Now hyght there chapell Glassynbery,
An abbay full ryche, of order clene.

(3954-61)

In the French romance Lancelot hears of Guinevere's death on the day of the battle of Winchester: 'le jor meismes que la bataille dut estre li furent nouvelles dites que la reine sa dame estoit morte et trespassee de cest siecle tierz jor avoit passé, et tout ainsi estoit il venu com l'en li avoit dit, car la reine estoit trespassee de cest siecle nouvelement; mais onques haute dame plus bele fin n'ot ne plus bele repentance, ne plus doucement criast merci, &c.' (Cf. 1251. 12-1252. 6.) If, as is most likely, the two passages just quoted contain the only material *M* had for his story of Guinevere's death and funeral, it is clear that in narrative quality and fitness for the context these pages surpass all *M*'s earlier interpolations. Nor is there any difficulty about attributing them to his invention. Nothing, in fact, is more natural than that he should have added the story of Guinevere's 'dolorous death and departing'. He had before him the French version of it, which

had for the time being been omitted by the author of *Le Morte Arthur* so as to make room for the farewell scene; and as *M* had so far followed the English poem he too had said nothing about Guinevere's death. But when he came to the passage describing how Lancelot 'sekenyd sely sare' and died of sickness (ll. 3834) he found an opportunity of adding a denouement which brought out once more the human tragedy underlying the death of Arthur story. Lancelot's fate was thus linked up with Arthur's: 'Thenne syr Launcelot never after ete but lytel mete, nor dranke tyl he was dede. . . . For evermore. . . he was lyeng groveling on the tombe of kyng Arthur and quene Guenever, and there was no comforte that the Byssshop, nor syr Bors, nor none of his felowes coude make hym, it avaylled not.'

1255. 15. *in remysyon of his synnes* = 'for the remission of his sins'.

1255. 26-7. *they yede from Glastynburye to Almysburye, the whyche is lytel more than thirty myle*. Both places are mentioned in *Le Morte Arthur*, but without any indication of the distance. Here as elsewhere *M* seems to have made for himself a clear and fairly accurate plan of the geography of the story. Cf. G. R. Stewart, 'English Geography in Malory's "Morte D'Arthur"', *Modern Language Review*, vol. xxx (1935), pp. 204-9. Cf. also 1257. 27-8.

1257. 18-20. *It shal not nede you, &c.* This speech is not in the *Mort Artu*. It closely follows stanza 484 of the poem, and *It is but hevynesse of your blood* reproduces word for word l. 3853.

1257. 24. *howselyd and enelyd* = 'received the Eucharist and the extreme unction'.

1257. 27-8. *Somme men say it was Awnwyk, and somme men say it was Bambrorow*. Needless to say, the suggested identification of Joyous Gard with either Alnwick or Bamborough finds no support in *M*'s sources. But it may well have some connexion with the author's own experiences. In 1462 he went to Northumberland with the forces of the Earl of Warwick (cf. *Introduction*, p. xix). The purpose of the expedition was to raise the royal standard against the French and the Scots who, at the instigation of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, were endangering the peace of the realm. In the words of the *Warkworth Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell, Camden Society, 1839), 'Quene Margrett, Herry Duke of Excetre, the Duke of Somersett, and other lordes that fledde Englonde, hade kepte certeyne castelles in Northumberland, as Awnwyk, Bambrught, Dunstonebrught, and also Werworthe, whiche they hade vytayled and stuffed bothe with Englischemenne, Frenschemenne, and Scottesmenne; by the whiche castelle[s] thei hade the moste party of alle Northumberlonde. Kynge Edward and his counselle, thynkyng and un[der]stondyng wat hurte myghte appene thereof, made comyssionnes to the sowthe and west cowntré, and hade them gret money, wyth the whiche menne made redy, and beseged the same castelle[s] in the moneth of Decembre in the yere aforesaide.' It was on 30 October 1462 that Warwick reached Northumberland with 20,000 men (cf. *Paston Letters*, vol. iv, p. 59, and *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xl, p. 288). Edward followed him, starting from London on 3 November, reached York on 19 November, and passed on thence to Durham. An attack of measles incapacitated him from any action in person, but he sent the troops

he had brought with him to the assistance of Warwick who must already have been besieging the three castles of Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanborough from his headquarters at Warkworth (cf. Scofield, *Life and Reign of Edward IV*, vol. i, p. 262). Bamborough surrendered on Christmas Eve, 1462; the siege of Alnwick lasted till 30 January 1463. The whole campaign, so far as Malory was concerned, must, then, have lasted at least three months—from 30 October 1462 to 30 January 1463—and the date given in the *Warkworth Chronicle* ('in the moneth of Decembre') probably refers not to the actual investment of the castles, but to the time when all the commanders of the besieging troops, including the royal captains sent to reinforce Warwick's men, had stationed themselves and displayed their banners, making the siege heraldically complete. The same interpretation holds good of John Paston's letter of 11 December (loc. cit.) saying that the three castles 'wer besegyd as on yesterdaye'.

On the next page *M* says that the journey from the hermitage to Joyous Gard took fifteen days (p. 1258, l. 27). It is perhaps not without significance that this was almost exactly the time taken by Edward to reach York and that Warwick's expedition from London to Northumberland, where he arrived on 30 October 1462 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461-7, p. 231: Warwick's Commission is dated 6 November, but it must have been sent before that date), probably took about as long.¹ Cf. 1258. 20-33.

1257. 29-32. *'Howbest . . . me repenteth sore, but I made myn avowe somtyme in Joyous Garde I wold be buryed. And bycause of brekyng of myn avowe, I praye you al, lede me thyder.'* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3848-9):

Some tyme my trowthe therto I plyght,
Allas! me forthynketh that I so dyd.

That Lancelot should regret having pledged his faith to Guinevere must have seemed to *M* a perversion of the true meaning of the story, and in the attempt to avoid this implication he puts into Lancelot's mouth a series of somewhat incongruous remarks. Lancelot says in effect that he regrets having wished to be buried in Joyous Garde, that he 'broke his vows', and that he therefore wishes to be buried in Joyous Garde.

1257. 37-1258. 1. *as he laye in his bedde aslepe.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3867): 'As the bysshop lay in hys bed.' *Mort Artu*, p. 236: 'A celi point que l'ame li parti del cors n'estoit pas leanz li arcevesques ne Bleobleiris, einz se dormoient hors desouz un arbre.'

1258. 12. *syr Launcelot ayleth nothyng but good.* Cf. *Le Morte Arthur* (3884): 'Syr lancelot eylythe no-thing but gode.'

1258. 17-19. *Than was there wepyng and wryngyng of handes, and the grettest dole they made that ever made men.* Cf. *Mort Artu*, p. 237: 'et oïssiez entor le cors si grant duel et si grant noise qu'a peïnes i oïst on Dieu tonnant.' The only parallel to this in the English poem is the line *There was none but hys handys wrange* (l. 3916).

1258. 20-33. *And on the morne the Bysshop dyd his masse of Requyem . . . tyl*

¹ I owe to my friend Dr E. F. Jacob much valuable information on the chronology of these events.

that they were buried. Several details of the description of Lancelot's burial are peculiar to *M*'s rendering:

Mort Artu, p. 237:

Lors apareillent une
biere, et quant ele est
apareilliee, il i metent
le cors Lancelot, et puis
le pranent li uns d'une
part et li autres d'autre,
et vont tant par leur
jornees a grant travail
et a grant peinne que a
la Joieuse Garde vien-
nent; et quant cil de la
Joieuse Garde sont
que c'estoit li cors Lan-
celot, si alerent encon-
tre et le reçurent a
pleurs et a lermes; et
oïssiez entor le cors si
grant duel et si grant
noise qu'a peïnes i
oïst on Dieu tonnant;
si descendirent en la
mestre eglise del chas-
tel et firent au cors si
grant enneur comme
il pooient et comme il
devoient fere a si preu-
domme comme il avoit
esté.

Le Morte Arthur,
3898 ff.:

And after they made
theym a bere,
The bysshop and these
other bold.
And forthe they wente,
all in fere
To Ioyes garde, that
ryche hold.
In a chapell amyddys
the quere
A graue they made as
thay wold,
And iij dayes they
wakyd hym there,
In the castell with
carys cold.

M:

And on the morne the
Bysshop dyd his masse
of Requyem, and after
the Bysshop and al the
nine knyghtes put syr
Launcelot in the same
hors-bere that quene
Guenevere was layed
in tofore that she was
buried. And soo the
Bysshop and they al
togyders wente wyth
the body of syr Laun-
celot dayly, tyl they
came to Joyous Garde;
and ever they had an
hondred torches bren-
nyng aboute hym. And
so within fyftene dayes
they came to Joyous
Garde. And there
they layed his corps in
the body of the quere,
and sange and redde
many saulters and
prayers over hym and
aboute hym. And ever
his vysage was layed
open and naked, that
al folkes myght be-
holde hym, for suche
was the custom in tho
dayes that al men of
worshyp shold so lye
wyth open vysage tyl
that they were buried.

The mention of Guinevere who was 'layed in' 'the same hors-bere' as Lancelot 'tofore that she was buried', is in keeping with *M*'s interpretation of the story as a whole. On the significance of the 'fyftene dayes' see 1257. 27-8.

1258. 28. *in the body of the quere*, i.e. in the place of honour.

1258. 34-1259. 4. *And ryght thus as they were at theyr servyce . . . his brother, syr Launcelot, dede*. Here *M* abandons the *Mort Artu* altogether and makes

a final draft upon *Le Mortie Arihur*. Except for the fact that Ector, according to the poem, enters the chapel to hear mass, whereas in *M* he does so because he hears 'suche noyse and lyghte in the quyre of Joyous Garde', the two accounts agree very closely (cf. l. 3913: *They knew hym and he hem nought*).
 1259. 9-21. '*A, Lancelot!*' he sayd . . . '*put spere in the reeste*.' Ector's threnody is not in *M*. In *Le Mortie Arthur* Lancelot's companions pray in a few stirring lines for their lord's soul, and the *Mort Ariu* quotes the inscription on his tomb: 'Lancelos del Lac qui fu li mieudres chevaliers qui onques entrast el roiaume de Logres fors seulement Galaad son fill.' A more likely model is the following passage in the alliterative *Mortie Arihur* (3872-84):

He (= Gawain) was þe sterynneste in stoure that euer stele werryde . . .
 Mane hardyeste of hande, happyeste in armes . . .
 Þe lordelieste of ledynge, qwhylls he lyffe myghte,
 Fore he was lyone allossed in londes inewe;
 Had thow knawen hym, sir kynge, in kythe thare he lengede,
 His konynge, his knyghthode, his kyndly werkes,
 His doying, his doughtynesse, his dedis of armes.'

1259. 27-9. *Than syr Constantyn that was syr Cadores sone of Cornwayl*, &c. Probably another reminiscence of the alliterative *Mortie Arthur*, l. 4316: 'Constantyn my cosyn he sall the corown bere.'

1259. 29-1260. 4. *And than thys kyng . . . as holy men*. *M* fills in these would-be historical details on the very slender basis of the remarks in the English poem to the effect that 'they home come' (l. 3953) and that 'thus by-leve these ermytes sevy'n' (l. 3963). He follows the age-long rule of any drama that no characters should be left unaccounted for.

1260. 5-15. *And somme Englysshe bookes maken mencyon . . . for Goddes sake*. Once again *M*'s reference to the French book is meant to conceal his departure from it. In no French version do Arthur's knights appear as crusaders.

1260. 7. *favour of makers* = 'bias of poets'.

1260. 16-19. *Here is the ende of the hoole book of kyng Arthur and of his noble knyghtes of the Rounde Table, that whan they were hold togyders there was ever an hondred and forty. And here is the ende of The Deth of Arthur*. The title *Deth of Arthur* clearly refers to the last of Malory's works—*The Mortie Arthur* as he calls it earlier on—not to the entire compilation. 'The hoole book of Kyng Arthur and of his noble knyghtes of the Rounde Table' refers to a series of works, some of which by this time he may have put together without, however, attempting to give them more unity or cohesion than they had when they were first composed. *C*'s remark *Thus endeth thys noble and Ioyous book entytled le morte Darthur*, to which the book owes its traditional title, is a misinterpretation, no doubt deliberate, of *M*'s colophon.

It would seem that in writing these lines *M* was conscious that he had completed his great work with all its complex ramifications. The appeal for God's mercy in the final paragraph comes from a man who knows that his task is done and his own end near.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. THE FIRST EDITION¹

THE first edition of Malory's works is a small folio volume² without a title, produced by William Caxton at Westminster on 31 July 1485. The first leaf is blank. Caxton's Preface begins on sig. ii recto and is followed on sig. iiij verso by *The table or rubrysshe of the contente of chapytres*. The text itself begins on sig. a i recto and ends on sig. ee 6 recto. The colophon reads as follows:

Thus endeth thys noble and Ioyous book entytled le morte || Darthnr |
Notwythstondyng it treateth of the byrth | lyf | and || actes of the sayd
kyng Arthur | of his noble knyghtes of the || rounde table | theyr mer-
uayllous enquestes and aduentures | || thachyeuyng of the sangreal | & in
thende the dolorous deth & || departyng out of thys world of them al |
whiche book was re||duced in to englysshe by syr Thomas Malory knyght
as afore || is sayd | and by me deuyded in to xxi bookes chapytred || and |
enprynted | and fynysshed in thabbey westmestre the last day || of Iuy |
[sic] the yere of our lord | M|cccc|Lxxxv| ||

Caxton me fieri fecit

The black-letter type used in this edition³ (No. 4* according to Blades) was first introduced by Caxton in 1483 when he published the *Confessio Amantis*, the *Festial*, and the *Four Sermons*. The lines are spaced to an even length of 118 mm.; 38 lines (190 mm.) make a full page, but some of the pages have 39 lines and some are a few lines short. There are no head-lines or catchwords. Initials are in wood of 3 to 5 lines in depth. The volume has 432 leaves divided into 54 gatherings. Two gatherings are taken up by Caxton's Preface and Rubrics; the first has four folio sheets, the second five. The gatherings containing the text proper have four sheets each, with the exception of the last which has only three; they are numbered from a to z &, from A to Z⁴, and from aa to ee.

Only two copies of the edition are known: one in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (P), and one in the John Rylands

¹ For a description of the unique surviving manuscript, see vol. i, pp. lxxxvii-xci.

² 281 x 200 mm.

³ For a detailed description see William Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, vol. ii (London, 1863), pp. 176-8 (reproduced with slight alterations in the same author's *Biography and Typography of William Caxton*, London and Strasbourg, 1877, pp. 301-3). Seymour de Ricci (*A Census of Caxtons*, Oxford, 1909) and E. Gordon Duff (*Fifteenth-Century English Books*, Oxford, 1917) have supplemented and rectified Blades' description.

⁴ There are two misprints in the signatures: Riii for S iii and S ii for T ii.

Library in Manchester (*R*).¹ One leaf of a third copy has been found in the binding of *Vitae Patrum* (1495) in the Lincoln Cathedral Library.²

A word-for-word comparison of *P* and *R*³ shows that they represent two distinct 'states' of the text. The third sheet in gatherings N and Y has undergone thorough revision,⁴ and in addition there are thirty-three variants scattered all over the text, mostly in small batches. Some of these variants (marked in the list below with a dagger) are due to accidents of imposition such as flaws in the paper, displacement of letters, or loss of loose type drawn out by ink-balls; others (marked with an asterisk) represent deliberate corrections made by the printer after the printing off had begun:

	Line	<i>Rylands copy (R)</i>	<i>Morgan copy (P)</i>
1* sig. a 4 ^v	9	Now	N now
2† „ d iii ^r	..	sig. omitted	d iii
3* „ k 8 ^v	27	best	hest
4* „ n iii ^r	18	loue	boue
5† „ o 5 ^r	33	o	of
6* „ o 6 ^r	33	Arthurle te	Arthur lete
7† „ p 4 ^r	..	p iiiii	sig. omitted
8† „ p 6 ^v	38	kynges and quenes	omitted
9† „ t 8 ^v	..	¶ Capitulum primum	„
10† „ u ii ^v	9	myssa	myssay
11* „ u 7 ^r	1	sarche	serche ⁵
12† „ y ii ^v	1	thre	thæ ⁶
13† „ y 4 ^r	14	si	sir ⁷
14† „ z 7 ^v	7	bo	body ⁸
15* „ A ii ^r	34	& fayne	and fayne
16* „ „	35	what	omitted ⁹
17* „ „	..	A ii	ii A
18† „ A iii ^r	33	dy e	dyde

¹ The John Rylands Library also possesses a complete photostat of the Pierpont Morgan copy.

² Cf. Seymour de Ricci, op. cit., p. 76. The reference in the British Museum Bagford collection (vol. viii, n. 58) to another fragment is an error, as there is no original leaf in the volume (now 469 f, Ames Collection, vol. 1), while no. 58 is a manuscript transcript.

³ For this I am indebted to my friend and former pupil, Mr E. S. Murrell, who collated the two copies from beginning to end for the purpose of the present edition.

⁴ Both are reproduced in full in my critical apparatus, cf. above pp. 856-61, 866-72, 1090-5, and 1105-9.

⁵ u ii^v and u 7^r belong to the same forme.

⁶ The ligature *æ* is upside down in *P*.

⁷ Flaw in the paper in *R*.

⁸ Only the final loop of *y* remains in *R*.

⁹ This is the result of the previous correction: *what* occurs at the end of a line, and there was no room left for it when ¶ had been expanded to *and*.

ye haue made/ For thurgh yow ye haue herafte me the fayrest
 felawship and the truest of knyghthode that euer were sene to
 gyders in ony realme of the world/ For whanne they departe
 from hens I am sure/ they alle shalke neuer mete more in thys
 world/ for they shalke dye many in the quest/ And so it for/
 thyngketh me a lytel/ for I haue loued them as wel as my lyf
 wherfor hit shal greue me ryght sore the departyng of this
 felawship/ For I haue had any oldy customme to haue hem in
 my felawship /

Capitulum Octauum/

And ther with the tere fylle in his eyen / And thenne
 he sayd Salwayne Salwayne ye haue sette me in grete
 sorowe/ For I haue grete doute that my true felawship
 shalke neuer mete here more ageyne/ He sayd for Launcelot com
 forth your self/ for hit shalke be vnto vs a grete honour & mo/
 che more than yf he dyed in ony other place/ for of weth he
 be sykke/ Launcelot said þe kyng þe grete loue þe I haue had vnto
 you al the dayes of my lyf maketh me to say suche dolefull
 wordes/ for neuer Crysten kyng had neuer soo many worthy
 men at this table as I haue had this daye at the round table
 and that is my grete sorowe/ ¶ Whanne the Quene ladyes &
 gentylwymmen wyte these tydynges / they had suche sorowe &
 heynesse that ther myght no tonge telle hit/ for tho knyghtes
 had holden them in honour and chere/ But amonge all oth/
 er Quene Eneneuer made grete sorowe/ I merueylle said she
 my lord world suffre hem to departe from hym/ thus was al the
 Court troubled for the loue of the departyng of tho knygh/
 tes/ And many of tho ladyes that loued knyghtes wold ha
 ue gone with her louers / and so had they done had not any
 oldy knyghte come amonge them in Religyous clothyng/ and
 thenne he spake alle on hyght/ and said fayre Lordes which ha
 ue born in the quest of the Sancgreal/ Thus sendeth you na
 cpen the hermyte word that none in this queste lede lady nor
 gentylwoman with hym/ for hit is not to doo in so hyght a ser
 uise as they labour in/ for I warne yow playne he that is not
 cleue of his synnes/ he shalke not see the mysterpes of our lord

		Line	Rylands copy (R)	Morgan copy (P)
19*	sig. B iii ^v	6	with in	within
20*	„ B 4 ^r	2	these	these
21*	„ B 5 ^v	1	sure	sure ¹
22†	„ D 1 ^r	21	Ma ke	Marke
23†	„ I 5 ^v	30	nyghtes	tn yghtes
24*	„ N 6 ^v	38	praid them alle	prayed themall ²
25†	„ N 8 ^r	5	yghte this	yghte this ²
26*	„ „	33	[gre-] to	[gre-]te
27†	„ O 4 ^v	34	eyth r	eyther
28*	„ P 4 ^r	9	for to	sor to
29†	„ T ii ^v	20	fay u	fayu
30*	„ V ii ^r	3	Soo a fter	Soa after
31†	„ X 5 ^r	4	lenynge	lenyng ³
32*	„ cc 7 ^r	31	full	sull
33*	„ ee ii ^v	21	forsake	sorsake

It is clear that the variants marked with an asterisk represent corrections made sometimes in *R* and sometimes in *P*. Hence each copy contains some corrected and some uncorrected sheets (no doubt because the binder did not trouble himself to sort them out), and neither can be regarded as representing a fully revised 'state'.

The accident of binding probably also accounts for the inclusion in *P* of two fully revised sheets, the first of which contains sig. N iii and N 6, the second sig. Y iii and Y 6.⁴ The frequency of the variants in these four leaves is such as to suggest that the whole matter was reset from beginning to end. The alterations of spelling are fairly consistent: in *R* preference is given to such forms as *shalle*, *wille*, *alle*, and *soo*, whereas *P* distinctly favours *shal*, *wyl*, *al*, and *so*—forms which are less common in Caxton's edition as a whole. This added to such variants as *this he* in *R*, *this is he* in *P*, *assaye to take the suerd* and *at my commaundement* in *R*, *assaye to take the suerd* & *assaye at my comandement* in *P*, shows that in this instance *P* represents the revised issue. The most interesting variant occurs in the passage describing Galahad's magic sword which he was to draw from a stone found floating on the river. *R* says that when Gawain had failed to draw the sword there were *moo* (= 'more knights') who ventured to try it. Such is also the reading of the Winchester MS.: 'Than were there mo that durste be so hardy to sette their hondis thereto.' Caxton must have noticed the error and inserted a negation before *moo* when the text was already in the press, with the result that in *P* the correct

¹ B 4^r and B 5^v belong to the same forme.

² The stroke is very faint in *P* and completely obliterated in *R*.

³ The word occurs at the end of a line.

⁴ The fact that in both cases the sheet is the third sheet of the gathering is probably a mere coincidence.

reading *were there no moo* was restored, while *R* preserved the corrupt reading of Caxton's copy.

Cases such as this might explain why Caxton undertook the revision while the book was being printed. It has been suggested, as a possible reason, that having distributed the type he found that he had not printed a sufficient number of copies of two of the sheets and so had to produce a few more.¹ But this would not account for the fact that in resetting the type of the two sheets he made nearly seven hundred corrections, some of which represent improvements on the earlier issue. A more plausible theory would seem to be that he reset the type because he wished to make certain alterations, and that the occasion for making them arose when he had to wait for freshly printed sheets to dry.² Knowing that he would have some time to spare he could interrupt the printing of, say, the inner forme of one of the sheets, reset the two pages comprised in it, and so produce another issue. By that time the first issue would presumably be dry, and he could print the outer forme on it. But as he would come to the end of it before the revised issue was dry, he would naturally take the opportunity of resetting the outer forme as he had reset the inner one. In this way the two issues would remain distinct throughout, and each copy would come out of the press with either a completely revised or a completely unrevised sheet, as is in fact the case in the two extant examples of Caxton's text.

The Pierpont Morgan copy is the only complete one.³ The John Rylands copy⁴ wants eleven leaves (98, 152-3, 307, 312, 357-8, and 428-31). These have been supplied in facsimile by Whittaker, whose work is, however, more remarkable for its artistic finish than for its accuracy: there are no fewer than seventy-two mistakes in the tran-

¹ Cf. Curt F. Buhler, 'Two Caxton Problems', *The Library*, vol. xx (1940), pp. 266-8. I am grateful to Dr. Buhler for correcting an error in my 'Note on the Earliest Printed Texts of Malory's *Morte Darthur*' (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. xxiii, no. 1), but the substance of my argument is not affected by it.

² On the importance of this process in early printing, see R. McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 210.

³ It was originally one of the twenty-two Caxtons which were dispersed in 1698 with the library of Francis Bernard, Physician to James II. In the course of the eighteenth century it was sold several times, and belonged successively to Thomas Rawlinson, the Earl of Oxford (Robert Harley), Bryan Fairfax, and Francis Child, maternal ancestor of the Earl of Jersey. It was in the Earl of Jersey's Osterley Park collection until 1885 when it was bought by Mr. and Mrs. Norton Q. Pope, of Brooklyn, N.Y. Its next owner was Robert Hoe. At the sale of Hoe's library in 1911 J. Pierpont Morgan bought the volume for \$42,800. It is bound in old red morocco. The blank leaf (sig. i), preserved in the Rylands copy, is missing.

⁴ It was bought by Earl Spencer at John Lloyd's sale for £300 and remained in the Spencer library at Althorp until 1892, when Mrs. John Rylands bought it for the John Rylands Library. It is bound in olive morocco by C. Lewis.

ye haue made/ For thorough you ye haue kerafke me the fyrrest
 felauſhypp and the trueſt of knyghthode that euer Were ſene to
 gyders in ony royaume of the World/ For when they departe
 from hens I am ſure they alle ſhal neuer mete more in thys
 world/ For they ſhal dye many in the queſt / And ſo it for/
 thyngketh me a lytel/ for I haue loued them as wel as my lyf
 wherefore hit ſhal greue me ryght fore the departycon of thys
 felauſhypp / For I haue had any olde cuſtome to haue them in
 my felauſhypp /

¶ Capitulum Octauum

And there wyth the tres fyl in his eyen/ And thenne
 he ſayd Galbayne Galbayne ye haue ſette me in grete
 ſowle/ for I haue grete doubt that my true felauſhypp
 ſhal neuer mete here more ageyn/ A ſayd ſyr Launcelot com /
 forte your ſelf/ for hit ſhal be vnto vs a grete honour & moche
 more than yf we dyed in any other place / for of deeth we be
 ſpker/ A Launcelot ſaid the kyng the grete houe that I haue had
 vnto you al the dayes of my lyf maketh me to ſay ſuche dole-
 ful wordes/ for neuer caſten kyng-had neuer ſo many worthy
 men at his table as I haue had thys day at the rounde table
 and that is my grete ſowle / ¶ When the Quene ladyes &
 gentillwymmen wyte theſe tydyngees/ they had ſuche ſowle &
 heupnoſſe that there myght no tonge telle it/ for tho knyghtes
 had holde them in honour and chere/ But emonge al othez
 Quene Gueneuer made grete ſowle / I meruaylle ſayd the
 my lord wold ſuffre hem to departe from hym/ thus was al the
 courte troubled for the houe of the departycon of tho knygh-
 tes / & many of tho ladyes that loued knyghtes wold haue
 gone wyth her huters and ſo had they done had not any olde
 knyght comen emonge them in Rehygious clothynge/ & thenne
 he ſpake al on hyght / And ſayd fayre lordes whyche haue
 ſworen in the queſte of the Sancgwal/ Thus ſendeth you na-
 cren the hermyte word that none in this queſte ſede lady nor
 gentylwoman wyth hym/ for hit is not to do in ſo hyght a ſer-
 uys as they labour in/ for I warne you playne be that is not
 clene of his ſynnes/ he ſhal not ſee the myſteryes of our lord

scription,¹ some of which, left uncorrected by Sommer in his reprint of the Rylands copy, are still to be found in later reprints.²

The Rylands copy has no foliation. In the Morgan copy the first 132 leaves are numbered in a modern hand, but the first leaf is left out of account and no. 19 is duplicated. In Sommer's reprint the first leaf is likewise ignored for purposes of foliation. To avoid confusion, however, Sommer's numbering has been adopted in the present edition for all folio references to Caxton's text.

Among the early printers³ Wynkyn de Worde alone used Caxton's *Morte Darthur*. His first edition appeared in 1498, his second in 1529.⁴ William Copland (1557) was content to use the second, Thomas East (c. 1585) used both that edition and Copland's, and William Stanby (1634) used Thomas East's. No edition of Malory's works appeared in the eighteenth century, and Caxton's text did not come to light again until 1817 when Robert Southey produced his reprint of it under the title of *The Byrth, Lyf and Actes of Kyng Arthur*. But it was only when Edward Strachey published the text 'revised for modern use' in 1868 that its superiority over all the other early editions was generally recognized. Sommer's reprint of the Rylands (then Spencer) copy published in 1889 has for the last half-century been used by most editors as a convenient substitute for the original Caxton.

¹ These are recorded in my critical apparatus under *Wh*.

² Sommer's edition is responsible for many other inaccuracies in modern reprints. When Sommer published his text in 1889 he declared that it 'followed the original impression of Caxton with absolute fidelity, word for word, line for line, page for page, and with some exceptions . . . letter for letter'. The exceptions are the normalizing of the three different kinds of *w*, the use of *I* for *i* and *j*, the distinction made between *3* and *z*, the addition of the hyphen where words are divided at the end of the line, and the attempt to avoid the confusion, frequent in Caxton's text, between *n* and *u* and between *f* and *f*. In collating the reprint with the Rylands copy I found over a thousand mistakes, some of which, though by no means all, I have recorded in my critical apparatus under *S*. The mistakes range from a confusion between *f* and *f* to a complete distortion of the original, e.g. *on day for or day* (p. 37, l. 20), *this syde of the Iland for this syde the Iland* (p. 99, l. 19), *I am for I cam* (p. 233, l. 4), *ye for he, wold for wolt*, &c. No doubt the dimensions of the work, as any editor of Malory knows to his cost, make absolute accuracy humanly impossible; but the unfortunate thing about Sommer was that he belonged to that tradition of German scholarship which did not regard modesty as a virtue.

³ For a list of subsequent editions, see my *Malory*, pp. 190-6.

⁴ These editions are at least as scarce as Caxton's. Only one copy of each is known, the first (1498) in the John Rylands Library, the second (1529) in the British Museum. In 1933 the Shakespeare Head Press produced a reprint of the first edition from the Rylands copy. The British Museum copy of the second edition has manuscript notes by Archdeacon Wrangham to whom it once belonged.

II. CRITICAL WORKS

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¹ In this list completeness is not aimed at. Works dealing with Malory's influence on later writers, prefaces to popular editions, and text-books of literary history have been omitted. References to Malory in works not otherwise concerned with him have been included in exceptional cases only (cf. nos. 62 and 69).

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68. LEWIS, C. S., [Review of] E. K. Chambers, 'Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies', *Medium Ævum*, vol. iii (October, 1934), pp. 238-9.
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[On narrative technique.]
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[On style and characterization.]
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82. STRACHEY, EDWARD, [Introduction to] *Le Morte Darthur: Sir Thomas Malory's Book of King Arthur and of his Noble Knights of the Round Table* [First impression March 1868], London, 1919, pp. ix-xxiii (*The Authorship and Matter of the Book*) and xxxviii-lvi (*An Essay on Chivalry*).
83. THORNTON, SISTER M. M., *Malory's Morte Darther as a Christian Epic*, Urbana, Ill., University of Illinois, 1936.
84. *The Times Literary Supplement*, [Leading article on] 'Sir Thomas Malory', 21 June 1930.
85. VAN DER VEN-TEN BENSEL, ELISA FRANCISCA WILHELMINA MARIA, *The Character of King Arthur in English Literature*, Amsterdam, 1925, pp. 139-54 (*Malory's 'Morte Darthur'*).
86. VINAVER, EUGÈNE, *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory*, Paris, 1925, pp. 91-129 (*Matière et Sens*), 131-47 (*L'Idéal chevaleresque*), 149-52 (*Malory traducteur*), 155-220 (*L'Originalité de Malory*).
87. ———, *Malory*, Oxford, 1929, pp. 29-114.
88. WILLIAMS, CHARLES, 'Malory and the Grail Legend', *Dublin Review*, no. 429 (April, 1944), pp. 144-53.
89. WILSON, ROBERT H., *Characterization in Malory: A Comparison with his Sources* ['Essential Portion' of a University of Chicago dissertation], Chicago, 1934.
90. ———, 'Malory's Naming of Minor Characters', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. xlii (July, 1943), pp. 364-85.
91. WUELCKER, RICHARD PAUL, *Die Artursage in der englischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 16-21.¹

¹ Sir Edmund Chambers' *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1945) containing a chapter on Malory appeared after the present edition had gone to press.

INDEX

WHILE the primary purpose of this Index is to facilitate reference to the text of Malory's romances, the real measure of its usefulness is the light it can throw on the author's treatment of proper names. An attempt has been made, therefore, to trace the place-names and the names of characters either to Malory's sources or to his own invention as the case may be, to identify the less easily recognizable place-names, and, in the case of minor characters, to solve some of the complex problems of identity. It is not uncommon in Malory for two or more characters to bear the same name (cf. Alyne, Bryaunte, Elayne), or for one character to appear under two different names (e.g. Boarte—Boore, Clement—Cleremounde, Arnolde—Raynolde). In all such cases the following broad principles have been adopted: (a) wherever a name invented by Malory occurs in two or more different passages in the same form it is taken to refer to the same person; (b) wherever a character not of Malory's invention is either made by him into two or, as frequently happens, identified with another,¹ the names are treated in accordance with his version; (c) wherever Malory fails to make it clear whether a name used in two different passages refers to one or to two of the characters borrowed from his sources, it is assumed that he agrees with these.

The figures refer to pages. *M* stands for Malory, *W* for the Winchester MS., *C* for Caxton's edition, *O.F.* for Malory's French sources, and *MA* for the alliterative *Morte Arthur*. Caxton's spellings which do not coincide with any found in the text are quoted in square brackets.

The following names occur in Caxton only:

Braban (= Brabant),	p. 227, small type, line 6
Cayer (= Cairo),	„ 193, „ „ „ 7
Champayne	„ 205, „ „ „ 12
Gallacye (= Galatia),	„ 193, „ „ „ 8
Germanye	„ 226, „ „ „ 4
Grece	„ 193, „ „ „ 9
Janeweyes (= Genoese),	„ 192, „ „ „ 18
Troylus	„ 1201, note 16-17
Wade ²	„ 308, „ 18-20
Ytalye	„ 191, small type, line 8

¹ On this and other aspects of Malory's treatment of proper names, see R. H. Wilson, 'Malory's Naming of Minor Characters', *Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. xlii (1943), pp. 364-85, and my *Malory*, pp. 35-8. Both accounts are based on H. O. Sommers's Index to his edition of *Le Morte Darthur*.

² See *Medium Ævum*, vol. ii, pp. 135-6.

Most of these, if not all, are Caxton's additions. *Braban* was probably suggested by memories of his stay in the Low Countries,¹ and *Troilus* by Chaucer's poem published by Caxton less than a year before *Le Morte Darthur*.

Needless to say, these additions appear neither in my text nor in the Index. There are, however, certain proper names which, although included in both, may not have occurred in Malory's original manuscript. The *Tale of King Arthur and the Emperor Lucius*, the first in date of Malory's romances, refers to two characters, Ector de Mares and Pelleas, who belong respectively to two later works, the *Tale of Sir Launcelot* and the *Tale of King Arthur*. Unless Malory had the French sources of these before him at the time when he wrote his first romance, one of his early copyists must have borrowed these two names from their proper context in Malory. The names of Harleus le Berbeus and Peryne de la Mountayne, found by Malory in the French Prose *Tristan* (*Herlaux le Barbu* and *Perin de la Montaine*), and used by him in his adaptation of that romance on p. 646, also occur, without the support of the source, on p. 81,² in the *Tale of King Arthur*, written much earlier. Here again two explanations are possible: either Malory himself had access to the French *Tristan* while writing the *Tale of King Arthur*, or one of his scribes, while copying the passage which corresponds to p. 81, opened the *Book of Tristram* at random and found both names on a page which corresponds to p. 646. The latter hypothesis derives some strength from the fact that in some MSS., as in *W*, proper names were written in red ink and supplied by the rubricators after the copy had been completed.

Once the possibility of the 'scribal' origin of some of the proper names is admitted, one cannot vouch for the authenticity of all the lists of names which abound in the two extant versions. The longest of these lists, which includes over a hundred names of the knights who tried to heal Sir Urry, may well contain several scribal additions which it is no longer possible to separate from Malory's own text.

¹ On p. 198 (small type, line 5) there is a reference to Flanders which probably did not occur in Malory's manuscript.

² *Peryne de la Mountayne* becomes on p. 81 *Peryne de Mounte Belyarde*.

- ABBLASOWRE [Abblasoure], place-name coined by Malory from the French *vavasour*, 887. See *Commentary*, note 887. 1-2.
- ABELL(E) [Abel], O.F. Abel, Abel li Justes, 991, 993.
- ABELLEUS, ABELLYUS [Abilleus], knight slain by Tor, 111-13.
- ACCALON, ACCOLON OF GAULLE, O.F. Accalon, lover and champion of Morgan le Fay, 79, 137-49, 152, 158.
- ADAM, 990.
- ADRAWNS, duke, King Arthur's uncle, 662.
- ADTHERPE [Adtherp], knight who rescues Isode from Palomides, 422-3.
- ADVENTURE(s), see Castell Adventures, and La Beale Adventure.
- AGENTE = Agen, earldom of, 1205.
- AG(G)LOVAL(E) [Aglavale], O.F. Agloval, -vaus, brother of Perceval, 344, 346, 610-11, 667, 809-12, 814, 829, 892, 1149, 1177.
- AGGRAVAYNE, AGRAVAYNE [Agravayn], O.F. Agravains, Agrevains, Engrevains, son of King Lot of Orkeney, 41, 78, 317, 339, 344, 346, 361, 363, 386, 585, 589-90, 613-15, 663, 691-2, 699, 716, 1045-6, 1048, 1070-1, 1092, 1096, 1108, 1110-11, 1120, 1123, 1148, 1153-4, 1161-8, 1171, 1175-6, 1184, 1197.
- AGLOVALE, see Agglovale.
- AGUAURS [Aguarus], O.F. Agaran(s), enemy of the earl of Vale, 926.
- AGWY(S)SH(E), see Angwysshe.
- ALADUKE, see Alyduke.
- ALARDYNE OF THE OUTE ILES [Alardyn of the ily], knight slain by Gawain in the quest of the white hart, 105.
- ALBONS, see Saynt Albons.
- ALMAYN(E) = Germany, *MA* Almaygne, Almayne, 191, 192, 194, 227.
- ALMYSBURY(E), AMYSBYRY [Almesburye], = Amesbury, abode of Guinevere after Arthur's death, 1243, 1249, 1255-6.
- ALPHEUS [Alphegus] OF SPAYNE, Spanish knight slain by Urry at a tournament, 1145.
- ALYDUKE, ALADUKE, 1048, 1071-2; one of the knights imprisoned by Tarquyn and delivered by Lancelet, 268; slain in the Roman campaign, 214-15, 217. See *Commentary*, note 1048. 22.
- ALYNE [Eleyn], daughter of King Pellynor and the lady of the Rule, 119.
- ALYNE [Aley], O.F. Alain, brother of Lamorak and Dryaunt (Tryan), 582.
- ALYS LE BEALL PYLCGRYME, LA BEALE ALYS, LA BEALE PELLARON [la Beale Pylgrym, la Beale Pellyryn], O.F. Aylyes, Ailies, wife of Alexander the Orphan, 644-8.
- ALYSAUNDIR [Alysaunder] = Alexander the Great, 231, 1201.
- ALYSAUNDIR LE ORPHELYNE [Alysaender le Orphelyn, Alysaunder, Alisander], O.F. Alixandres li orphelins, son of Boudwyn and nephew of King Mark, 633-48, 1072, 1149-50, 1170.
- ALYSUNDIR [Alysaundrye] = Alexandria, 193.
- AMA(U)NT(E), O.F. Amans, Armant, knight in the service of King Mark, 577-9, 592-3.
- AMBAGE, *MA* Ambyganye, name of a country, 193.
- AMORIS, see Playne de Amoris.
- AMYSBYRY, see Almysbury.
- ANDRET, ANDRED, O.F. Andret, cousin and enemy of Tristram, 397-8, 426, 430-2, 498-9, 502, 546-9, 619, 1150.
- ANGEYOY [Anjoye] = Anjou, dukedom of, 1205.
- ANGLYDES [Anglides], O.F. Angledis,

- Anglediz, wife of Boudwyne and mother of Alexander the Orphan, 633-5, 636-7.
- A(N)GWR(S)SH(E) [Anguysh, Anguyssh(e)], *O.F.* Ang(u)yns, Hanguin; ANGUYSAUNS, ANGUYS-HAUNCE, ANGWYSAUNS, ANGWYSSHAUNE, ANGWYSSHAUNS [Aguy-saunce, Agwysaunce, Anguys-saunce], *O.F.* Aguisans, Aguisans, Aguisiax, King of Ireland, father of La Beal Isode, 26, 28, 30, 31, 35, 126, 188 (*erroneously described as King of Scotland*), 344, 348, 376, 384, 385, 386, 404, 405, 406, 408, 410, 411, 417, 503, 740, 760-1, 1065, 1069-70, 1088, 1103, 1107-8, 1147.
- ANNECIANS, ANTHEMES [Antemes], *O.F.* Anciaumes, Aleume, Anthaume, Anthiaumes (seneschal to King Ban), godson of King Bors, 36, 39. See *Commentary*, note 36. 1-26.
- ANWYK = Alnwick, 1257.
- ANYAUSS(E) [Anyause, Anyaus], king, in the Grail quest 'betokenyth Jesu Cryste, which ys Kyng of the worlde', 957, 959, 967.
- APRES, see Barraunte le Apres.
- ARAMATHY [Armathye, Abarimathye, Armathe] = Arimathea, *O.F.* Arimathie, Abarimathie, 85. See also Joseph off Aramathy.
- ARBRAY, *O.F.* Arbraye, castle in which Sadok seeks refuge from Mark, 677.
- ARCHADE, ARCHEDE, *O.F.* Archade, brother of Gomoryes, slain by Palomides, 658.
- ARGAYLE = Argyllshire, 189.
- ARGUSTUS, *O.F.* Argustes, son of King Harlon, 933.
- ARGUYS, *O.F.* Argus, a leader in Mark's campaign against the Saxons, 619.
- ARMYNAKE [Armynak] = Armagnac, earldom of, 1205.
- ARNOLD(E), RAYNOLD(E) [Reynold], *MA* Raynal(l)de, Cornish knight, brother of Gauter and Gylmere, 214, 275-6, 343, 346-7, 1149, 1177.
- ARNOLDE LE BRUSE, LE BREWSE, brother of Gararde, slain by Gareth at Mortayse, 317, 338.
- ARRABÉ [Arabye] = Arabia, *MA* Arraby, 193.
- ARRABÉ [Arabe], mount of, *MA* Araby, 205.
- ARRAGE, *MA* Orcage, name of a country, 193.
- ARROK, one of the knights who try to heal Urry, *possibly identical with Arrowse*, 1150. See also Degrevaunt.
- ARROWSE [Arrouse], *O.F.* Arous, earl who enters the lists at the tourney of Surluse, 659.
- ARROY, *O.F.* Aroie, country and forest reached by Marhalte, Gawain, and Uwain, 162.
- ARTHUR(E), *O.F.* Artus, King of Britain, son of Uther Pendragon and Igrayne, *passim*.
- ARUNDELL, in Sussex, *identified with the castle Magowns*, 635. See *Commentary*, note 635. 22-3.
- ARYES [Aries], *O.F.* Ares, 'the cow-herd', 99-101, 610, 1149. See also Tor le Fyze Aryes.
- ARYSTANSE, ARYSTAUNCE [Arystause], *O.F.* Aristant, one of the knights who fight at the tourney of Surluse, 668, 1147.
- ASCAMORE, ASCOMORE, ASTAMOUR [Astamore, Astamor], 'the good knight that never failed his lord', 215, 221, 1048, 1148, 1164. See *Commentary*, note 215. 34.
- ASCLABOR [Astlabor], *O.F.* Esclabor, king, father of Palomides, 769. 773.
- ASCOMORE, see Ascamore.
- ASSY [Asye] = Asia, 193.
- ASTAMOUR, see Ascamore.

- ASTOLAT(E), ASTOLO(T), O.F. Escalot, 'that ys in Englysh Gylforde', 1065, 1066, 1067, 1080, 1081, 1084, 1085, 1092, 1096; Fair Maid of, *see* Elayne le Blank.
- AUFRYKE [Auffryke] = Africa, 193, 231.
- AUNOWRE [Annowre, Annoure], sorceress, 490-1.
- AUNSERUS, AUNSYRUS the PYLGRYME [Anserus, Ansirus the pylgrym], O.F. Rancier, Ranceys, le pelerin, father of Alys La Beale Pylgrym, 644.
- AVILION [Awelyon], O.F. Avalon, territory of the lady Lyle, 61.
- AVOUTRES, *see* Uwayne les Avoutres.
- AVYLYON, O.F. Avalon, isle of, home of Gryngamour, 342, 343; vale of, valley to which the three Queens carry the dying Arthur, 1240. On the identification with Glastonbury, *see* E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, pp. 114-23.
- BABILONYE [Babyloyne] = Babylon, 1036.
- BAGDEMAGUS [Basdemegus, Bawdemegus], O.F. Bagdemagus, Baudemagus, King of Gore, cousin of King Urience, 79, 131, 132, 259, 261, 262, 263, 344, 348, 386, 485, 653, 654-5, 658-9, 660, 661-2, 670, 675, 877-9, 1020, 1026, 1121, 1211.
- BALAN, O.F. Balaan, brother of Balin, 40, 70-92, 863.
- BALIN, BALYN(E) LE SAVEAGE, BALYNS LE SAVEAIGE [Balen], O.F. Bala(i)n le Sauvage, 'the knight with the two swords', 40, 56, 57-92, 568, 612, 863.
- BAMBOROW = Bamborough, 1257.
- BAN, O.F. Ban, King of Benwick, father of Lancelot du Lake, 20-4, 26-7, 30-41, 125, 245, 257, 267, 407, 516, 525, 531, 646, 829, 930, 1112, 1212.
- BARAM DOWNE, BAREON DOWNE [Baramdoune, Baram Doun] = Barham Down in Kent, 1232, 1250.
- BARFLETE, port of, = Barfleur, 194, 198, 204, 205.
- BARNARDE [Bernard] OF ASTOLAT, father of Elayne le Blanke, 1066-8, 1077-8, 1089-90, 1094.
- BARRAUNTE, BERRAUNT(E) [Baraunt, Beraume] LE APRES, *usually referred to as* 'the King with the Hondred Knyghtes', O.F. Berant, Beraut li aspres, *also* Aguiginier and Malaquin, 17, 19, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 387, 416, 417, 504, 523, 525-7, 529, 530-1, 533, 580, 661, 667, 704-5, 731, 1065, 1069-70, 1073, 1076, 1088, 1103, 1107-8, 1112, 1147.
- BARTELOT [Bertelot, Bertolet], brother of Breunys Sanze Pit , 819-20.
- BASTARDE, *see* Gylbardys the Bastarde.
- BAUDAS [Bandes], O.F. Baudas, Baudac, King, father of the damsel beloved by Corsabryne, 664.
- BAWDEWYN OF BRETAYN(E), BAWDWYN OF BRYTAYNE [Baudewyn of Bretayn], one of two governors of Arthur's realm, 16, 18, 19, 190, 195, 340; a hermit, 1074-6, 1086. *See Commentary*, note 195.3-40.
- BAYAN = Bayonne, 1204. *See also* Benoy.
- BEAL(E), LA, *see* La Beale Adventure, Alys, Isode, and La Beale Regard.
- BEALLE VALET [Beale Valet], O.F. Belvaliot, castle, 615.
- BEARNE = B arn, earldom of, 1205.
- BEAWME = Beaune, 1204. *See also* Benoy.
- BE(A)WMAYNES [Bea(u)mayns], nickname given by Kay to Gareth, *q.v.*, 295-363.

- BEDGRAYNE, O.F. Bedingran, Bredigain, Bendigran, castle of, 26, 38; forest of, 24, 25; battle of, 41.
- BEDWERE, BEDYVERE [Bedever(e), Pedever] THE BOLDE, O.F. Bedivers, Bedoier, Beduiers, Bedyers, Bediers, brother of Lucan, 199, 204, 206-11, 212-14, 221-4, 344, 347, 1070, 1110, 1111, 1149, 1234, 1236-42, 1254, 1259.
- BEDYVERE OF THE STREYTE MARCHYS, STRAYTE MARCHE [Pedyvere of the Streyte Marches], knight overcome by Bors, 800. See *Commentary*, note 800. 17.
- BELLAUS, BELLIAS, BLOYAS DE LA FLAUNDRES [Bellyas of Flaundrys], combination of O.F. Belias, Belyas, li amoureux del Chastel as Puceles, and Flaundres; knight in Arthur's war against the eleven kings, 30, 36. See also Morians of the Castel Maydyns and *Commentary*, note 30. 11-14.
- BELLENGERUS LE BEUSE, BELLNGERE LE BEWSE, BELLANGERE LE BEUSE, O.F. Bellangere le Beuse, son of Alexander the Orphan, 648, 1071, 1149-50, 1170, 1192, 1203, 1205.
- BELLEUS [Bellyus], knight sent to Arthur's court by Lancelot, 260, 287.
- BELLIAS, see Bellaus.
- BELLYAS, BELLYAUNCE LE ORGULUS [Belliaunce le orgulous, Belleaunce, erroneously referred to as Bellangere, see p. 1150, note 8], O.F. Belynas, brother of Froil of the Oute Ilys, 450-1, 1150, 1177.
- BELLNGERE [Bel(l)angere], O.F. Berengier, constable of the castle Magowms, 635-6.
- BELLNGERE LE BEWSE, see Bellengerus le Beuse.
- BELYARDE, MOUNTE, see Peryne de Mounte Belyarde.
- BELFNE [BELLINUS], MA Belyn, King of Britain, 188.
- BENDELAYNE [Bendalyne, Bendalaynis], knight slain by Gareth, 354.
- BENOX, BENWYK(E) [Benwic, Benwick, Benwyck, Benoye], O.F. Benoic, Banoyc, city, also realm, of King Ban (identified with Bayonne and with Beaune), city of, 20-1, 23-4, land of 39, 125, 648, 829, 1204, 1214, 1218, 1231. On the possible origin of the name see J. Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 304.
- BERB(E)USE, see Harleus le Berbeus.
- BEREL(L) [Beriel], MA Berell, Berille, Vryell, knight in Arthur's war against the Romans, 209-11, 212-15, 217.
- BERLUSE, O.F. Berlez, Berlet, lord lieutenant of a castle, 582-3.
- BERRAUNT(E), see Barraunte.
- BERSULES [Bersyles], O.F. Bertelais, Bertolai, knight in the service of King Mark, 577-9, 585, 593.
- BESTE GLATYSSAUNTE [Glatysaunt], O.F. Beste glatissant, see also Questynge Beest, a monster pursued by Palomides, 484, 590, 716-17.
- BEUSE, see Bellengerus le Beuse.
- BEWMAYNES, see Beawmaynes.
- BEWSE, see Bellengerus le Beuse.
- BLACK CROSS, Abbey of the, 547.
- BLAK KNYGHT OF THE BLAK LAUNDIS, THE, 303-5, 309, 314, 317, 318, 319, 338. See also Perarde.
- BLAK LOWE, THE, 1150. See *Commentary*, note 1150. 16-17.
- BLAK THORNE, THE, scene of Beawmaynes' combat with the Black Knight, 314.
- BLAMO(V)R(E) DE GANYNS, GAYNES, GAYNYS, O.F. Blamor de Gannes, Blaamor, brother of Bleoberis, 316, 344, 347, 396, 401, 404, 405, 406-10, 442, 467, 503, 525,

- 537, 557, 659, 1048, 1071-2, 1148, 1170, 1192, 1205, 1254, 1259-60.
- BLAMOURE OF THE MARYSE [Ablamor of the Marise], knight encountered by Gawain in the quest of the white hart, 106.
- BLANKE [Blank], castle, 819. *See also* Elayne le Blanke.
- BLAUCHE MAYNES (-ys), *see* Isode le Blaunche Maynes and Uwayne le Blaunche Maynys.
- BLEAUNTE, *see* Blyaunte.
- BLEOBERIS, BLEOBERYS, BLEOBRYN DE GANYT, GAYNES, GAYNYS [Blebeorys, Bleoboris], O.F. Blioberis, Bleobleheris, brother of Blamoire, 316, 344, 347, 349, 396, 397, 399-404, 407-10, 463, 466, 486-7, 503, 504, 508, 523-4, 537, 539, 557, 564-5, 571, 654, 659, 661-2, 667, 684-5, 694, 735-6, 748, 762-3, 803, 1048, 1071-2, 1112, 1148, 1192, 1205, 1254, 1259-60.
- BLEOBRI [Bleoberys], O.F. Blaans, Blaaris, Blearnis, Bleoris, godson of King Bors, 32. *See Commentary*, note 32. 19.
- BLOY, *see* Gwynas de Bloy.
- BLOYAS DE LA FLAUNDRES, *see* Bellaus.
- BLOYSE [Bleyse], O.F. Blaise, Blases, Merlin's master, chronicler of Arthur's reign, 37-8.
- BLOYSE DE LA CA(A)SE, O.F. (Li) Blois de la Case, del Casset, de la Casse, knight in Arthur's war against the eleven kings, 36-8.
- BLUE KNIGHT, THE, 317, 319, 336. *See* Parsaunte of Inde.
- BLYAUNTE, BLEAUNTE [Blyaunt], O.F. Bliant, Blyaunt, knight who rescues Lancelot and is afterwards rescued by him, 819-20, 830.
- BLYAUNTE [Blyaunt], castle allotted to Lancelot by King Pelles, 826-7. *See Commentary*, note 826. 10-11.
- BOARTE [Bohart], BORRE, LE CURE
- HARDY, O.F. Boorz, Loholt, Lohot, Lohoot, Hoot, son of Arthur and Lyonors, 38, 1150. *See Commentary*, notes 38. 31-8 and 1150. 25.
- BODWYNE, BOUDWYN, prince, brother of King Mark, father of Alexander the Orphan, 633-4, 635, 637.
- BOORS, BORS DE GA(Y)NYS, GAYNES [Borce], O.F. Boors de Gannes (Gaunes), Bohors li Essillies, son of King Bors of Gaul, 164, 206, 210-11, 212-16, 216-18, 219, 221, 224, 245, 316, 344, 347, 504, 505-6, 508, 525, 528, 529, 537, 557, 748, 797-802, 807-9, 830-1, 854-5, 861, 941, 946, 949, 955-75, 983-6, 995-7, 1001, 1004-5, 1020, 1027, 1030, 1032-7, 1045-8, 1051-7, 1071-2, 1080-8, 1103, 1109-10, 1112, 1148-9, 1164-6, 1169-73, 1189-93, 1204, 1211, 1214, 1249, 1251, 1254, 1257-60.
- BORCE, *see* Bors.
- BORRE, *see* Boarte.
- BORS, BORCE, O.F. Boors, Bohors, roi de Gannes (Gaunes), King of Gaul, brother of King Ban, 20-4, 26-7, 30-41, 245, 969 (KING BORS DE GANIS), 1212.
- BORS DE GANYT, *see* Boors.
- BOUDWYN, *see* Bodwyn.
- BRANDEGORIS, BRANDYGORYS, BRANGORYS [Brandegorys, Brandegore], O.F. Brangorre, Brangoire, Bien-gores de la Terre d'Estrogoire, King of Strangore, 25, 28, 30, 35, 799, 830, 1149.
- BRANDILES, *see* Braundiles.
- BRANGORYS, *see* Brandegoris.
- BRANGWAYN(E) [Bragwayn(e)], O.F. Brangien, servant of La Beal Isode, 411-12, 419, 420, 421, 433, 481, 492, 501, 502, 513, 528-9, 538, 550, 551.
- BRASCIAS, BRASTIAS [Barcias, Bracias, Brasias, Barsias], O.F. Bresciaus, Bretel, knight of the duke of

- Tintagel, afterwards of King Arthur, 9-11, 16, 18, 19, 20-2, 24, 27, 28-30, 36, 38; a hermit in the forest of Windsor who offers hospitality to Lancelot, 1047, 1053, 1103.
- BRAUNDELES, BRAUNDILES, BRANDYLES [Braundele], *O.F.* Brandelis, one of the knights imprisoned by Tarquyn and delivered by Lancelot, 224, 268, 344, 347, 475, 488-9, 490, 585-6, 588-9, 603, 1048, 1070, 1096, 1120, 1123-4, 1147, 1149, 1177.
- BRETAYNE = Britain, 188, 207, 213, 220, 230, 863.
- BRETAYNE [Lytyl, Lytyl Bretayne, Petyte Bretayne] = Brittany, 40; King of LYTYLL BRYTAYNE, 189; the duchy of BRETAYNE, 194; duchess of, 198, 343, 371, 385, 433, 434, 435, 436, 446, 481, 493, 498, 558.
- BREUNE, *see* Matto le Breune.
- BREUNYS SANZE PYTÉ, BREUSE SAUNZ-PITÉ, BRUNYS SAUNZE PYTÉ, BREWNES SAUNZE PITÉ, BREWNYS [Breunis, Bruyns, Bruse Saunce Pyte], *O.F.* Brehus, Breuz sans pitié, enemy of Arthur's knights, 406, 467, 471, 512, 538, 553, 561, 562, 570, 614, 638, 659, 683-5, 686-7, 721, 780, 782, 819-20. *Identical with the* Browne Knyghte Wythoute Pyté, *q.v.*
- BREUSE, *see* Gararde le Breuse.
- BREWELL, *see* Passe-Brewell.
- BREWNE LE NOYRE, *see* Brunor.
- BREWNOUR, BREWNOR [Breunor], knight of the 'castell Pleure', 412, 414-15, 416.
- BREWSE, *see* Gararde le Breuse and Severause le Brewse.
- BROMELL [Bromel] LA PLECHE, *O.F.* Brunor du Plessie, suitor of King Pelles's daughter Elayne, 797-8.
- BROWN(E) KNYGHTE WYTHOUTE PYTÉ, 355, 362. *Identical with* Breunys Saunze Pyté, *q.v.*
- BRUNOR, BREWNE LE NOYRE [Breunor], *O.F.* Brenor le noir, Brunor, brother of Dinadan, called 'La Cote Male Tayle' by Kaye, *see* La Cote Male Tayle.
- BRUNYS SAUNZE PITÉ, *see* Breunys Sanze Pyté.
- BRUSEN [Brysen], *O.F.* Brysenne, enchantress, 794-5, 795-6, 803-4, 807, 824-5.
- BRUTE = Brutus, alleged founder of Rome, 213.
- BRYAN DE LES(E) ILES, lord of the castle of Pendragon and enemy of Arthur, 343, 346, 469-70, 476.
- BRYAN DE LES YLYES, OF THE ILIS, *MA* Bryane, knight in Arthur's war against Rome, 212; in the *Tale of King Arthur* 'sworn brother' to Meliot de Logurs, 116. Cf. *Modern Philology*, vol. xxx, pp. 20-1.
- BRYAN DE LYSTENOYSE, one of the knights imprisoned by Tarquyn and delivered by Lancelot, 268, 1149.
- BRYAN OF THE FORE(Y)ST, BRYAUNTE [Briant] DE LA FOREIST (-YSTE) SAVEAGE, *O.F.* Drians de la Forest Salvage, knight in Arthur's war against the eleven kings, 30, 36; met by Gawain in the quest of the white hart, 104.
- BRYAUNTE, OF NORTHE WALIS [Bryaunt of Northwalys], *O.F.* Briant de Norgales, a knight bearing a black shield, 516.
- BRYNE [Brenius], *MA* Bremyn, king of Britain, 188.
- BURGAYNE [Burgoyne] = Burgundy, 206-7.
- BUTLER(E), *see* Lucan de Butler.
- BYEAUE VYVANTE [Beau Vivante], name taken by Maledysaunte on her marriage, 476.
- BYEAU PANSAUNTE [Bien Pensaunt],

- name given by Lancelot to the damsel Maledysaunt(e), 471.
- CA(A)SE, *see* Bloyse de la Caase.
- CADOR OF CORN(E)WAILE, *MA*, *O.F.* Cador(e), leader of a band of knights in Arthur's army, father of Constantyne, 187, 191, 195, 212-18, 219-20, 223-4, 1147, 1149, 1259.
- CALABE [Calabre] = Calabria, 193.
- CALLEBORNE [Callyburne], *MA* Calaburn, Caliburne, 208. *See Commentary*, note 208. 16-17.
- CALYDONE, *O.F.* Calidoine = Caledonia, 985.
- CAMBYNES, *O.F.* Cambenic, duke, possibly identical with Estance (*q.v.*), 668.
- CAMELOT(r), *O.F.* Camaaloth, Camaaloth, Chamaalot, Arthur's residence, often identified with Winchester, 61, 71, 73, 78, 92, 102, 106, 108, 110-11, 113, 117, 118, 119, 126, 130, 138, 148-9, 157, 179, 403, 404, 470, 562, 568, 570, 577, 580, 586-7, 592, 595, 596-7, 605, 611, 763, 782, 802-3, 831, 832, 845, 853-4, 864-5, 872, 943, 947-8, 955, 1020, 1036, 1065, 1068, 1077. *See Commentary*, note 1065. 4.
- CAMLYYARD(E) [Camelerd, Camyllerd, Cmlyiarde (*sic*)], *O.F.* Carmelide, Carmalide, realm of King Lodegraunce, 39, 97, 639.
- CANBENET [Candebenet, Canbenec, Canbenek], *O.F.* Cambenic, Cambenit, Cambanyc, *see* Estance.
- CANTERBURY, CAUNTERBURY, CAUNTURBIRY, CA(u)NTURBYRY, CAUNTERBYRY, Archbishop of, 12-13, 15-16, 18, 23; also referred to as Bishop, 98, 361, 1227-8, 1241-2, 1254-9.
- CAPADOCE, CAPYDOS = Cappadocia, *MA* Capados, King of, 193.
- CAR DE GOMERET [Gomoret], *O.F.* Ras de Gameret, de Gromoret, knight who helps Morgan le Fay, 639.
- CARADOS, CARDOS, CARYDOS, KING, *O.F.* Carados (-oc), Karados Brie(f)bras, 17, 19, 26, 31, 32, 35; King of Scotland, 344, 348, 404, 408, 418-19, 475, 509, 523, 524-5, 530, 557, 558, 639, 1147. *Distinct from the King of Scottis, q.v., and sometimes from the King of Scotland, q.v. See Commentary*, notes 25. 28-9 and 26. 14.
- CARADOS OF THE DOLOWRES TOWRE [Caradus of the Dolorous Toure], *O.F.* Carados, Karados, de la Dolereuse Tor, brother of Tarquyn, 167, 266, 343, 346, 349, 1162, 1198.
- CARBONE(c)K(E), CORBYN(E), *O.F.* Carbonek, Corbenic, castle and city of (the Grail castle), 794 (Pounte de Corbyn), 796 (castle of Corbyn), 797 (Pounte de C.), 798, 802 (Corbyn), 822, 828, 830 (city of Corbyn), 907, 982, 1011-20, 1027 (castle of Carbonek).
- CARDAL, *see* God of Cardal.
- CARDILMANS, *see* Cradilmant.
- CARDOKE [Cardok], *O.F.* Cardoas de Lanvale (?), one of the knights who try to heal Urry, 1148.
- CARDOLLE [Cardoylle], *O.F.* Carduel (= Carlisle), 126.
- CARDOS, *see* Carados.
- CARDYCAN, *O.F.* Carduel en Galaiz, castle, 812.
- CARDYEFF [Cardef, Cardyf] = Cardiff, 228, 490, 1204, 1211. *See also* Lamyell of Cardyff.
- CARLEHYLLE, CARLEYLE, CARLYLE [Carleil, Carleyl] = Carlisle, 191, 845, 1146, 1153, 1164 (castle of), 1173, 1177, 1194, 1196, 1200, 1202.
- CARLION, CARLYON, city = Caerleon-

- upon-Usk, 17, 19, 25, 41, 44, 53-4, 297, 336, 617.
- CARNARVAN, *see* Edward of Carnarvan.
- CARTELOYSE, O.F. Carcelois, Quarcelois, castle, 996.
- CARYDOS, *see* Carados, King.
- CASE, castle, 794. *See also* Bloyse de la Ca(a)se.
- CASTELL ADVENTURES, name given by Bors to the castle of Carbonek, *qv*.
- CASTEL OF LADYES, *see* Flaundreus.
- CASTELL ORGULUS, *see* Orgulus.
- CASTELL PELOWNES, *see* Pelownes.
- CASTELL OF PENDRAGON, *see* Pendragon.
- CASTELL PERELUS, *see* Perelus.
- CASTELL PLEWRE, *see* Plewre.
- CASTER, CASTOR, nephew of King Pelles, 823, 826.
- CASTILION, *see* Graciens le Castilion.
- CASTOR, *see* Caster.
- CATELONDE [Cateland] = Catalonia, 193.
- CAULAS, O.F. Caulas, Caulus, Taulas, knight in Arthur's war against the eleven kings, 36.
- CAUNTURBURY [Caüturbery], 1232. *See also* Canterbury.
- CAYNE [Caym], O.F. Cayns, 991.
- CEZAR, *see* Julius Cezar.
- CHALENCE, CHALENS OF CLARAUNCE [Chaleyens, Chalounce, Chalenge, Challyns], O.F. Archalain, Achalam, duke who enters the lists at the tourney of Surluse, 659, 661, 667-8, 1107-8, 1147.
- CHAPEL PERELUS, *see* Perelus.
- CHARYOT, castle, 257.
- CHARYOTTE, *see* Shyvalere de Charyotte.
- CHASTELAYNE [Chestelayne], *MA* Chastelayne, 'child and ward' of Gawain, 239-40.
- CHELDRAKE, *MA* Childrike, 'a chief-tain noble' slain by Chastelayne, 239.
- CLARAUNCE, *see* Chalence of Claraunce.
- CLARINAUS DE LA FOREYSTE SAVAIGE [Claryaunce de la Foreist Savaige], O.F. Clarious, knight defeated by King Lot, 28. *See Commentary*, note 28. 33.
- CLARIVAUNCE, CLARIVAUS, CLARYVAUNCE, CLARYAUNCE, O.F. Clarion(s), King of Northumberland, 25, 28, 31, 35, 689, 694, 729, 740, 769, 1065, 1069-70, 1073, 1088, 1103, 1106, 1108, 1112, 1147, 1150. *See Commentary*, note 28. 33.
- CLARRUS, CLARYON (CLARRYOUS) OF CLEREOUNTE (CLEREMOWNTE) [Claryus of Clere Mounte], *MA* Cleremus and Cleremonde, knight in Arthur's war against Rome, afterwards Lancelot's companion at arms rewarded by the dukedom of Normandy, 212, 213, 1149, 1170, 1205, 1254, 1259.
- CLARYAUNCE, *see* Clarivaunce.
- CLARYSYN = ? Cherasco (*Lat.* Clarascum), *MA* Crasyn, countess of, 241.
- CLARYVAUNCE, *see* Clarivaunce.
- CLAUDAS, O.F. Claudas, Claudas de la Deserte, king, enemy of Ban and Bors, 20-1, 24, 39, 125-6, 194, 245, 802, 1031, 1204, 1212.
- CLAUDYNE, O.F. Claudins, King of Gaul, son of King Claudas, 1031.
- CLEGIS, CLEGYS, *MA* Clegis, Clegys, leader of a band of knights in Arthur's army, 187, 212-16, 218, 219-21, 222-4, 228, 1149, 1170, 1205.
- CLEMENT, CLEREMONDE, CLEREMOUNT [Cleremond], *MA* Clemente, Cleremonde, Cleremownde, Cleremownde (same confusion as in *M*), knight in Arthur's war against Rome, 213, 216, 228.

- CLEREMOWNTE, CLERBOUNTE, title of Clarrus, *q.v.*
- CLODDRUS, CLOUDRES, an 'old noble knight', 212, 1149.
- COL(L)GREVAUNCE OF GOORE [Colgreveaunce de Gorre], O.F. Calogrenant, Galogrinant de Goire, one of the forty knights who defeat the eleven rebel kings, 36, 509; slain by Lionel, 971-3; 1150, 1164, 1167, 1174.
- COLLYBYE [Collybe], O.F. 'une forest qui duroit jusqu'à la mer et estoit apelee Celibe'; in *M* name of a sea (*cam* to *the* see *why*ch was called *Collybye*), 983.
- COLUMBE [Colombe], O.F. Columbe, Lione, Lanceor's lady, 72, 568.
- COMANGE = Comminges, earldom of, 1205.
- CONSTANTYN = Cotentin, *MA* Constantyne, 194, 226.
- CONSTANTYN, *MA* Constantyne, Emperor of Rome, 188.
- CONSTANTYN(E), *MA* Constantyn, son of Cador(e) of Cornwall, 'kyng aftr Arthurs dayes', 1147, 1149, 1259-60.
- CORBYN(E), *see* Carbonek.
- CORNEUS, O.F. Corneus, Corneus, duke, father of Lucas, 22.
- CORNUAYLE, CORNUWAYLE, CORN(E)-WAILE, CORNEWAILL, CORN(E)-WAYLE [Cornewaille, Cornewaille, Cornewaylle, Cornewail, Cornwayll], O.F. Cornouaille, Cornewaille, 7, 40-1, 61, 71, 126, 175, 343, 371, 375-7, 442, 445, 481, 488, 492, 496-7, 500, 501-3, 505, 509, 510, 512, 513, 514, 516, 517, 525, 529, 538, 545, 547, 549, 550-1, 552, 555, 572, 577, 580, 581, 586, 592, 596, 609, 615, 618, 622, 624, 633, 635, 675, 682-3, 688, 770, 785, 1147, 1149, 1170, 1234, 1259. *See also* Cador of Cornewaille.
- CORSABROYNE, CORSABRYNE, O.F. Corsabrin, Saracen slain by Palomides, 664-6.
- COTE MALE TAYLE, *see* La Cote Male Tayle.
- CRADILMANT, CRADILMENT, CARDILMANS, [Cradelment, Cradulmas], O.F. Tradelinant, Tradelmant, Tradelmas, Tradelmans, King of North Wales, 26, 29, 31, 35, 130, 257-8, 261-3, 444, 481, 490, 504, 509, 516, 517-18, 523, 524, 525-7, 530, 533, 654, 733, 736, 740, 746, 748, 761, 762.
- CROSS, *see* Black Cross.
- CROSSELEME [Crosselme], one of the knights who try to heal Urry, 1148. *Probably identical with* Cursesalayne, *q.v.*
- CRYSYE, *see* Jesu Cryste.
- CULLAYNE [Coleyne] = Cologne, *MA* Coloine, 194.
- CURE HARDY, *see* Ozanna le Cure Hardy.
- CURSESALAYNE [Curselayne], knight of Mordred's band, 1164. *Probably identical with* Crosseleme, *q.v.*
- CYPRES = Cyprus, *MA* Cyprys, King of, 193.
- DAGONET, DAGONETTE, O.F. Dague-net, Arthur's fool, 462-3, 496, 498, 587-90, 603.
- DALAN, DALYN, O.F. Dalan, -en, son of the knight slain by Dinadan in single combat 'at the knight's request', 613-15.
- DAMAS, O.F. Domas, elder brother of Outelake, 138-42, 147, 1177.
- DAMASKE = Damascus, *MA* Damaske, 193.
- DAMYETE = Damietta, *MA* Damyat, 193.
- DANAM(E), O.F. Danain, nephew of Daitas, 538-9.
- DANEMARKE, DENMARKE, King of, 126, 883, 1028.
- DARNARDE, DORNAR [Dornard], DURNOR [Durnore], O.F. Doryan,

- DRIANT, son of Pellynor, 610, 667, 1149.
- DARRAS, *O.F.* Darras, Daras, knight who imprisons Tristram, Palomides, and Dinadan, 537-8, 540, 551-2, 1150.
- DAUNGEROUS [Dangerus], CASTELL, castle in which Lady Lyones is imprisoned, 315.
- DAVYD, King, 991-2.
- DEGRAVE SAUNZE VYLONY [Degrayne 'Saunce Velany', *O.F.* Gren li filz le roi d'Alenie (see *Commentary*, note 1150. 16-17), one of the knights who try to heal Urry, 1150.
- DEGREVAUNT [Arrok de Grevaunt], one of the knights who try to heal Urry, 1150.
- DELECTABLE ILE [Yle], *O.F.* Isle Delictable, Delitable, an island 'fast by' the Red City, 714, 716.
- DENMARKE, see Danemarke.
- DESYRUS, see Sagramore le Desyrus.
- DEU, see Du.
- DEURE, ROCHE, see Hard Roche.
- DE VALE, see Vale.
- DODYNAS LE SAVEAGE [Dodyus], DONYAS LE SAVAYGE, *O.F.* Dodinel, Dodynaulz le sauvage, 'one of the proved knights of King Arthur's court' who fights in the tourneys of the Castle of the Laundes and of the Castle of Maidens, 176, 344, 348, 386, 398, 399, 400, 534, 566-8, 728, 1070, 1120, 1123, 1148.
- DOLEROUS, DOLOROUS, TOWRE, *O.F.* Dolerouse Tor, where Lancelot slew Carados; also title of Carados and Selyses, *q.v.*, 266; where Gareth slew the Brown Knyght wythoute Pyté, 362. See also Selyses of the Dolerous Towre.
- DOLOROUS GARD(E), castle, *O.F.* Dolerouse Garde, name given by Lancelot to Joyous Gard after his banishment, 388, 1202.
- DOLOROUS TOWRE, see Dolerous Towre.
- DOLPHYN, *MA* Dolphyn, duke slain by Gawain in the war against Rome, 239.
- DOLPHYNE = Dauphiné, *MA* Dolfinede, 233.
- DONYAS, see Dodynas.
- DORNAR, see Darnarde.
- DOUCHEMEN, DOWCHMEN [Duchemen], 220, HYGHE DUCHEMEN, 233; duke of, 237, 239. See *Commentary*, note 237. 26.
- DOVER, DOVIR, 24, 242, 1229, 1232, 1250, 1254.
- DOWCHMEN, see Douchemen.
- DRYAUNT(E) [Dryaun], TRYAN [Trian], *O.F.* Driant, Trien(t), brother of Lamorak and Alyne, 427, 429, 504, 505, 508, 582, 1149, 1177.
- DU, DEU [Deu, Dieu], God of CARDAL [Cardol], *O.F.* Do, Doon, Dos de Carduel, father of Gryfflet, *q.v.*, 22.
- DURNOR, see Darnarde.
- DYNADAN [Dynadam, Dynodan], *O.F.* Dinadan, Dynadam, 'a scoffer and a japer', companion of Tristram, 295, 344, 347, 503-9, 516, 517, 523-4, 527, 532-3, 534-5, 536-7, 539, 540, 545, 551, 553, 565, 566, 580-7, 590-2, 595-7, 599-609, 613-15, 617-18, 626-7, 653, 657, 659, 662, 668, 668-70, 688-90, 692-706, 720, 729, 733-40, 741-3, 747, 749-50, 752-4, 757-8, 760-3, 779, 1148.
- DYNAS THE SENESCHALL [Dynadas, Dyanas], *O.F.* Dinas, seneschal of King Mark, 343, 347, 383, 427, 492, 502, 546, 550, 618-22, 634, 638, 677, 679-80, 1149, 1170, 1205.
- DYNAUNTE [Dynaunt], Cornish knight rescued by Tristram from a giant, 500.

- EBELL [Ebel], *O.F.* Hebal, Hebel, lord lieutenant of the Red City, 711-14, 719. See *Commentary*, note 719. 30.
- EBES LE RENOWNYS, *see* Hebes le Renownys.
- ECTOR [Hector], Trojan hero, 231. 1201.
- ECTOR, *O.F.* Auctor, foster father of Arthur, 10-15, 23, 29-30, 36, 44, 46.
- ECTOR DE MARYS, DE MARIS, DE MARES, DE MAJRIS, *O.F.* Estor, Hestor, Hector, des Mares, brother of Lancelot, 221, 224, 254, 255, 256, 268, 269, 316, 344, 347, 403, 492, 504-5, 508, 525, 528, 529, 537, 556, 558, 606, 653-4, 661-2, 667, 685-7, 735-6, 739, 748, 760, 762-3, 771, 772, 779, 808, 816-17, 827-32, 941-7, 949, 981-2, 1019-20, 1047-8, 1071-2, 1112, 1148, 1170, 1190, 1192, 1204, 1254, 1258-60.
- EDOLF, *MA* Utolfe, king, ally of the Emperor Lucius, 212.
- EDWARD THE FOURTH, King of England, 1260.
- EDWARDE, *MA* Ewandyre, son of Roulonde, 212, 214.
- EDWARDE OF CARNARVAN [Edward of Canarvan], brother of Priamus, 1149.
- EDWARD(E) OF ORKENY, *O.F.* Edouart, Erdras, Erdouart, one of the knights who fight at the tourney of Lonzep, 733-4, 746, 1150.
- EDWARDE OF THE REDE [Reed] CASTEL, knight slain by Uwaine, 176-8.
- EGGLAME, knight defeated by Pellynor, 53.
- EGYPT, 193, 225.
- ELAMYE, *MA* Elamet, name of a country, 193.
- ELAYNE, ELEYNE [Elaye (*sic*), Elayn], *O.F.* Elaine, Helayne, Helaine, daughter of King Pelles, mother of Galahad, 791-833.
- ELAYNE, *O.F.* Helaine, wife of King Ban, 125.
- ELAYNE, wife of King Nentres, 10.
- ELAYNE LE BLANK(E), ELYNE, HELAYNE, ELYAM [Helyn le Blanck, Elyan, Helayne de Blank], *O.F.* Elain, Elyan, Helian, son of Bors and of King Brandegoris' daughter, 799, 830-1, 956, 1149.
- ELAYNE LE BLANKE, F(A)YRE MAYDYN OF ASTOLAT [Astolat], daughter of Barnarde, 1065-98.
- ELEYNE, *see* Elayne, daughter of King Pelles.
- ELIAZAR, ELYAZAR [Clyazar], *O.F.* Elyezer, Elyser, Helieser, son of King Pelles, 933, 1027-8.
- ELIODYN, *see* Galyhodyn.
- ELYAS, *O.F.* Helyas, Helias, captain of the Saxon army, 618, 620-1, 622, 623-7 (*confused with* Elyot, *q.v.*).
- ELYAS DE GOMERET [Gomoret], *O.F.* Helynas, Helinan, de Gomoret, knight in the service of Morgan le Fay, 639.
- ELYAZAR, *see* Eliazar.
- ELYCE, ELYS(E) LA NOIRE [Elyses], *O.F.* Heliz le noir, one of the knights who fight at the tourney of Surluse, 659, 662. See *Commentary*, note 662. 32.
- ELYN [Heleyne], mother of the Emperor Constantine, 188. *See also* El(a)yne le Blank(e), son of Bors and of King Brandegoris' daughter.
- ELYOT, *O.F.* Heliot l'envoisie, harper, 618, 626-7 (*confused with* Elyas).
- ELYSE, *see* Elyce.
- ELYZABETH, *O.F.* Ysabel, Isabel, Heliabel, wife of Melyodas and mother of Tristram, 371-2, 379, 391.

- EMERAUSE, *O.F.* Moret de la Voie, knight in Arthur's war against the eleven kings, 36.
- ENGLOND, *see* Ingelonde.
- EPYNOGRYS [Epynegrys, Epynogrís, Epínogrus], *O.F.* Espinogres, Epínogres, son of the King of Northumberland, 343, 346, 689-90, 721-2, 733, 769-74, 1070-1, 1150.
- ERIOURE, *see* Gromoresom Erioure.
- ERLE, *see* Flaunche, Erle de la, and Vale, Erle de.
- ERMONY [Hermonye] = Armenia, *MA* Ermony, 193.
- ERMYNDE, *see* Hermynde.
- ERTANAX, *O.F.* Ortenax, a magic fish, 985.
- ERTAYNE, *MA* Irritayne, name of a country, 193.
- ESAX [Estsex] = Essex, 1233.
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- ESTORAUSE [Estourause], *O.F.* Escorans, Estorans, king who imprisons the Grail knights, 1033.
- ESTRAKE = Astarac, earldom of, 1205.
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- ETHYOPE = Ethiopia, King of, 221-5.
- ETTARDE [Ettard], *O.F.* Arcade, unfaithful lover of Pellas, 166-72, 1150.
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- FERGUS, *O.F.* Fergus, earl 'that aftir was Sir Tristrams knyght', 175-6, 495, 503, 513, 615, 634, 638, 1149.
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- GALOWEY [Galway] = Galway, *see* Galleron.
- GALYHODYN, GALTHUDDYN, GALTODYN [Galyhoudyn, Galihodyn], *O.F.* Galehodyn, Galeodin, king 'within the country of Surluse', 344, 347, 537, 669, 727-30,

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- GALYS, *see* North Galys, Wales, Lamerak of Galys, and Percivale de Galys.
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- GARLOT, GARLOTH [Garlott], O.F. Garelot, Garot, realm of King Nauntres, *q.v.* Cf. *Commentary*, note 10. 5-7.
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- GERYNE [Geryn] LE GROSE, *O.F.* Guerin le Gros, lover chosen to be her husband by the damsel whom Alexander the Orphan has rescued from Malegryne, 642, 665.
- GLASSYNGBYRY, GLASTYNBURYE = Glastonbury, 1228, 1242, 1255-6.
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- GOD OF CARDAL [Cardol], *O.F.* Do, Doon, Dos de Carduel, *see* Du.
- GODARDE, GODARTE, mountain pass of St. Gottharde, *MA* God(d)arde, 191, 233, 242.
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- GOMORYES, GONEREYES, GONEREYSE [Goneryes, Gonereys], *O.F.* Gorois, brother of Archade, slain by Palomides, 655-6.
- GOODWYNE [Godewyn, Goodewyn], brother of Gawdelyne, slain by Agglovale, 811-12.
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- GOOTH [Goothe], *O.F.* Got, castle of, 907.
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- GRYNGAMOUR(e) [Gryngamore, Gryngamor], brother of Lady Lyones, 328-32, 334, 335-6, 341-2, 345, 360, 361.
- GRYPE [Gryp], *O.F.* Agripes, earl, enemy of King Howell, 433, 434.
- GUENEVER, GUENYVER, *see* Gwenyver.
- GUNRETE LE PETYTE, GWYARTE LE PETITE [Gumret, Guyart le Petyte], *O.F.* Guivret le petit,

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- GWENBAUS, *O.F.* Guinebaus li Clers, brother of King Ban and King Bors, 'a wise clerk', 24.
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- GWYARTE LE PETYTE, *see* Gunrete le Petyte.
- GWYNAS DE BLOY, GWYNIARTE [*Gwymyart*] DE BLOY, *O.F.* Guinas li Blois, knight in Arthur's war against the eleven kings, 28, 30, 36.
- GYAN = Guienne, 1204, 1205.
- GYE [*Guy*], *O.F.* Guis de Carmelide, cousin to Queen Guinevere, 639.
- GYLBARD, GYLBERD, GYLBERTE THE BASTARDE [*Gylbert the bastard*], *O.F.* Anurez li Bastarz, knight ('one of the best in the world') slain by Meliot de Logurs, 279-82.
- GYLFORDE [*Gylford*] = Guildford, 1065. *See also* Astolat.
- GYLLMERE, GYLMERE [*Gyllemere*], Cornish knight, brother of Gauter and Arnolde (*Raynolde*), 275-6, 1149, 1177.
- GYNGALYN [*Gyngalyne*], *O.F.* Guinglain, son of Gawain, 494-5, 1147, 1164.
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- HAMEREL, knight in Arthur's war against Rome, 214.
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- HARLEUS LE BERBEUS, HARLEUSE LE BERBUSE [*Harlews*, *Herlews* le Berbeus, *Harsouse* le Berbuse], *O.F.* Herlaux le Barbu, knight slain by Garlon, 81; defeated by Alexander the Orphan, 646. *See Commentary*, note 646. 5.
- HARLON, *O.F.* Herlen, Harlan, Libran, Libran, king, father of Argustus, 933.
- HARMAUNCE, HERMAUNCE, *O.F.* Hermans, Armant, King of the Red City, 701, 711-13, 714-19, 1150.
- HARMEL [*Hermel*], *O.F.* duc de Harniel, duke, 87. *See Commentary*, note 87. 4.
- HARRY, *MA* Heryll, knighted during the Roman campaign, 214.
- HARRY DE FYZE LAKE [*Harre* le (de) *Fyze* Lake], *O.F.* Erec le fils Lac(h), one of the three knights of the Round Table who fight Brewse Saunze Pit , 685-7, 1150, 1170.
- HARVIS LE MARCHIS [*Harvys* de la *Marches*], *O.F.* Henri le marchis, knight defeated by Alexander, 646.
- HARYGALL, *MA* Herygall, knight in Arthur's war against Rome, 214.
- HAUTE PRINCE, THE, *see* Galahad (-alte) the Haute Prince.
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- Tristram, knight of Lancelot's kin, 386-7, 389, 390, 1148, 1150, 1170, 1205.
- HECTIMER, HECTYMER, *MA* Askanere, English knight, 214, 1149.
- HELAK, brother of Helyus and Harmaunce, 717-18.
- HELAYNE LE BLANKE, *see* Elayne le Blanke.
- HELLYAS LE GROSE, *O.F.* Elyan li Gros, son of Nacien, grandson of Nappus; one of Lancelot's ancestors, 930.
- HELYOR [HELYNOR] LE PREWSE [le Preuse], *O.F.* Helyot le preux, knight from whom Palomides rescues Epynggris' lady, 771-2.
- HELYUS [Helyas], *O.F.* Heleins, Helain, brother of Helake and Harmaunce, 713, 717-19.
- HEMYSON [Hymeson], *O.F.* Humeson, Huneson, champion of Morgan le Fay, defeated by Tristram, 555-6.
- HENDE, *see* Howell the Hende.
- HERAWDE, *MA* Origge, Saracen lord, 215.
- HERMAUNCE, *see* Harmaunce.
- HERMYNDE [Hermynnd, Ermynnde], *O.F.* Marin, brother of Harmaunce, 715-16, 1150, 1177. *See Commentary*, note 715. 32.
- HERNOX, *O.F.* Hernolx, lord of the castle of Carteloyse, 997-8. *See Commentary*, note 997. 28.
- HERVIS DE REVEL, HERYSE DE REVEL, DE LA FOREYS* SAVEAYGE [Hervyse de la Forest Saveage], *O.F.* Hervi, Hervis, Hervieu, de Rivel, chosen by King Pellynor to be a knight of the Round Table, 76, 131, 1150.
- HERVYN, THE LADYES NEVEW OFF, a misreading of the French *la veve dame de laienz*, 968. *See Commentary*, note 968. 34-5.
- HERYNGALE [Heryngdale], *MA* Ermyngall, Saracen lord, 215.
- HEW DE LA MOUNTAYNE [Hewe de la Montayne], knight met by Palomides and Tristram, 516. *See Commentary*, note 516. 31-2.
- HEW OF THE REDE CASTELL [Hue of the reed castel], brother of Edward of the Rede Castel, 176-8.
- HEWGON [Heugon], *O.F.* Hugon, knight overcome by Alexander the Orphan, 646.
- HOLY LANDE, 1260.
- HOWELL [Howel, Howles], *O.F.* Hoel, King of Brittany, father of Isode la Blaunche Maynys, possibly identical with Howell the Hende, 373, 433, 434, 446, 493, 1107-8.
- HOWELL THE HENDE [Howel], *MA* Howell, Arthur's kinsman, husband of the duchess of Brittany, 199, 204-5.
- HUMBIR [Humber], *O.F.* Hombre, river, 127-9, 700, 702, 711, 713, 720.
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- HUNGRE [Hongre, Hongry] = Hungary, 1145.
- HURLAINE [Hurlame], *O.F.* Varlan, Saracen king who kills King Labor with the first 'Dolerous Stroke', 986-7.
- HYGHE DUCHEMEN, *see* Douchemen.
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- IDRES, *O.F.* Idres, Ider, Idier, King of Cornwall, 26, 28, 30, 31, 35, 40.
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- IGRAYNE [Igrayn], *O.F.* Igerne, Ygerne, mother of Arthur, 7-10, 12, 17-18, 41, 44-6, 272.
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- IRONSDE, name given to the Red Knight of the Red Lands, *q.v.*
- ISOD(E), ISOLDE LE BLAUNCHE MAYNES, -YS [Isoud le (la) Blaunche Maynys], *O.F.* Iseu(l)t, Yseu(l)t as Blanches Mains, daughter of King Howell of Brittany, 433, 434-46, 467, 481, 494, 558.
- ISODE, LA BEAL(E), LA BEALL ISODE [Isoude, Isoulde, Ysoude], *O.F.* Iseu(l)t, Yseu(l)t la Bloie, daughter of King Angwysh of Ireland, wife of King Mark of Cornwall, 165, 385-844, 1149, 1150, 1173.
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- JACOUNDE, a Saracen king, 220.
- JAGENT, *O.F.* chastel au geant, castle near Camelot, 580.
- JERUSALEM, 644, 677, 879, 898.
- JESU, JESUS CRYSTE, 114 *et passim*.
- JOHANNES, *see* Preter Johannes.
- JONAS, *O.F.* Jonas, son of Lysays, one of Lancelot's ancestors, 930.
- JONEKE, *MA* Ioneke, knight in Arthur's war against Rome, 214.
- JORDANUS [Jordans], *O.F.* Jordain, Jourdain, knight of the duke of Tyntagyll, 9-10.
- JOSEPH, *O.F.* Josephes, son of Joseph of Arimathea, 1034.
- JOSEPH OFF ARAMATHY [Armathe], 85-6, 793, 801, 846, 859, 879-81, 908, 929, 1026, 1027 (JOSEPHE), 1029.
- JOSUE = Joshua, 231, 991.
- JOYOUS GARD(E), *O.F.* Joieuse Garde, castle, renamed Dolorous Gard by Lancelot ('somme men say it was Anwyk and somme men say it was Bamborow'), 404, 681-2, 690, 692, 705, 711, 720, 722, 763, 775-6, 779, 782, 783, 785, 839-45, 1173, 1178, 1186-7, 1195-6, 1202, 1257-8.
- JOYUS ILE [Joyous Yle], *O.F.* l'isle de joye, name given to the castle of Blyaunte by Lancelot, 827, 830, 832.
- JUBEAUNCE OF GEANE [Jubounce], *MA* Iolyan of Iene, giant who fights for the Saracens against Arthur, 238.
- JUDAS, *see* Macabeus.
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- KAY D'ESTRAUNGES, *see* Kay(nes) le Straunge.
- KAYHADYNS, KAYHYDYNS, KEYHYDYNS, KEHIDYNS [Kehydus, Kehydyus, Kay Hedyus], *O.F.* Kahe-din, Kehedin, son of King Howell of Brittany, 433, 434, 441, 444, 446, 481-2, 484, 492-3, 494, 497, 498, 781.
- KAY(NES) [Kaynus] LE STRAUNGE, KAY D'ESTRAUNGES [Kay de Straunges, Kay the straunger], *O.F.* Keu d'Estraus, d'Estrans, the first to joust with Palomides on the final day of the tournament of Lonezep, 759, 1148, 1177.
- KAY(NUS) [Kaynes, Kaye] THE SENESCIALL, THE STYEWARDE, *O.F.*

- Keus, Keis, son of Ector and foster brother of Arthur, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 36, 76, 128, 129, 131, 199, 204, 216, 219-20, 221, 222-3, 224, 268, 269, 294-6, 298-9, 300, 317, 318, 336, 340, 344, 347, 386, 460-1, 462, 475, 488-9, 509, 510, 512, 525, 547-9, 550-1, 565-6, 571, 580, 732-3, 759, 814-15, 855, 858, 1048, 1070, 1095-6, 1110-12, 1120, 1122, 1148-9.
- KEHIDYNS, *see* Kayhadyns.
- KENADONNE,*KENADOWNE, *see* Kyng Kenadowne.
- KENTE, 1233-4.
- KEYHYDYNS, *see* Kayhadyns.
- KING OF THE LAKE, THE, *see* Lake.
- KING OF THE YLE OF LONGTAYNSE, THE, *see* Longtayne.
- KING WITH THE HUNDRED KNIGHTS, THE, *see* Barraunte.
- KNIGHT WITH THE STRANGE BESTE, THE, *see* Pellynor.
- KNIGHT WITH THE TWO SWERDIS, THE, *see* Balyn.
- KOTE MALE TAYLE, *see* La Cote Male Tayle.
- KUTTE STELE [Cut Stele], *see* Excalibur.
- KYNG KENADOWNE, KYNKE KENADONNE [Kynkenadon], city and castle, 293, 360.
- LA BEALE ADVENTURE, O.F. Belle Aventure, name bestowed on an abbey founded by Arthur, 130.
- LA BEALE ALYS, *see* Alys le Beall Pylgryme.
- LA BEALE ISODE, *see* Isode.
- LA BEALE REGARD, O.F. Belle Garde, castle belonging to Morgan le Fay, 642-3, 644, 646.
- LA BEALL PELLARON, PELLERYN, PYLGRYME, *see* Alys le Beall Pylgryme.
- LABOR, O.F. Lambar, king, father of Pellam and grandfather of Pelleaus, 986-7.
- LA COTE MALE TAYLE, LA KOTE MALE TAYLE [La Cote Male Tayle, La Cote Male Taille], O.F. La Cotte Mal Taillée, nickname given to Brunor by Kay, 295, 344, 347, 460-76, 733, 1048, 1148.
- LADEGREANS, *see* Lodegreance.
- LADINAS, LADYNAS, DE LA ROUSE, O.F. Ladinās, Ladynās li Rous (*originally two names*, Ladynās de Benoye and Aucelec li Rous), French knight, 23, 36. *See Commentary*, note 36. 1-20.
- LADYNAS OF THE FOREYST SAVAYGE [Forest Saveage], O.F. Ladynās de Benoit combined with Ladinās de Norgales (cf. *Commentary*, note 1120. 25-31), one of the knights who accompany Guinevere on her maying expedition, 1120, 1123.
- LAKE, KING OF THE, O.F. le roi Lach, chosen by King Pellynor to be knight of the Round Table, 130. *See also* Harry de Fyze Lake and Launcelot du Lake.
- LAKE, LADY OF THE, O.F. une damoisiele, the damsel killed by Balin, 65-7, 70. *Distinct from* Nyneve.
- LAKE, LADY OF THE, CALLED NYNYVE [Nymue], *see* Nyneve.
- LAMBAYLE [Lambaile], O.F. Lambale, earl, defeated by Ossayse at the tourney of Surluse, 668-9, 1147.
- LAMBEGUS, O.F. Lambegant, Lambegue, 'knyght of Sir Trystrames', 422, 423, 426, 432, 1149, 1177.
- LAMBETH [Lambehth] = Lambeth, 1125.
- LAMERAK, LAMEROK(E), LAMORAKE OF WALIS, OF GALYS [Lamaryk, Lamorak, Lamorack], O.F. Lamorat de Galles, son of King Pellynor, 52, 308, 316, 319, 344, 346, 349, 362, 363, 427-8, 429-30, 441-51, 483-88, 492, 504, 529,

- 557, 579-81, 582-3, 589, 591, 598, 601-4, 605-9, 610-13, 614, 615, 639, 660, 661-7, 670, 688, 691-2, 698-9, 715, 716, 809, 810, 829, 1048-9, 1059, 1088, 1112, 1149-50, 1170, 1190, 1198.
- LAMYELL OF CARDYFF [Lamyel of Cardyf], one of the knights who try to heal Urry, 1150.
- LANDIS, *see* Wast Landis, Queen of the.
- LANDOK [Langdok] = Languedoc, dukedom of, 1205. *See also* Phelot of Langeduke.
- LARDANS, knight defeated by Ector in the war against the eleven kings, 29.
- LAUNCELOT, O.F. li rois Lancelos, King, grandfather of Lancelot du Lake, sixth of the seven kings of Lancelot's lineage, 930.
- LAUNCELOT(T) DU [de] LA(A)KE, O.F. Lancelot du Lac, son of King Ban of Benwick, 91, 126, 162, 212-24, 245, 247, 249-87, 295-300, 301, 308, 316, 317, 326, 337, 340, 343, 344, 349, 350, 360, 363, 401, 405, 407-8, 409, 411, 417, 419, 427, 428, 430, 440, 445, 449, 467-76, 485-7, 490, 509, 514, 516-18, 525-6, 533-5, 537-8, 545, 550-1, 555, 558, 568-71, 587-8, 589, 593-4, 595-6, 605, 606, 607, 609-10, 613, 615-18, 625, 626-7, 639, 646, 653-70, 681-2, 691, 694, 700, 732, 735-64, 773, 776-9, 785, 791-833, 839, 845, 853-72, 893-9, 920, 925-35, 964, 984, 1011-20, 1026, 1031, 1036-7, 1045-1154, 1161-1260.
- LAUNCEOR [Lanceor, Lancyor], O.F. Lançor, son of the King of Ireland, 67-9, 72, 568.
- LAUNDIS, *see* Blak Knyght of the Blak Laundis and Myles of the Laundis.
- LAUNDYS, LADY OF THE [Laundes], cousin to King Angwysse of Ireland, 385.
- LAVAYN(E), O.F. fils du vavator seigneur du Chastel de Escalot, son of Barnarde of Astolat, 1067-75, 1079, 1081-3, 1085-6, 1089-91, 1097-8, 1103, 1105-6, 1109-14, 1130-1, 1135, 1137-8, 1153, 1166, 1170, 1190, 1193, 1203, 1205.
- LAWRELL [Laurel], niece of Lady Lyones, 361, 363.
- LAWUNDIS [Laundes] = Landes, earldom of, 1205. *See also* Myles of the Laundis, Blak Knyght of the Blak Laundis, *and* Laundys, Lady of the.
- LE BEALL PYLGRYME, *see* Alys le Beall Pylgryme.
- LEOMYE, knight sent against Arthur by Lucius (*probably a misreading of 'sir Leo be comen with his lele knyghtez', MA 1971*), 218. *See Commentary*, note 218. 17-18.
- LIONSE, *see* Lyonse.
- LODEGRAUNCE, LODEG(R)EAN, LODEGREAUCE, LODEGREAUNS [Lodegreans, Lodegryaunce], O.F. Leodegan, Leodagant, King of Camlyard, father of Guinevere, 39-40, 97-8.
- LOGRES, LOGRIS, LOG(R)US, LOGRYS, LOGURS, O.F. Logres, a kingdom of Great Britain ruled by Arthur (in Wace and Chrétien de Troyes, Logres is East Britain; elsewhere the capital city called after Brutus's successor Logryn, and finally London), 444, 498, 545, 550, 558, 680, 827, 839, 986, 987, 995, 1019, 1027, 1030, 1035-6. *See also* Meliot de Logurs.
- LONDE, *see* Waste Londe.
- LONDON, 11, 12, 19, 22, 61, 98, 246, 639, 1048, 1077, 1080, 1227-8, 1231, 1233, 1249, 1254. *See Commentary*, note 11. 32.

LONDYS, *see* Est Londys.

LONEZEP [Lonazep], *O.F.* Louvrezep, Louverzep, castle, 682, 688, 694, 698, 713, 719, 722, 728-9, 734, 771, 774, 776, 819.

LONGE ILES, *O.F.* prince des iles lointaines, *see* Galahad of the Longe Iles.

LONGEUS, *O.F.* Longis (=Longinus), Roman soldier who pierced the side of Christ with a lance, 86.

LONGTAYNSE, KING OF THE YLE OF, *O.F.* Lontaines, Loingtaines Illes, enemy of Arthur, 126.

LORAYNE = Lorraine, 227, 233, 240, 242, 245.

LORAYNE LE SAVEAGE, knight who slays Myles of the Laundis, 119.

LOT(T), LOTTE, *O.F.* Lot(h), King of Lowthean and Orkeney, 10, 17, 18, 19, 26, 28, 30-3, 35, 41-55, 76-8, 81, 102, 108, 167, 317, 329, 351, 608, 733, 734, 746-7, 748, 751, 1231.

LOVE(L)(Xs), brother of Idrus, 210, 215, 222-3, 224, 1147, 1164, 1175. *See Commentary*, note 222. 27 (ii).

LOWE, *see* Blak Lowe.

LOWE CONTREY = the Low Countries, 206.

LOWTHEAN, *see* Lott, King of Lowthean and Orkeney.

LUCAN DE BUTLER, LUCAS, LUCANERE DE BUTLERE [the bottelere, de Buttelere], *O.F.* Lucan, Luchan, li bottellier, knight of Arthur's court, son of Corneus, 22-4, 28-30, 36, 537, 538-9, 746, 1070, 1110-11, 1149, 1212-13, 1234, 1236-8, 1241.

LUCIUS [Lucyus], *MA* Lucius Iberius, Emperor of Rome, 185, 193-4, 205-6, 207, 209, 212-18, 220-3.

LUMBARDY [Lombardye], *MA* Lumard(dy)e, Lumberdye, 189, 191, 227, 233, 240, 242.

LUSARNE = Lucerne, *MA* Lucerne, 242.

LUSHBURNE = Luxemburg, *MA* Lusscheburghe, 227.

LUSHON, *see* Sentraille de Lushon.

LYANOWRE, duke, lord of the castle of Maidens, 889. *See Commentary*, note 889. 10.

LYBYE [Lylle] = Libya, King of, *MA* Lebe, 215. *See also* Sextore of Lybye.

LYLE, LADY, OF AVILION [Lylle of Avelyon], *O.F.* dame de l'yle d'Avalon, enemy of Balin, 61, 68.

LYLE, *see* Melias and Neroveus.

LYMOSYN = Limousin, dukedom of, 1205.

LYNET, *see* Lyonet.

LYONAS, castle, 677. *See also* Lyones(se), sister of Lyonet.

LYONAS, LYONES(SE), *O.F.* Leonois, Loenois, territory of Tristram, 372, 373, 379, 384, 499, 785.

LYONELL, LYONEL, *O.F.* Lionel, Lyonel, nephew of Lancelot, 206-11, 215-16, 221, 224, 253-6, 268-9, 344, 347, 537, 808, 830-54, 855, 960-4, 968-73, 1020, 1047-8, 1071-2, 1112, 1148, 1170, 1190-1, 1193, 1204, 1211, 1214-15, 1254.

LYONES(SE), sister of Lyonet, rescued by Gareth, 315, 320, 321, 323, 327, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334-5, 340-2, 343, 344-5, 352, 354, 359-63, 1150.

LYONET(T), LYNET, LADY, sister of lady Lyones, *see also* Saveage, 315, 318, 319, 321, 324, 326, 328, 329, 330, 332, 333, 334-5, 339, 342, 357, 358-9, 360-3.

LYONORS, *O.F.* Lienors, Lisanor 'la fille al conte Sevain', daughter of Sanam and mother of Boarte (Borre), 38. *See Commentary*, note 38. 31-8.

LYONSE, LIONSE, *O.F.* Leonces de

- Paerne, *q.v.*, messenger from Arthur to Ban and Bors, 21, 31, 36, 39. See *Commentary*, note 31. 20.
- LYSAYS, O.F. Ysaies, son of Helyas le Grose, one of Lancelot's ancestors, 930.
- LYSTENOYSE [Lystynoyse, Lystynoyse, Lystnoyse, Lystynes], O.F. Listenois, Lystenois, kingdom of, 682; King of, 729, 740. See also Bryan de Lystenoyse, Felotte of Lystynoyse, Pellam de Lystenoyse, and Pellynor(e), King of Lystenoyse.
- LYTYLL BRYTAYNE, see Bretayne.
- MACABEUS [Machabeus], JUDAS, *MA* Makabee, 231.
- MACIDONY [Macydone] = Macedonia, *MA* Macedone, 193.
- MADOK DE LA MONTAYNE, a knight of North Wales, 516. See *Commentary*, note 516. 31-2.
- MADOR(E) DE LA PORTE [Port], O.F. Madors de la Porte, 'li frere Gaheris de Kareheu', 261, 263, 662, 1048-51, 1053, 1055-60, 1065, 1150, 1164.
- MAFE(E)TE, see Shyvalere III Mafe(e)te.
- MAGOUNS, MAGOWNS [Magons], O.F. Magance, castle, identified with Arundell, *q.v.*, 635, 676-7.
- MAIRIS, see Ector de Marys.
- MALAGRYNE, MALEGRYNE [Malgryn(e)], O.F. Malagrin, 'one of the daungerous knyghtes of the worlde to do batayle on foote', slain by Alexander the Orphan, 343, 346, 638, 640-1.
- MALEDYSAUNTE, THE DAMSELL, O.F. Demoiselle Mesdisant, the damsel whom La Cote Male Tayle aids in a quest and who later becomes his wife, 463-71, 476. See also Byeau Pansaunte and Byeau Vyvante.
- MALEGRYNE, see Malagryne.
- MALZORRÉ, MALLEORRÉ [Malory], SIR THOMAS, 180, 683, 845, 1037, 1154, 1260.
- MALE TAYLE, see La Cote Male Tayle.
- MANADUKE, MENADUKE [Mena-deuke], *MA* Meneduke of Mentoche, knight of Lancelot's kin, 217, 1148, 1170, 1205. See *Commentary*, note 217. 23.
- MANDYFF, knight of Lancelot's kin, 217. See *Commentary*, note 217. 23.
- MANESSEN [Manassen], O.F. Manasses de Gaule, cousin to Accolon, 152, 157.
- MANUELL [Manuel], O.F. Maronex, father-in-law of King Jonas, 930.
- MARCHES, MARCHIS, see South Marches, Strete Marches, and Weste Marchis.
- MARES, see Ector de Mares.
- MARGAWSE, see Morgawse.
- MARHALT(E), MARHALTT, MARHAULTE, MARHAUS, O.F. Le Morhou(l)t, Morhous, Morholt, brother of the Queen of Ireland: 'Et sachent tout cil qui cest conte lisent que li Morhous dont je parole chi fu cil Morhous que Tristrans li niés le roi March occhist en l'Isle Saint Sanson pour le treuage qu'il demandoit de Cornuaille' (*Merlin*, ed. G. Paris, ii. 240), 159-63, 172-6, 178-9, 219, 224, 268, 376-84, 389, 390, 391, 392, 401, 408, 431, 442, 503, 572, 578, 596, 729, 755.
- MARHALTE, King of Ireland, O.F. Le Morhout, erroneously described in *M* as 'fadir unto the good knyght sir Marhalte that sir Trystram slew', 729. In *F* he is Iseult's cousin, her uncle's grandson, named Le Morhout in memory of his grandfather. See E. Löseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan*, pp. 271 and 342.

ARIS, *see* Ector and Marrys.

ARK(E), O.F. Marc, King of Cornwall, uncle of Tristram, 71-3, 195, 371, 376-80, 383-4, 391-8, 399, 401, 403, 417, 426-31, 489, 492, 497-504, 545-52, 577-627, 533-8, 652, 675-80, 770, 1149-50, 1173.

ARLYON, *see* Merli(o)n.

ARROKE [Marrok], knight turned into a werewolf by his wife, 219, 1150. *See* *Commentary*, note 1150. 27-9.

ARRYS, MARIS [Mariet] DE LA ROCHE, O.F. Maret, Mauruc, Moires de la Roc(h)e, knight in Arthur's war against the eleven kings, 30, 36.

ARSANKE [Masauke] = Marsan, earldom of, 1205.

ARSYL(L), O.F. Marsille, King of Pomytayne, fights at the tourney of Surluse, 658-9, 661.

ARY, MYLDE; SEYNTE MARY, VIRGYNE MARY [Marye], 188, 842, 961, 991, 999.

ARYS, *see* Ector de Marrys.

ARYSE, *see* Blamoure of the Maryse.
ATTO LE BREUNE, O.F. Mathaus, Mathan le Brun, loses his reason when Gaherys captures his lady, 498.

AUREL, M.A. Mawtrell, knight of King Arthur slain in the war against the Romans, 217.

AYDENS, MAYDYNS [Maidens], CASTEL OF, O.F. Chastel des Pucelles, 509-10, 513, 515, 518, 523-40, 554, 577, 698, 887-9, 891-2. *See also* Morians of the Castel Maydyns.

AYMED KYNGE, *see* Pellam of Lystynoyse, son of Labor, and Pelleaus, son of Pellam.

ELAYNE, *see* Myllayne.

ELIAS, MELYAS, MELYAS [Melyadas, Melleaus] DE LYLE, O.F. Melyant, Melian, son of the King

of Denmark, 883-6, 890, 1150, 1170, 1205.

MELIOT [Melyot], O.F. Meliot, castle of, 79.

MELIOT [Melot] DE LA ROCHE, knight overcome by King Lot, 28.

MELIOT DE LOGURS, MELYOT DE LOGRES, DE LOGYRS, DE LOGRYS, MELLYOT DE LOGRIS, O.F. (*Pellesvaus*) Meliot de Logres; cousin to Nyneve in the *Tale of King Arthur*; slain by Gylberd the Bastarde in the *Tale of Sir Launcelot*; fights on Arthur's side at the tournament of the Castle Perilous in the *Tale of Sir Gareth*, and at the tournament of Winchester in the *Book of Launcelot and Guinevere*; joins Aggravain's plot against Lancelot in *The Morie Arthur*; 116, 279-82, 344, 1070-1, 1148, 1164. *See* *Commentary*, note 279. 31.

MELLYAGAUNCE, MELLYAGAUNTS, MELLYAGAUNT [Melyagauns, Melyagaunce, Melliagaunce, Mellegaunt, Malegeaunt, Melyagaunt, Mel(l)yagraunce], O.F. Melyagans, Meliagans, Meleaguant, son of Bagdemagus, 344, 348, 485-7, 654-5, 657, 658, 1121-40, 1154.

MEL(L)YON OF THE MOUNTAYNE, MELYON DE TARTARE, O.F. Mellic, Merlin del Tertre, knight who acts as messenger to Bors during the quest for Lancelot, 808-9, 1148, 1164. *See* *Commentary*, note 1148. 16-17.

MEL(L)YOT, *see* Meliot de Logurs.

MELYAS, MELYAS, *see* Melias.

MELYODAS [Meliadas], O.F. Melyodus, Meliadus, King of Lyones, father of Tristram, 371-8, 391, 393, 399, 401.

MENADUKE, *see* Manaduke.

MERLI(O)N, MERLY(O)N, MARLYON, O.F. Merlin, magician and soothsayer, 8-56, 67-8, 72-6, 78-9,

- 85-6, 91-2, 97-103, 108, 113, 118, 119, 125-6, 132, 373, 562, 568, 595, 717, 906-7.
- MEVEAR OF BLOOD, name given to the scabbard of the 'swerde with the straunge gurdyls', 995. See *Commentary*, note 995. 15-16.
- MONDRAMES, a misreading of Mordrains (= Evalac), treated by Malory as a separate character ('a worthy man'), 880. See *Commentary*, note 880. 23-4.
- MONTAYNE, see Mountayne.
- MORDRAINS, MORDRAYNS, see Evalake.
- MORDRED, O.F. Mordres, Mordret, son of Arthur and his sister Morgawse, 41, 55-6, 77, 79, 261, 263, 463-7, 536, 585, 587, 588, 590, 613-15, 647, 663, 699, 716, 733, 814-15, 1046, 1048, 1070-1, 1092, 1108, 1110-11, 1148, 1161-8, 1173-5, 1184, 1197, 1204, 1211, 1227-37, 1241, 1243, 1249-50.
- MORES [Morys], MA Mawren, knight of King Arthur slain in the war against the Romans, 217.
- MORGAN LE FAY, O.F. Morgain, Morgue, la Fee, wife of Uryence, sister of Arthur, 10, 45, 78-9, 130, 138, 140, 145-6, 149-52, 157, 256-7, 429, 430, 443, 504, 505, 510-11, 553-8, 559, 597, 605, 617, 638-9, 640-3, 792, 798, 1242.
- MORGANORE, MORGANOURE [Morganor], O.F. Marganor, 'senesciall with the Kynge of the Hondred Knyghtes', 29, 33, 404, 1150.
- MORGAWSE, MARGAWSE [Morgause], Queen of Orkeney, wife of King Lot, 10, 78, 317, 338, 340, 341, 346, 358-9, 486-7, 579, 611-12.
- MORIANs [Moryans] OF THE CASTEL MAYDYNS, O.F. (Belias) liamoureux del Chastel as Puceles (*Malory makes two names out of this*: Bellaus, *q.v.*, and Morians of the Castel Maydyns), knight in Arthur's war against the eleven kings, 36.
- MORRYS [Morris], O.F. Mor(r)ois, forest in which Kay and Gaherys joust with Mark, 547.
- MORTAYSE [Mortoyse], WATER OF, O.F. Marcoise, 338, 916, 934, 1011.
- MORTE ARTHURE, O.F. *Mort Artu*, *La Mort le roi Artu*, title of the last branch of the Arthurian Cycle, 56.
- Mo(u)NTAYNE, see Hew de la Mountayne, Madok de la Mountayne, Mellyon of the Mountayne, and Peryne de la Mountayne.
- MOUNT BELYARDE [Mountbelard], see Peryne.
- MOUNTE, see Uiré of the Mounte.
- MOYSESLONDE [Moyses land] = Metz, MA Mees, Meyes, marquis of, slain in Arthur's war against the Romans, 239.
- MYCHAE, SAINT, 202, 204, 205; SAYNT MYCHELS MOUNTE, 200. MA Mighell, Myghell.
- MYLDE MARY, see Mary.
- MYLES OF THE LAUNDIS [Laundys], lover of Pellynor's daughter Alyne, 119.
- MYLES [Mylis], knight slain by Pellynor, 46.
- MYLLAYNE, MELAYNE [Melane] = Milan, MA Meloyne, Melan(e), 189, 190, 243.
- NABON(E) LE NOYRE, O.F. Nabon le noir, giant slain by Tristram, 441, 443, 444-5, 446, 447.
- NACIEN, NACYEN, O.F. Nascien, Nascien d'Orberique, in the *Estoire del Graal* brother of Sarracinte (the wife of Mordrains) and grandfather of Narpus (M Nappus), 988-9.
- NACIEN, NACYEN, O.F. Nascien, son of Nappus (O.F. Narpus); so

- named in memory of his great-grandfather Nacien (O.F. Nascien d'Orberique); one of Lancelot's ancestors, 929. See *Commentary*, note 929. 33-6.
- NACIEN, NATIEN [Nacyen] THE ER(E)MYTE, O.F. Nasciens, Nascien li Hermites, a descendant of Joseph of Arimathea and son of 'la Dame de la Blanche Nue', 863, 868, 881, 943, 945-9.
- NANOWNE LE PETYTE, knight slain by Nabon, 441.
- NAPPUS, O.F. Narpus 'le fiex Celi-doine' (according to the *Estoire del Graal*), grandson of Nascien (O.F. Nascien d'Orberique) and one of Lancelot's ancestors, 929.
- NARAM, O.F. Narran, knight who warns Arthur against Royns, 55.
- NAUNTIS [Nauntys] = Nantes, 40.
- NAUNTRES, NENTRES, NEWTRYs [Nayntres], O.F. Nantres de Garelot, Neutres de Garloth, King of Garlot, 10, 17, 26, 28, 30, 35, 41, 1147.
- NAZARETH, MA Nazarethe, 193.
- NENTRES, see Nauntres.
- NERO, O.F. Nero, brother of Royns, 41, 75-6, 78.
- NERO = ? Nile, MA Nylus, 193.
- NEROVEUS [Nerouneus] DE LYLE, O.F. Neroneus, Neroveus, Veroneus de l'Yle, defeated by Lancelot in single combat, 468-9, 470, 476; one of the knights who try to heal Urry, 1150; receives the earldom of Pardiak, 1205.
- NEWTRYs, see Nauntres.
- NORMANDY, 194, 198, 1205.
- NORTHEFOLKE [Northfolk] = Norfolk, 1233.
- NORTH GALYS, NORTHE GALYS, NORTHE WALYS [Northern Walys, Northwalys], O.F. Norgales, Norgalles, 657, 682, 688, 1071, 1170, 1212; King of, 659, 661, 669, 1065, 1069-70, 1073, 1076, 1085-6, 1088, 1103, 1106, 1108 (see also CRADILMENT and ROYNS); Queen of, 638, 704, 792, 1242. See also Bryaunte of North Wales.
- NORTHUMBERLAND, NORTH(H)UMBIR-LONDE, 37, 63, 66, 682, 1071. See also Clarivaunce, King of Northumberland.
- NOYRE, see Nabone le Noyre, and Prydam le Noyre.
- NYGURMOUS [Nigramous], castle of, abode of the sorceress Hallewes, 281. Name coined by Malory from the Old French nigromance ('magic').
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- ORKENEY [Orkenay], O.F. Orcanie, realm of King Lot and Queen Morgawse, *q.v.* See also Edward of Orkeney.
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- OSSAYSE [Ossaise] OF SURLUSE, O.F. Ansies, Anseis, de Sorelois, one of the knights who fight at the tourney of Surluse, 667, 669.
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- PAYTERS [Poyters] = Poitiers, dukedom of, 1205.
- PECCHERE, PESCHEORS [Pescheour, Petchere], *O.F.* le roi pescheour, the Fisher King, 861, 894.
- PEDYVERE, knight who murders his wife and is punished by Lancelot, 284-6.
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- PELLYNORE [Pellinore], O.F. Pelinor, Pellinor, Pelinier, knight who jousts with Tristram to discover his name, 509.
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- PERELOUS [Perilous] ROCHE, PORTE OF, O.F. la roche du Port Perilleux, harbour, meeting place of Nacien and Mordrains, 989.
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- PERYNE DE LA MOUNTAYNE [Peryn de la Montayne], O.F. Perin de la Montaine, knight overthrown by Alexander the Orphan, 646.
- PERYNE DE MOUNTEBELIARDE [Peryn de Mountebeliard], knight slain by Garlon, 81. *Like* Harleus le Berbeus *this name was probably borrowed by a scribe from a later passage (see* Peryne de la Mountayne, p. 646).
- PERYS DE FORESTE SAVAGE [Foreyst Savage] (*name coined by Malory from the French 'chevalier qui chi prés est manans en ceste forest'*), evil knight overcome by Lancelot,

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- PLAYNE DE AMORIS [de Amours], knight overthrown by La Cote Male Tayle, 472.
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- PLESAUNCE [Plesaūce] = Placenza, *MA* Plesaunce, 243.
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- PLENORYUS [Plenorius], O.F. Plenoris, Plenoryus, brother of Pello-gres, Pelaundris, and Pyllownes, 473-6, 1150, 1170, 1205.
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- PORTE TREMBYLL, POYNTE TREMBLE [Port of Tremble] = Pontremoli, *MA* Pounte Tremble, 243.
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- PYLLOWNES [Pillounes], brother of Plenoryus, Pello-gres, and Pelaundris, 475.
- PYN(N)EL(L), PYONELL LE SAVEIAGE [Pynel le Saveage], Lamorak's kinsman, 28, 1048-9, 1059. See *Commentary*, note 1049. 2.
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- STREYTE MARCHIS [Marches], King of the, *O.F.* Roi de l'Estroicte Marche, one of the knights who fight at the tourney of Lonzep, 740. See also Bedyvere of the Streyte Marchys.
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- TURNAUNCE, LE OF, O.F. Isle Tor-noiant, an island 'in the parties of the Weste', 988.
- TURSANKE [Tursank] = Tursan, earldom of, 1205.
- TUSKAYNE [Tuskane, Tuscan] = Tuscany, 189, 191, 227, 229, 244.
- TYNTAGIL, TYNTAGYL(L) [Tyntagail, Tyntigail(l), Tyntigayll, Tyntygail(l), Tyntygayl], castle of, O.F. Tintagel, Tintajol, castle in Cornwall, 7, 8, 9, 10, 45, 272, 376, 377, 383, 393, 395, 403, 494, 498, 501, 548, 615, 618-19, 620, 622, 624, 676, 677-8; duke of, 7, 9, 17. *See Commentary*, note 272. 26-31.
- TYRRÉ, *see* Tirry.
- ULBAWES, ULBAWYS [Ulbause] of SURLUSE, earl, O.F. Ulban, 667, 669, 1147.
- ULFIUS, ULPHUNS [Ulfyus], O.F. Ulfín, Urfin, knight of Uther Pendragon, 8, 9, 11, 16, 20-2, 24, 27-30, 36, 38, 44-6.
- ULPHYNE [Ulfyn], O.F. Ulfín, hermit, 982.
- URRÉ, URRY, OF THE MOUNTE, Hungarian knight, 1145-54, 1166, 1170, 1190, 1193, 1203, 1205.
- URYENCE, URYENS, OF GOORE [Ureyne, Ureyñ], O.F. Urien(s), Uryen(s), King of Gore, 10, 17, 26, 30, 35, 78-9, 130, 137-8, 140, 146, 149, 158, 344, 348, 585, 746, 945, 1107-8, 1147.
- UTHER PENDRAGON [Utherpendragon], O.F. Uter, Uterpendragon, Uterpandragon, King, father of Arthur, 7, 8, 9, 10-12, 16-18, 44-6, 48, 61, 97-8, 180, 186, 192, 207, 272.
- UWAYNE [Ewayns] LE BLAUNCHE MAYNYS, UWAYNE LES AVOUTRES [Aventurous, Avoutres, Avowt-*tres*]; *combination of two characters*: O.F. Yvains li Avoltres and Yvains li Grans as Blanches Mains; son of King Uryence, 10, 78, 149, 158-63, 176-9, 189, 210, 220, 344, 346, 347, 537, 539, 545-7, 558-9, 560, 585 (*the two knights treated as separate characters*), 586, 588-9, 590, 591, 603, 728, 746, 809, 877, 879, 890, 945, 1148. *See Commentary*, notes 537. 31-5 and 545. 31-5.
- VAGON, O.F. Vagan, castle, 872.
- VALE, ERLE DE, O.F. li quens del Val, enemy of Agauars, *q.v.*, 926.
- VALE, King of the, O.F. li rois de Val, one of the five kings who war against Arthur, 126. .

- VALYAUNTE, *see* Symounde the Valyaunte, and Vyllars the Valyaunte.
- VAUNCE [Vance], LADY DE, O.F. la feme le duc des Vaus, paramour of King Royns, 74.
- VAWSE, LADY DE, lady of the tournament at which Marhalt wins the prize, 175.
- VAYNS, O.F. Lievri, knight overthrown by Alexander, 646. *See Commentary*, note 646. 32.
- VAYSSHOURE, *see* Tor le Fyze de Vaysshoure.
- VIRGYNE MARY, *see* Mary.
- VIRVYN [Urbine], city, *MA* (3113) cité vnsene, 242. *See Commentary*, note 242. 26.
- VYLLARS, VYLL(Y)ERS, THE VALYAUNTE [le valyaunt], *MA* Valyaunt of Vyleris, 218, 220, 1148, 1170, 1205; WYLLYARS, 1254, 1259.
- VYSECOMTE [Vycecounte], vale of, 244. *See Commentary*, note 244. 8-9.
- VYTERBE [Viterbe] = Viterbo, *MA* Viterbe, 189, 244.
- VYVANTE, *see* Byeaeu Vyvante.
- WALCHERE, *MA* Waltyre, companion of Gawain and Florens at the siege of Metz, 228.
- WALEs, WALYS [Walis], O.F. Gales, Galles, 16, 17, 18, 293, 371, 385, 441, 617, 618, 679, 682, 689, 729, 809, 930, 1258; WALSHMEN, 189. *See also* Gālys, North Galys, and Weste Walys.
- WANDESBOROW [Wandisborow], O.F. Vandeberes, Vanbieres, Wandebere, castle, 37, 40.
- WASTE LONDE, O.F. Terre gaste, 'the land of the Dolerous Stroke', 987.
- WAST LANDIS [Waste Landes], Queen of the, aunt of Perceval, one of the three queens who bear away the dying Arthur, 905, 1242.
- WATLYNGE STRETE, *MA* Wattyngestrette, Roman highway, 190.
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- WYNCHESTER, WYNCHESTRE, O.F. Wincestre, Voincestre, *identified by Malory with* Camelot, 92, 832, 1050, 1055, 1065-6, 1069, 1077, 1080-3, 1085, 1092, 1227.
- WYNCHILSÉ(E) [Wynchylse] = Winchelsea, *see* Petypace of Wynchilsé.
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GLOSSARY

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THE only words included in the Glossary are those which differ in form or meaning from present-day usage. Sometimes Malory uses a word in an archaic sense in one passage and in a modern sense elsewhere; only the archaic senses are recorded in the Glossary. Nouns are recorded in the singular and verbs in the infinitive when these forms occur in the text or can be deduced with certainty from the recorded forms. The only divergence from alphabetical order is that the vowel *y* is treated as *i* in the alphabetical arrangement. References are to page and line except those to Caxton's Rubrics, which are to page and chapter.

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